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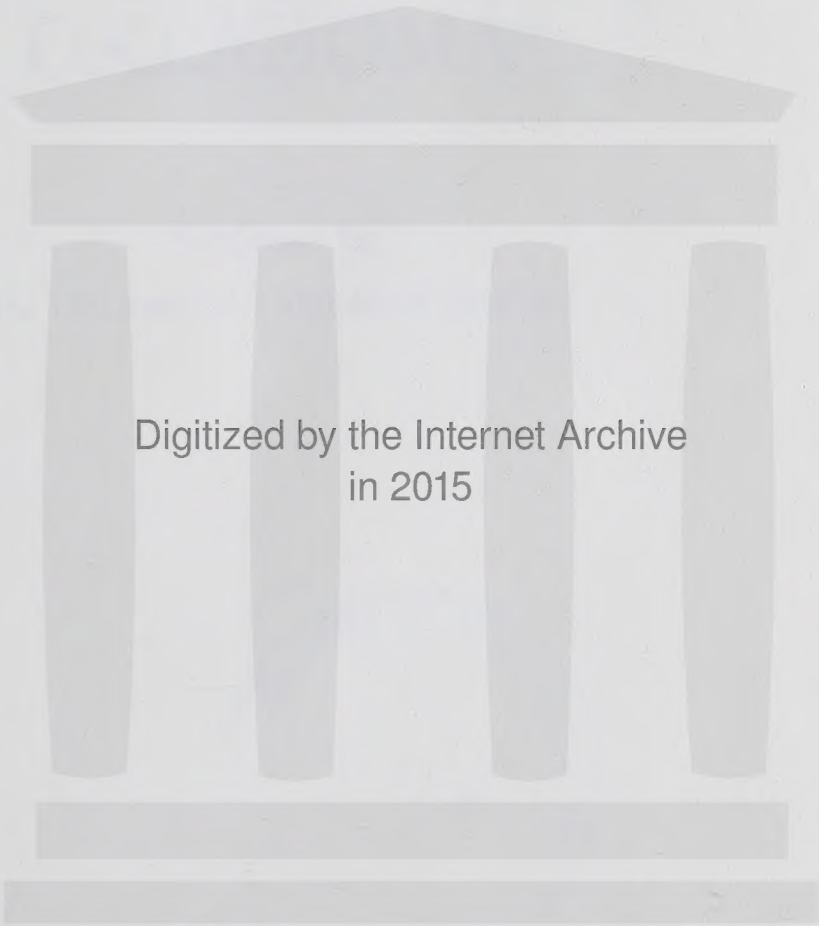

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Cover: The Redbud became the Official tree of the State of Oklahoma by *Senate Joint Resolution, No. 5* of the Sixteenth Legislature. This was approved by Governor Ernest W. Marland on the 30th day of March, 1937. The redbud is a small tree that grows throughout Oklahoma. Its flowers are pink to magenta and appear in clusters early in the spring, followed by its heart shaped leaves. The color print on the front cover is from an enlarged photograph of the redbud flower by Bill Burchardt, editorial staff of *Oklahoma Today*, taken in Southeastern Oklahoma in March, 1972.

THE YEAR WILL ROGERS RAN FOR PRESIDENT

*By Alfred Haworth Jones**

The prospect of another Presidential Sweepstakes hardly pleased the editor of *Life*, the weekly humor magazine. It all seemed so hopelessly predictable: the primaries, the nominating conventions, and then the campaign — "a non-stop flight of oratory that will continue until November 6, on which date the Republican candidate will be elected and the country will settle down to four more years of Coolidge or his equivalent." What a waste of time, particularly since the "average citizen knows only too well that it makes no real difference to him which side wins." [1]

It was May 1928. By now politics was only a tired joke for many such minor-league Menckens. The Novelty of Normalcy, the relief from Wilsonian urgency, even the fascination of the colorful foibles and sensational scandals had worn off. The venality, mediocrity, and above all, the hokum and nonsense of politics had become deadening. "There is an old bromide to the effect that politics makes strange bedfellows," the editor observed in one last attempt at humor — "which simply means that all politicians take refuge in the same bunk."

After one such sterile outburst, another writer might have been content to change the subject. But not Robert E. Sherwood, the 32-year-old playwright who had only recently taken over the editorship at *Life*. In the next issue, he came up with an answer to the political hokum — a "bunkless" presidential candidate. The Nominee, of course, was Will Rogers. If elected, the Oklahoma humorist would be "the first President in sixty-two years who was funny intentionally." The candidate's mandate was to "fight Bunk in all its forms." If Rogers wants more of a platform than that," Sherwood declared, "he can write it himself" — which is exactly what the editor had in mind. *Life* could always use some copy from the nation's beloved cowboy humorist. But would the nominee run?

---

*The author, Alfred H. Jones, is Assistant Professor in the Department of History, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. —Ed.

[1] Excepting other sources cited in the footnotes here, this article is based on *Life* (New York: 1928), Vols. XCI, SCII, SCIII, covering numbers for May, June, July, August, September, October, November.

"Your offer . . . leaves me dazed," Rogers replied in the next issue, "and if I can stay dazed I ought to make a splendid Candidate." But he had no illusions about the Anti-Bunk Party, which by its very name meant "that we will have no political support." The party's inability to buy votes "will naturally eliminate all Republican support," while Democrats, "if they have to vote for nothing," will not desert their party. "For they have been voting for nothing for years."

And so, even before the major party nominating conventions, the race was on. Life magazine had a candidate — and in Will Rogers the journal's editor had found the ideal antidote to another campaign of pomposity and hypocrisy. In 1927,Calvin Coolidge had curtly announced, "I do not choose to run." Will Rogers "won't use the word 'choose,'" *Life* assured its readers. Instead, "Our Candidate — He Chews to Run" would be their motto throughout the campign! "In the forest of presidential timber, Rogers stands out like a giant redwood in a grove of saplings."

Soon the endorsements came pouring in. Henry Ford, Harold Lloyd, Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia, Roy Howard the publisher, Babe Ruth, William Allen White, Grantland Rice, General "Billy" Mitchell, Ring Lardner, and Tex Rickard, among others, lent their names to the candidacy. And Judge Ben B. Lindsey of juvenile court fame even "delivered" the Keynote Speech in the pages of the May 31 issue of Life.

Nationwide radio broadcasts, with stars like Eddie Cantor and Leon Errol, promoted the Rogers candidacy while burlesquing American politics. The New York Times began to take notice. Letters and postcards bombarded headquarters; and campaign buttons appeared on many a lapel. Meanwhile, each week in the front pages of Life, the candidate carried his campaign to the people.

Not waiting for the other parties to equivocate on the issues, Rogers promptly announced his platform — and in no uncertain terms. "*Wine for the rich, beer for the poor, and moonshine liquor for the prohibitionist.* Now I can't conceive of

any Platform that could more thoroughly touch every class of thought than that one," he crowed.

Farm relief? "Who but a Farmer would ask for 'relief' for his troubles? I not only will relieve him," Rogers declared, "*but I absolutely will cure him, of being a farmer.*" [2]

"I am in favor of having a plank in our platform giving a 'Vote for Every Marriage,' I think that is little enough to get for a marriage." A left-handed tribute to matrimony, perhaps, but there would be no Sex Appeal in the Rogers campaign. "Of course, if it unconsciously creeps in, why we can't help that," he quipped. But a candidate "can win without sex appeal, as was proved in 1924." [3]

A platform, yes: one that could be added to and dismantled as the political need arose. But a convention? A vice President? Will Rogers told Tex Rickard, who wanted to sponsor one, that "Conventions were the first form of bunk we had eliminated ." After all, "if our Constituents couldn't make a fool out of themselves at home, there was no reason for them to go away to places like Kansas City and Houston and practice." The second form of bunk to be eliminated was a running mate for the candidate, although *Life* acknowledged what many people had already suggested — that Charles Lindbergh would make an ideal nominee. But would it be fair to Lindy? "He's done too much for his country to be rewarded with a sentence of four years in the United States Senate."

Hardly a campaign custom escaped Will Rogers. He challenged each of the major candidates to a "joint debate — in any joint you name." He denounced his opponents' pretensions. What did Al Smith and "Herb" Hoover know about farmers? A farmer never interested the latter "until it was suddenly discovered . . . that the farmer voted."

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[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XCI (June 7)

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XCI (June 7) and Vol. SCII, (quotes from July 12, August 2, June 14, July 12, August 23, September 21, October 19, and 26, November 2 — in order here given).

"I am the only Candidate," the Oklahoman declared, "that has ever looked a Mule in the face (or otherwise) down a corn row." He accused the other parties of equivocation. "The Supreme Court with all its divided knowledge couldn't tell you what either party 'stood for.'" About all one could safely say was: "They both stand for 'Reelection.'"

In addition, Will Rogers offered a running commentary on his opponents' campaigns. Al Smith was receiving a "geographical education." "When he hit Oklahoma he felt like a lone Gentile at the wailing wall, and when he got as far west as Montana he thought he had been shanghaied and taken to Australia." On the other hand, "Hoover saw the country before nomination so he went back to Washington and through association with Coolidge became practically speechless."

As election day approached, the Rogers campaign became even more of a farce. When a *Literary Digest* poll registered only token support for the Oklahoma cowboy, *Life* feverishly set its own gifted analyst, Robert Benchley, to work on public opinion measurement. In taking his "straw vote," the "author of this article . . . goes up to voters on the street or in bed or wherever they happen to be and asks them certain questions, all beginning with 'W.'" The results of the canvass? "Pains in the neck and occasional nausea." Despite such reports, the candidate retained his equilibrium through to the end, when he garnered at least one write-in vote — in New Jersey.

"Owing to jealousy," according to Rogers, "and . . . not paying my entrance fees," his name was absent from the ballots. That proved fatal to the Anti-Bunk candidate, because "my big vote was supposed to come from those who couldn't write." Undaunted, *Life* declared Rogers elected President —" by the Great Silent vote of this nation" — in a telegram the next day.[4]

Thus ended an inventive chapter in the history of American periodical journalism. But the significance of what happened in *Life* that summer and autumn, like the import of the

[4] *The New York Times*, November 6, 1928, p. 29.

presidential election itself, was not so readily apparent. The Will Rogers candidacy, a desperate ploy to boost sagging circulation, was based throughout upon a political premise which became, during the course of the campaign increasingly untenable. Furthermore, the Rogers campaign, including the weekly columns under the candidate's name, represented almost entirely the work of Robert E. Sherwood.

Analysis Of The Roger's Campaign

Youthful Editor, Sherwood, originally "hatched" the idea in an attempt to rescue the fading journal. But the Rogers candidacy also represented a potent commentary on the politics of *Normalcy*. Next to a Coolidge and a Davis, Will Rogers looked almost statesmanlike. No wonder Robert Sherwood fairly flew when he took his idea around to the cowboy's suite at the Hotel Astor that day in 1928. In response to the editor's urgings, Will agreed to run and to provide material for the magazine. But subsequent developments dampened Sherwood's enthusiasm although this never quite washed away the campaign. For one thing, the candidate never succumbed to campaign fever.

As Sherwood recalled years later, "Will didn't take much interest in the campaign and we had a time getting copy out of him. When he did get his copy in, it was very sketchy and never nearly enough to fill the space. So I filled it out, imitating Will's style as best I could. This had the unfortunate effect of convincing him that he need write practically nothing. I think, as a matter of fact, there were one or two weeks when he supplied nothing at all and I had to write the whole piece."[5] The magazine never betrayed the flagging enthusiasm of either its candidate or editor. Throughout the weeks from May until November, each issue carried a "speech" by Rogers (written by Sherwood) as well as campaign bulletins from the Anti-Bunk Party. But the idea proved less than a timely joke.

As it turned out, the major party candidates, Hoover and Smith, hardly represented throw-backs to *Normalcy*— as even

[5]Quoted in Homer Croy, *Our Will Rogers* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1953), pp. 232-233.

Sherwood soon conceded. Furthermore, on a number of different levels, the campaign raised serious questions and issues which the Rogers candidacy did nothing to illuminate. In short, the year Will Rogers ran for President came four years too late.

Ironically, some of the most astute commentary on the "other" campaign also appeared in *Life* — far back from the beguiling Rogers features, on the editorial pages. Shortly after launching the cowboy's campaign, Sherwood appointed Elmer Davis, an ex-*New York Times* correspondent (age thirty years), to the editorial page. Whatever the playwright's hopes, Davis' weekly essays never gave the house candidate more than nominal attention. Instead, Davis took the Hoover-Smith campaign seriously from the start, and gradually became a thoughtful partisan of the Democratic candidate. Despite his own commitment to the Rogers joke, Sherwood too moved toward Alfred E. Smith.

The New York Governor appealed to them because he spoke a political language they — and a growing number of Americans — could understand. It was not the rhetoric of progressivism, although its descent from prewar reform was clear in the continuing emphasis upon government intervention and executive initiative. Like progressivism, too, it was thoroughly democratic in its insistence that politics must be wrested from the "bosses" — whether they were of the Old Guard of the GOP (which had promoted Harding and Coolidge), or those of Tammany Hall — and returned to the people. But this new liberalism was urban-oriented, plurallistic, and decidedly at odds with the nativist, fundamentalist, and prohibitionist strains of progressivism. However conventional Smith's economic views, there was in his campaign an emphasis upon tolerance for diversity — a new insistence upon civil liberties — which marked this as a new departure.

Elmer Davis wasted no time in marking the significance of the 1928 campaign and the stature of both standard-bearers. "It has been a long time," he wrote in the June 28 issue of *Life*, "since the two major candidates for the Presidency have been men of such obvious competence . . . If Smith's religion or

Hoover's collars annoy you, remember that it is only eight years since you had a choice between Harding and Cox . . ." Both candidates' promise lay in disassociating themselves from the dominant interest-groups of their parties.

Soon it became clear that Al Smith was determined to be his own man. And he waged an articulate, constructive campaign in the best progressive tradition. But Hoover kept his speeches vague and non-committal. Davis deplored the Republican candidate's attitude "that people must vote for him whether they know anything about him or not . . ." Accordingly, he declared, unless Hoover came "out from behind his collar" and displayed "a mind of his own and the courage to speak it," one would be forced to conclude that "the difference between the parties is the real measure of the difference between the candidates." [6]

In that case, Davis would have no difficulty voting Democratic. While a Hoover victory would apparently only strengthen the Republican Old Guard, the election of Smith held out the possibility of a profound change in the Democratic Party. This year it represented "neither the traditional Democratic party nor an imitation Republican party; it is an Al Smith party," Davis declared, which was the "exact opposite" of the William Jennings Bryan party. "Smith has shifted the Democratic center of gravity northward . . ." [7] "If Smith wins, the political realignment which he has made will be comparable to Andrew Jackson's." What the *Life* editorialist meant was that the party would now be urban, with most of its strength lying in "city workers who are either immigrants from Europe, or the children of immigrants." Wet versus dry, Catholic versus Protestant, native-born versus immigrant — all these divisions came down to urban versus rural.

Although Smith was defeated in the election, Davis found reason for hope in the voting patterns. "The city intellectuals and city laborers who generally supported Smith were the

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[6] *Life*. Vol. XCI (June 28), and Vol. XCII (quotes from November 20, and September 21 — in order here given).

[7] *Ibid.*.

beginning of a genuine party based on community of interest, and community, on the whole of ideas . . . . They have very little in common with Southern and Western farmers . . ." But if the journalist could perceive the lineaments of a potent new Democratic coalition, for the time being he remained pessimistic about its electoral outlook. There simply were not enough of these Democrats "to win an election now and apparently never will be until something happens to Republican prosperity."[8] And that prospect looked remote indeed during the weeks following Herbert Hoover's landslide.

No contemporary observer could have fully appreciated the impact of the Smith candidacy upon not only the Democratic Party but the very shape of the electorate. It took the smashing victory of Franklin D. Roosevelt four years later fully to reveal the shift, which many observers at the time credited to Hoover's Depression. Not until years later did scholars begin to credit what Elmer Davis had emphasized: the role of the Al Smith candidacy and campaign in the molding of a new urban-oriented Democratic coalition.

Traditionally the strength of the Bryan — and even Wilson — Democratic Party had lain in the agrarian South and West, while the Republicans dominated the cities of the Northeast. Then came Smith. The 1928 Democratic standard-bearer converted normally huge GOP pluralities in the twelve largest cities into a slender margin for himself. Virtually all of the increased Democratic urban votes stemmed from expanded ethnic support. In part, these constituted first and second generation Americans returning to the fold after repudiating Wilsonianism in 1920 and supporting La Follette in 1924. But even more of them had never voted before. Although enfranchised since 1918, many Catholic women, for example, cast ballots for the first time in 1928. The reason appears to have been Alfred E. Smith's conspicuous identification with the immigrant community.

To measure the extent of Smith support among foreign-born Americans and their children, one need only look at New York,

[8] Ibid., Vol. SCII (quotes from August 23, September 21, November 23, and 30, in order given here).

Chicago, and Boston, where almost half of them lived. [9] In the predominantly German sections of New York, for instance, the 1928 Democratic presidential vote ran 27 and 45 percent higher respectively than in 1924 and 1920, while in Irish neighborhoods Smith polled 19% more votes than Davis and 35% more than Cox. In Italian districts, the Democratic standardbearer did thirty percent better than his two postwar predecessors, while in the Jewish ghettos Smith improved on the party's 1924 ticket by twenty percent.

The rise in the Democratic proportion of ethnic votes cast in Chicago was nearly as dramatic — among Poles it rose from approximately half in the two preceding elections, for example, to 83¾ in 1928. But Boston represents perhaps the most dramatic example of all. Al Smith captured the Bay State's presidential electors mainly on the strength of his overwhelming pluralities in the Catholic wards of the capital. The Irish gave their fellow Son of Erin 89% of their votes, and the Italians cast a phenomenal 95% of their ballots for Smith — over twice as large a proportion as the Democratic presidential candidates had received in either of the preceding elections. New Democratic voters figured significantly in every one of these cases; among none of the groups cited, for example, had even Woodrow Wilson, the peace candidate in 1916, done as well as did Smith in 1928.

The religious issue, which so many contemporary observers saw as a liability to Smith, clearly cut both ways. Perhaps as many voters supported the Democratic candidate for reasons of his Catholicism as opposed him. Its effect upon the election outcome was insignificant. The crucial factor remained Hoover and the Republicans' identification with prosperity. But the effect of the religious issue upon the Democratic Party was significant, as Elmer Davis was one of the few to acknowledge. The nomination of Al Smith, by attracting the urban ethnic

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[9] Sources of ethnic voter analysis for the 1928 Presidential election are: David Burner, *The Politics of Provincialism: The Democratic Party in Transition, 1918-1932* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968); J. Joseph Huthmacher, *Massachusetts People and Politics, 1919-1933* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959); and Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1952).

vote, had in effect laid the foundation for a potent new Democratic coalition, if only the dissident rural elements could be lured back into the party without losing this new support. An urban-oriented Protestant candidate in 1932 might just accomplish that feat. Only time would tell.

Now, however, one thing was already clear. National politics had ceased to be a joke, and accordingly the Will Rogers candidacy, however amusing in conception, never caught the national imagination. Nor did it bail out *Life* magazine. Perhaps Elmer Davis' unpopular pro-Smith editorials had seen to that. Not even the jettisoning of the culprit, as well as the editor himself a month after the election, saved the sinking periodical. For *Life,* the year Will Rogers ran for President marked the end of an era. For Robert E. Sherwood, Elmer Davis, and especially the Democratic Party, it represented a new beginning.

CHEROKEE STATESMEN: THE JOHN ROGERS FAMILY OF CHATTAHOOCHEE

*By Don L. Shadburn,**

"Little John" Rogers (1774-1851), known among the Cherokees as "Nolichucky Jack,"[1] was born in Burke County,[2] Georgia, traditionally the son of an Englishman who fought with the Patriots during the American Revolution. Little factual information is known about his early history and family lineage. Research among descendants of various Rogers families has failed to establish convincingly the identity of this John Rogers' parents. One source maintains, somewhat circumstantially, that he was the son of William Rogers, a prominent attorney whose practice often carried him to the courts in Augusta, Georgia. However, it may be that he was a son of John Rogers (II) and his wife, Nancy, who migrated from Johnston County, North Carolina to St. George's Parish (later Burke County), Georgia in 1773, a year before John Rogers' birth. There seems to be little doubt, however, that his lineage traces back to early families in Surry County and other parts of Virginia.

At an early age, John Rogers left home and wandered about for some time before making a permanent settlement in the Cherokee Nation, east of the Chattahoochee River. Here, about 1803, he married according to tribal law to Sarah Cordery

* This paper on "Cherokee Statesmen: A Portrait of the John Rogers Family . . ." by Mr. Don L. Shadburn has been prepared from research of several years on the pioneer families of Forsyth County, Georgia, with some emphasis on Cherokee-related families, such as Rogers, Cordery, Collins and others. Mr. Shadburn, a teacher in Forsyth County, is currently serving as president of the Forsyth County Historical Society, and is contributing editor to the *Georgia Genealogical Magazine* and the Genealogy Club of America. His article on "Georgia Statesmen: The Distinguished Rogers Family" appeared in the *Georgia Magazine* for June 1971. —Ed.

[1] Emmett Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, Okla.: The Warden Company, 1922), p. 473, note A41. He was often referred to as "Little John" and "Chattahoochee John" to distinguish him from other Rogerses in Georgia with the same given name.

[2] *Ibid;* also Charlotte (Buckner) Rogers' pension application filed May 22, 1880 (National Archives and Record Service, Washington, D. C.).

(1782-1842), oldest daughter of Thomas Cordery and Susannah Sonicooie, a full-blood Cherokee of the Blind Savannah Clan.[3] John and Sarah remarried in a civil ceremony performed September 21, 1817, in Jackson County by John Pendergrass, a Justice of the Peace.

Thomas Cordery, probably an immigrant from Virginia through the Carolinas, settled some years prior to that time at an Indian village called Suwanee Old Town, near Duluth, and raised eight half-breed children, six daughters and two sons.[4] Cordery is found in the 1820 population census and the 1830 slaveholding schedules of Gwinnett County, Georgia, but by 1820 (when the first census of the county was taken) he had moved across the river temporarily and was living in Forsyth County.

Soon after his marriage, John Rogers built a home on the river near the mouth of Suwanee Creek, in that section of the Cherokee territory incorporated into Swinnett County, Georgia, in 1818.[5] Their son, Lovely Rogers, wrote in 1872, from California to his niece, Julia Lowe, adding with a feeling of nostalgia:[6]

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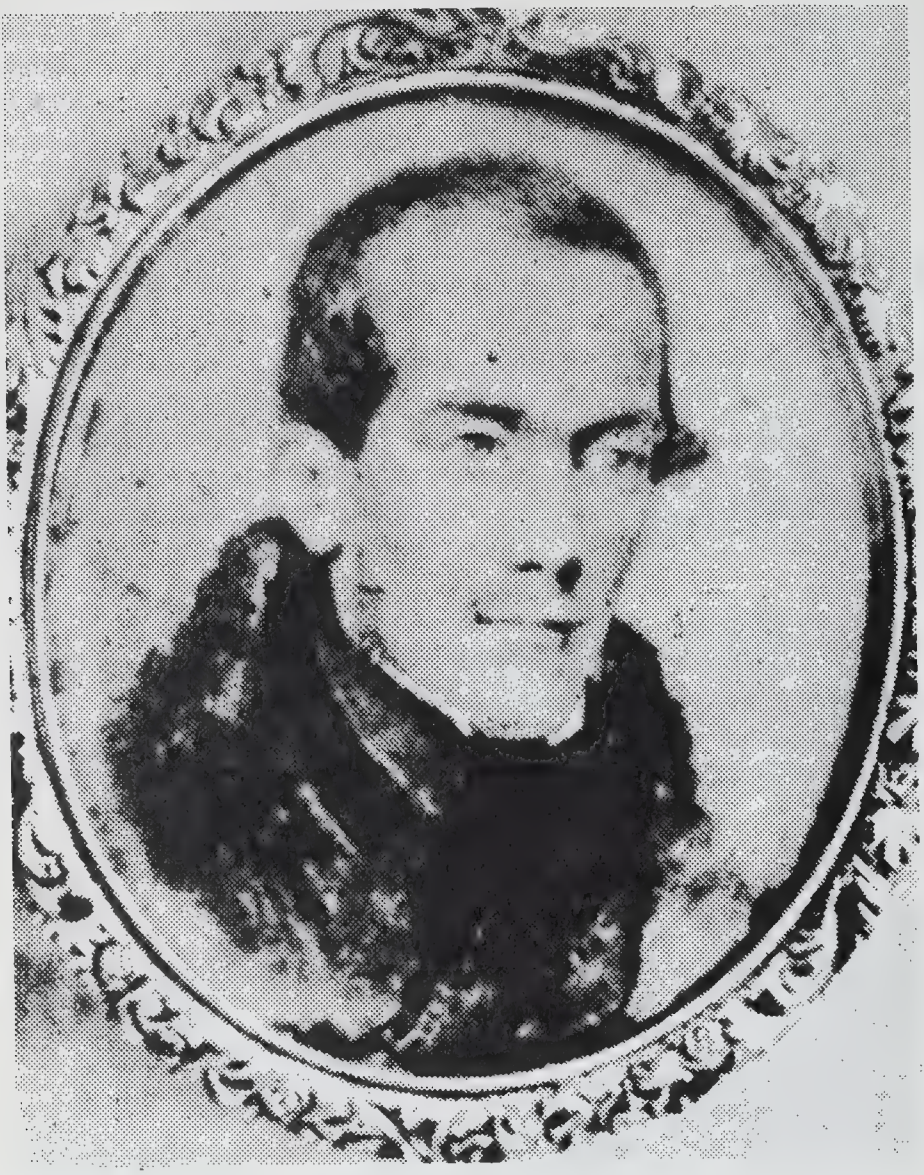
[3] Starr, *op. cit.*, note A40

[4] Starr, *ibid*, p. 391. David Cordery (fifth child and oldest son, born cal792), who claimed a reservation of 640 acres under the Treaty of July 8, 1817, died in Forsyth County in 1836. Robert and William Rogers, his nephews, were appointed legal guardians of his minor children on Nov. 7, 1836. — Court of Ordinary records, Will Book A, p. 81. (Earl Boyd Pierce, General Counsel for the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, is a descendant of Dave Cordery and Charlotte Goss through their son Wilson and grand-daughter, Louisa, wife of Albert Anderson. Mr. Pierce's paternal ancestors were among the pioneer settlers of Pickens and Hall Counties, Georgia.)

[4] Luby Cordery (born cal784), second child of Thomas and Susannah Cordery, married to Robert Rogers (I), a white man called "Stiff-Kneed Bob." Their son, Robert Rogers (II) married to Sally Vann, daughter of Avery Vann and Margaret McSwain. Clement Vann Rogers, son of Robert (II) and Sally was the father of cowboy-humorist Will Rogers. The definite relationship between John Rogers and Robert Rogers (I) has not yet been determined with conclusive data, but the fact remains that their wives were sisters.

[5] See *Appendix A* for names of their twelve children with notes on each.

[6] Letter written Feb. 4, 1872, from "Hornitos, Cala," in the author's collection.



JOHN ROGERS
OF CHATTAHOOCHEE, 1774-1851

. . . You must tell me what you all are doing, and how you are getting along. Tell me how the old home looks, I suppose if I was back there with you I should be a stranger in the land that gave me birth, but few of the friends I left there are there now, most of them have gone down to the grave, others have mooved (*sic*) away leaving scarcely one that would remember me, No wonder at this for I am now an old man in my sixtieth year. My head and beard are nearly as white as snow, how I should love to ramble over my native hills again and listen to the sweet music of the little birds that still live in that dear native land, the Seans *[sic]* of my childhood and youthful years would fill my heart with mournful pleasure, how many affectionate faces I should miss. a las! a las! . . .

John Rogers served in the War of 1812 on the staff of General Andrew Jackson and rode on a dangerous mission from Fort Stroud to Monticello, Georgia, in 1814.[7] In 1820, when Jackson was sent to Georgia by John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, to post a warning to white trespassers (called "squatters") in the Cherokee Nation, he traveled along the Federal Road, crossed the Chattahoochee near the Gwinnett-Hall line and stopped along his way down-river to visit with his old friend, John Rogers.[8]

He was also a personal acquaintance of Governor George R. Gilmer, who tried to persuade him to move his Cherokee mixed-blood family to Arkansas. Industrious and living by a strict code of justice, respecting both Cherokees and whites, he steadfastly refused to become entangled in any agreement with the state government when it appeared to infringe on his family's rights. In 1830, for instance, when Georgia enacted a law requiring whites living within the boundaries of the Cherokee Nation to take a prescribed oath in order to continue their residence, Rogers failed to comply. He had come by his property through toil and sacrifice, and being a citizen of the Nation by his marriage, felt he was entitled to remain on his land undisturbed, without fear of persecution or reprisal by the state.

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[7] Charlotte Rogers, *ibid*; and Major Richard D. Winn's reminiscence, published Jan. 30, 1878, in the *Georgia Methodist*, weekly newspaper printed in Cumming by Isaac Clement & Co. This account of the John Rogers family, written by Major Winn in 1872, was repeated in James C. Flanigan's *History of Gwinnett County* (Hapeville: Tyler & Co., 1943) p. 365.

[8] James C. Flanigan, *History of Gwinnett County* (Hapeville: Longino & Porter, Inc., 1959), Vol. II, p. 5.

During the fifty-odd years he lived on the Chattahoochee, Rogers cultivated the fertile bottomland, growing wheat and corn in abundance, and raised hogs, cattle and sheep. He amassed a small fortune in his lifetime, for at his death in 1851 he owned fifteen slaves and a plantation of more than 600 acres, the latter valued at $12,800.[9] Well-educated and self-reliant, he sought to provide more than the necessities of life for a large family and at the same time properly educate his children. In 1826, he sent Mary to a girls' school in Montezuma, Georgia.,[10] Cynthia and Annie were enrolled in the Female Seminary in Salem, North Carolina in 1833.[11] His five oldest sons attended the Lawrenceville Academy, Gwinnett County, Georgia, in the mid-1820's.[12]

A convert to the Methodist faith, John Rogers is credited with establishing old Mount Zion Church, one of the first in the territory, located on the river a few miles from his home. His brother-in-law, Parker Collins (husband of Ann Cordery)[13] and other Indian related families contributed to the building of the church and constituted much of its membership.

About 1831, with the assistance of neighboring Cherokees, Rogers moved his large two-story house (built of hand-hewn logs) across the river into lower Forsyth County where he lived the remaining years of his life. Sarah Cordery Rogers died on July 14, 1842 at the age of about sixty years; she was buried in

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[9] Forsyth Court of Ordinary records: "Returns and Inventories", Book C, pp. 260-263.

[10] Dated sampler made by Mary Rogers, owned by Mrs. Mary Roane, Duluth, Georgia.

[11] Dated Samplers by Annie and Floral paintings by Cynthia, owned by her granddaughter, Mrs. Mary Roane, Duluth, Ga.

[12] Major Winn, *op. cit.*

[13] Ann ("Nannie") Cordery, third child of Thomas and Susannah Cordery, married to Parker Collins about 1808 according to their children's births. Collins' will was the first recorded and probated in Forsyth County, naming nine daughters and two sons, in 1833. The original will, signed with his mark, is in the Forsyth County Historical & Genealogical Society Collection, Cumming, Ga. The recorded version is found in Will Book A, pp. 1-15, Court of Ordinary records.

a family plot near William Rogers' house.[14] Rogers' Last Will and Testament was written June 29, 1848, and probated September 1, 1851, in the Forsyth Inferior Court; he appointed his two oldest sons, Robert and William as administrators of his estate. In making final disposition of his real and personal propery, he named his children, grandchildren and his second wife, Charlotte.[15]

Some time after her husband's death, on July 31, 1851, Charlotte Rogers moved to Sand Mountain, Alabama,and from there to Arkansas. She was living in Boone County (postoffice Bellefont) as late as 1880 when she applied for a pension for his military service in Captain Alexander Sanders' Company of Cherokee Volunteers.[16]

William Rogers

. . *William Rogers* (1805-1870), a quarter-blood Cherokee (see Appendix) grew up among his people on the Chattahoochee River and received his academic education at Lawrenceville under the Reverend John S. Wilson, the first instructor at the Academy.[17] As a young man he displayed attributes of leadership and soon came to be recognized as a strong proponent of Cherokee rights. Governor George Gilmer, who had visited in the Rogers home, referred in his book to John Rogers' sons as "promising young men."[18] William was perhaps the most active and influential in affairs of the Cherokee Nation throughout the decade of 1830-1840. In March, 1831

[14] Starr, *op. cit.*

[15] Some researchers have speculated that Rogers' second wife was Charlotte (Cordery) Vickery, Sarah's sister and the widow of Henry Vickery (who died in Forsyth County in 1834). However, Marriage records show that he married Charlotte ("Lotty") Buckner on June 13, 1843. (Eleanor Buckner, aged 80, was living in the Rogers home in 1850.) Charlotte Vickery, still a widow at age 60, was living on Vickery Creek in Forsyth County at the time of the 1850 census enumeration.

[16] Charlotte Rogers, *op. cit.*

[17] Major Winn, *op. cit.*

[18] George R. Gilmer, *First Settlers of Upper Georgia* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965), p. 292.

(From the original portrait in charcoal, through courtesy of Miss Gladys Bell, owner)

WILLIAM ROGERS, CHEROKEE STATESMAN

One of the twenty signers of the Cherokee Treaty of New Echota, William Rogers was sent to Washington in 1839, to represent the Western Cherokees. This handsome profile was done in charcoal at the time.

Governor Gilmer wrote a lengthy letter to John Rogers concerning legislation involving whites living in the Nation, and requested: "If your son William will visit me, he shall be treated with kindness, and I will give him all the information in my possession which may enable you to determine what may be the best course for you to pursue." [19]

Upon completion of his studies at the academy, William traveled over the Nation and was associated with the Ruede (pronounced "Reedy") sisters at the Moravian Mission at Spring Place, with the Rosses, the Ridges and Vanns of Rome, and the McNair family near the GeorgiaTennessee line. He also made the acquaintance of the Reverend Henry Gottlieb Clauder who was in charge of the mission (located near James Vann's two-story brick house at Spring Place) until ousted by Georgia authorities in 1833.

In 1829, the Georgia political machinery launched a succession of new laws calculated to cheat the Cherokees of citizenship rights and to gradually force them from their land and goldmining operations. William Rogers — then a young man of twenty-four — diligently worked to protect the interests of the Cherokees. In 1830, following the passage of the Indian Removal Bill by Congress, he retained by consent of Chief John Ross the law firm of William H. Underwood and Thomas Harris to represent the Nation. [20] By 1835, further appeals to the courts seemed futile, and encouraged by John Ridge and others, Underwood and Harris terminated their legal services for the Cherokees. When payment of their fee was not forthcoming, upon request, a warrant was issued for Rogers' arrest. Finally the attorneys brought suit against the Nation, and to substantiate their claim William Rogers and Alexander McCoy testified "to the regular employment of the claimants by the Cherokee authorities. . . " [22]

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[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Grace Steele Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 167.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Wilson Lumpkin, *Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia* (Savannah: The Savannah Morning News Print, 1856), p. 161.

William Rogers' brother, Johnson K. Rogers, (See *Appendix A*) likewise figured prominently in the negotiations which took place in the Cherokee Country during the 1830's. He became an outspoken critic of John Ross' dictatorial policies and allied with the Treaty Party in opposition to Ross' National Party. At the time of the Cherokees' enforced removal to the West, in 1838, Johnson Rogers went to Washington, D. C. to live and served the Cherokees as a legal representative for more than thirty years. One of his grandnephews, the late Senator Walter L. Bell of Milton County (Georgia) told about his great-uncle in an interview in 1934: [23] "When the Cherokees began their departure, Uncle Johnson Rogers, a brilliant, swashbuckling, hard-fighting fellow exclaimed with a violent oath, "My people are going West, but I'm going to headquarters . . . " Soon after making this statement he did go to Washington and remained there until his death.

At the capital, Uncle Johnson Rogers was fortunate in landing an important governmental post. Members of the committee on Indian affairs of the House of Representatives, discovering that he knew much about matters pertaining to Indians, made him secretary to this important committee. This post was held by him for a number of years.

As the storm of fateful events broke over the Cherokee Nation, many of the natives sought refuge in the West, surrendering their homes and the land of their ancestors to squatters and the lottery-drawers. Encouraged by promises from government emissaries, by late 1833 a feeling for removal had gained acceptance among many of the Cherokee leaders. The treaty faction was represented by Major Ridge, a full-blood Cherokee of Rome, Georgia, who favored ceding their tribal lands. Opposed to this group — known as the Ridge, or Treaty Party — was a party in the majority who supported the conviction of John Ross, Principal Chief of the Cherokees, who maintained there would be no removal treaty negotiated with his sanction or approval.

[23] Pierce Gilstrap, "Will Rogers" Georgia Grandpa," *Atlanta Journal* magazine, Oct. 7, 1934, p. 16. Johnson Rogers died without issue and was buried in the Congressional Cemetery, Washington, in December, 1869. Interment Records, Congressional Cemetery, 1301 E. St., SE, Washington, D.C., show he is buried in Grave No. 101, Range 52.

At exactly what date William Rogers shifted his allegiance from John Ross' party is difficult to document; but it may be surmised that a change in his thinking took place at the council held at Red Clay, Tennessee, in the summer of 1832.[24] Elisha Chester, United States commissioner to the Indians, outlined a treaty proposal which was rejected by the general council. But at the same time his offer won noticeable support among a few Cherokees and mixed-bloods, such as Elias Boudinot, John Ridge (Major Ridge's son), William Rogers, and Andrew Ross, Chief Ross' brother.[25]

Events began to unfold rapidly in 1834-1835 which made it appear, in spite of Ross' frequent appeals to Washington for help, that Cherokee emigration to the West would soon become a reality. William Rogers was convinced the cost in suffering and hardships for the Cherokees would be far less if they were removed by the government upon their own terms. He felt it was his duty to do all within his power to insure fair treatment of his red brethren in their negotiations with the authorities. No doubt his unselfish efforts and influence at the conference tables, leading up to the consummation of the treaty, were factors which helped to win the terms agreed upon at New Echota. And because of the leading parts he took in bringing about the disputed Treaty of December 29, 1835, he placed his own life as well as the lives of his family in jeopardy. For earlier, in February, 1835, he had been delegated by the Nation, along with four other members, to submit to the U. S. Senate to fix the amount of purchase for Cherokee lands East of the Mississippi River,[26] subject to approval by the Cherokees. And again, in the following October, he was found among a delegation which met in council at Red Clay and listened to promises and solicitudes brought from Washington by the Rev. John F. Schermerhorn, appointed by President Andrew Jackson to present the Federal government's "generous" terms to leaders of the Nation — terms, as in times past, that were rejected by the Ross Party element.

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[24] Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

[26] Lumpkin, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

(From the original portrait through courtesy of Miss Gladys Bell, owner)

JOHNSON K. ROGERS
1809 - 1869

The third son of John Rogers and Sarah Cordery sent to Washington in 1837 by the Cherokee Treaty Committee. It is believed that this unique portrait was sketched at that time. Johnson K. Rogers lived in Washington for thirty years, and represented the Cherokees in their legal claims before the U.S. government.

Joining members of the Treaty Party, led by Major Ridge, both William and his brother, Robert R. Rogers (See *Appendix A*) went to New Echota in the winter of 1835 and signed the treaty terms with eighteen other delegates from the Nation. The final treaty, approved and signed by Stand Watie (nephew of Major Ridge) and John Ridge on March 1, 1836, was signed by essentially the same delegation, with the substitution of two names: Johnson Rogers and George Welch, both residents of Forsyth County at one time.

In the immediate days following the signing of the treaty, several attempts were made on William Rogers' life by groups of hostile and embittered Indians. Three of the signers, Major Ridge, John Ridge and Elias Boudinot (Buck Watie), were brutally murdered in 1839 after reaching the Indian Territory. In a letter written to Governor Gilmer, under the date of March 5, 1838, Rogers stated: "The part which from necessity I was compelled to take in the formation of the late treaty, has caused most of the Cherokees to regard me as one of their worst enemies." [27] That a number of threats were made on his life by certain Cherokees is without questioning. Senator Walter Bell, son of Anderson Bell and Albina Rogers (William's daughter) recalled one attempt to assassinate him: [28]

> Once while returning from a visit to the old McNair plantation in Tennessee, which was the home of Delilah McNair, a great-grandmother of mine and a sister of Joseph Vann, famous Cherokee chief, he had two very close calls. He had just crossed the line into Georgia and was traveling through what is now Murray County when a hostile group of Cherokees were sighted. My grandfather was not alarmed but his wife and daughter accompanying him in the carriage were badly frightened. They thought sure that he would be killed but not a shot was fired, and as the Indians were not mounted they made no attempt to overtake the carriage drawn by two fast horses. Afterwards my grandfather attributed the reason his life was spared to the fact that his enemies recognized his wife in the carriage and did not want to risk killing or wounding her, since she was the daughter of Delilah McNair whom the Cherokees of the surrounding neighborhood revered for her acts of charity . . .
>
> Later the same day another group of belligerent Indians were seen close by. These were not so considerate of my grandmother for they fired several shots at the passing vehicle in an attempt to hit Grandfather Rogers. However, none

[27] William Rogers to Governor George Gilmer, March 5, 1838, Letter File, Georgia Department of Archives & History, Atlanta.

[28] Gilstrap, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 16.

of the bullets reached their mark. After these narrow escapes, the Negro driving the carriage was instructed to drive all night without stopping. William Rogers did not want to risk being killed in bed.

While struggling with mixed devotions to the Cherokee people and to the State he claimed by birthright as home, William Rogers contended with a number of domestic tragedies during this epochal and bitter decade. In 1836, his father-in-law, Captain David McNair died at his home in Polk County, Tennessee, and Rogers was appointed one of five administrators of his estate. Two years later, Delilah Amelia Vann, Captain McNair's wife and the daughter of famed Cherokee chief, James Vann, was forced to leave her home in the final Cherokee removal. She died suddenly on the Hiwassee River while waiting for the boats to transport them westward. The soldiers in charge respected her children's request and allowed them to take her back home for burial. The next year, still awaiting the final settlement of McNair's estate, William paid Henry Fitzsimmons $150 to put a suitable marker on their graves. [29] He wrote a noble epitaph, expressive of his feelings, now inscribed on the monument: [30]

Sacred to the memories
of David & Delilia A. McNair who
departed this life, the former on
the 15th day of August, 1836, the
latter the 31st day of November, 1838.
Their children being natives of the
Cherokee Nation, and having to go West
with their people, leave this monument
not only to tell of their regard for their
parents, but to guard their sacred ashes
from the unhallowed intrusion of the white man.

Captain McNair had served with distinction and honor in the War of 1812, leading a company of Cherokee spies in activities against the British and Creek alliance. As late as 1845, William Rogers and the other executors were still trying to get a pension payment for his heirs. The Commissioner of Pensions finally awarded the McNair children the sum of

[29] Original receipt dated Oct. 18, 1839, donated by Mrs. Ellene Kemp to the Forsyth County Historical & Genealogical Society Collection.

[30] Original draft in William Rogers' handwriting donated by Mrs. Ellene Kemp to the Forsyth County Historical & Genealogical Society Collection.

$2,806.00. This amount, based upon a monthly stipend of ten dollars, was cumulative pay from March 17, 1814, until the date of McNair's death. [31]

The greatest single tragedy in William Rogers' life came in 1839. On the first day of September, he had the "irreparable misfortune" of losing his young wife, Mary Vann McNair, who died from injuries received while crossing a stream on horseback. [32] Two weeks later, writing to a lady friend in Salem, North Carolina, he lamented: "You cannot imagine how desolate and lonely I feel. Were I in the midst of a boundless desert, without one green spot to look upon, without one cooling breeze to cool my aching head, I should not feel more desolate." [33]

Now burdened with the sudden loss of his wife, leaving the added responsibility of caring for four small children, William Rogers — rather than remain passive and hidden now that the treaty had been signed — continued his involvement. Article twelve of the treaty had provided for a twelve-member committee, which included Rogers, who were "empowered and authorized to transact all business on the part of the Indians" in carrying out the provisions of the treaty. Faithful to his task, he accompanied a group of the committee to New Echota and met on September 8, 1836, with Wilson Lumpkin, recently appointed U. S. Commissioner to the Cherokees. [34]

The U. S. Senate had ratified the treaty on May 23, 1836, and the Cherokees were to make their preparations and move within two years from that date. Meanwhile, Chief Ross went to Washington again to plead their cause, but to no avail. In a letter to Governor Gilmer, dated November 24, 1837, Rogers

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[31] Letters from P. M. Butler, Pension Agent, to William Rogers, Esqr., dated Sept. 26, and Dec. 22, 1845, now in the Forsyth County Historical-Genealogical Society Collection.

[32] Letter from William Rogers to Sophia Dorothea Ruede, Sept. 16, 1839, unpublished family collection of letters.

[33] *Ibid.* See *Appendix B* for notes on Mary Vann (McNair) Rogers and the names of her four children.

[34] Lumpkin, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

accused Chief Ross of practicing a "wretched delusion" [35] upon his people by leading them to believe that he would "annul the treaty, restore them their lands, and expell the white people." [36] Too, he pointed out, the government commissioners had been responsible for moving the "business connected with the execution of the Treaty" [37] from New Echota, as provided in the treaty, to the Cherokee Agency in Tennessee. This, he said, was done on the faulty pretext that all necessary and beneficial negotiations with the Georgia Cherokees had been satisfactorily concluded.

The Treaty Committee protested this change, and Rogers (acting as spokesman) communicated their feelings on the subject to the governor. He argued, in addition, that Cherokee emigration would be more expedient if the treaty conditions were discussed at New Echota (lately the Cherokee capital) where the buildings had been reserved for their meetings. The site had been selected because of its central location to the Indians, thus affording a greater number of them the opportunity to come and hear the discussions. Furthermore, they were vexed at Chief Ross acting independent of the committee by going to Washington himself to bargain with government officials — which, in the committee's opinion, only supported the widespread belief among the Cherokees that they would not be forced from their homeland. He further advised the governor: [38]

> If this expectation continues emigration can not go on, and while Mr. Vanburen continues to treat Mr. Ross with distinction and appoint agents to confer and reason with and beg him, this expectation will be kept up. For while Ross is deaf to reason and persuasion, he will as he is now doing make use of the condescension of the Govt. . . .The committee. . .have sent my brother, Johnson Rogers, and John A. Bell on to Washington to endevor *[sic]* to get the business of the treaty brought back to New Echota and to urge the Govt. to come to a speedy and final determination with Roos. Should this course of the committee meet with your approbation, I am directed to request your co-operation. . .

[35] William Rogers to Governor Gilmer, Nov. 24, 1837. Letter File, Georgia Dept. of Archives and History, Atlanta.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] *Ibid.*

Later, with the deadline for emigration approaching, William Rogers hoped to enlighten Governor Gilmer with respect to the Cherokees' probable course of action when confronted with removal: [39]

. . .From my knowledge of the character of Mr. Ross. . .he has no wish or design to involve his people in war. He has arrayed them against the late treaty by holding out false hopes with a view to annul or modify it. The only dainger *[sic]* to be aprehended *[sic]* will result from the reaction which will take place in their feelings when Ross tells them the truth. He may not then be able to control them. Ross is the soul of his party — not one of them who may be called intelligent will move a finger without his biding. In addition to this many of them have property to the safety of which all their eforts *[sic]* will be directed. They will therefore exert themselves to keep peace. If I mistake not the design of Mr. Ross it is to preserve his present popularity with his people. . .Should his influence prevail there will be no war. . .The only dainger *[sic]* which I can see arises from the source which I have pointed out. If this can be guarded against, the country may be kept quiet and hostilities prevented . . .

I am fully aware of the justly indignant feelings of the Cherokees in your state against Ross and his influence . . . He has sucked their substance, cheated them of their rights, & not yet satisfied . . . he seeks to trifle with their rights again. Look at the enormous sum of their money he has pocketed. $800,000 was paid to him at the agency in Tennessee for removing . . . & not being satisfied with that enormous sum he has come to this place, and but the other day received the additional sum of $5000.00 thousand dollars out of the percapita allowance which belongs to every man woman & child, both East as well as West . . . It is the duty & interest of the Cherokees in N. Carolina to look at this; & to protest against such a profligate expenditure of their funds, in paying such an infamous scoundrel & traitor. Let the Cherokees draw up a strong memorial to Congress setting forth their grievances, and protesting against the act of the War Dept. in expending their funds in the manner & way above specified, and let it be attended to immediately . . . I intend to day or tomorrow to bring the subject . . . before the President & protest in the strongest terms . . .

But Johnson Rogers, long after the removal, was much more vitrolic in his criticism of John Ross' leadership and political hobnobing. He wrote from Washington to a correspondent in North Carolina notifying him that, through the influence of Ross, the War Department planned to appoint an agent "to visit the Cherokees in N. Carolina, for the purpose of inducing them to remove West." [40] His letter continued: [41]

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[39] William Rogers to Governor Gilmer, March 5, 1838, *loc. cit.*

[40] Johnson K. Rogers to William H. Thomas, Esqr., Sept. 23, 1841, from the Manuscript Collection, University of Georgia Library, Athens.

[41] *Ibid.*

With the removal of the Cherokees completed in late 1839, for the most part, three men were selected from the committee of twelve to go to Washington: William Rogers, Stand Watie and John A. Bell. The proven ability and honesty of these men apparently qualified them for this important mission. They would collect payments guaranted to the Eastern Cherokees. Rogers, whose past statesmanship was well known, was appointed clerk of the deputation.

But even now, four years after the signing of the treaty, William Rogers worried about the imminence of his death. Always a devoted husband and father, he was especially concerned about the welfare of his children since Mary's death. What would become of them if the Indians assassinated him? He wrote to Sophia Dorothea Ruede (wife of the Reverend Miles Vogler) on September 16, 1839, briefly outlining his plans: [42]

> I intend in a few days to start to Arkansas. I go to mingle in the strife which is now raging amongst the Cherokees. The probability is, I go there to dye *[sic]*. It is therefore my duty to provide for my poor little children. With whom shall I leave them? Shall I leave them to be preyed upon by the Georgians? God forbid. Shall I leave them with my relations? I fear they will not bring them up in the fear of God. I shall give them to Salem, to that nursery of virture *[sic]* where their Mother was educated. I shall execute my will before I start, directing all my property to be converted in the event of my death into money, which I think will amount to 20,000$. The interest of which will I think be sufficient to support and educate my children. I shall appoint the corporation of Salem my executors. Should I be killed, and should the corporation of Salem become the guardian of my children, it is my wish that they should be brought up Moravians. My little daughter (Alvina), I commend to your protection. Should it however be the will of God to spare me to my children, I shall bring Albina to school about Christmas. . .

His proposed trip to Arkansas was evidently cancelled, for he went to Salem early that fall (leaving his three sons in the care of relatives) and enrolled his daughter in the Female Seminary. While in Salem — preparatory to going to Washington — he sent a letter to Louisa Ruede, Sophia's sister and a teacher at the Moravian school, which read: [43]

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[42] William Rogers to Sophia D. Ruede, *loc. cit.*

[43] William Rogers to Louisa Ruede; ov. 8, 1839, *ibid.*

Salem
Nov. 8, 1839

Miss Ruede,

Since my arrival at this place my mind has been greatly agitated in regard to my situation, and I have come to the conclusion that I must either abandon home for a rambling life or if possible find another wife, whose amiable disposition will not only again make home agreeable to me but to my orphan children.

Will you pardon me for saying that my feelings and judgment have pointed you out as a lady possessing in an eminent degree such a disposition, one with whom I can again return home, cheerful; with every prospect of enjoying domestic happiness. I know not what may be your feelings toward me — We are strangers — but I am persuaded that let your feelings be what they may, you will not be offended, or feel in the least humiliated by this frank and honorable offer of my hand in marriage. . .

I hope Miss Ruede will give to this subject such consideration as in her opinion it may deserve and if she feels willing to intrust me with her future happiness by uniting her destiny with mine, a line to this effect will by being directed to Washington City, be gratefully received. If not she can enclose this letter to the same place.

With sentiments of high esteem, I am,
William Rogers

Arriving in Washington several days later, he boarded at the Globe Hotel with Watie and Bell while conducting their business with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs [44] — a job which grew tedious and exasperating as the weeks dragged on. He had been living there for more than two weeks without receiving any acknowledgment of his letter. Perhaps feeling that he had been too forward in his proposal, he wrote again on December 3rd: [45]

Miss Louisa Ruedie,

On the eve of departure from Salem to this place, I committed an act which upon mature consideration, I am disposed to believe was imprudent. I addressed you a letter by my little daughter, the object of which was to place it in your power to reject or accept my hand in marriage. The recent death of my beloved wife, it is probable, ought to have suggested a different course. My being a stranger to you, *and the fact of my being the descendent of a hated race*, ought to have warned me to forbear. The truth is, all these considerations were weighed and counterbalanced by the desire, the most ardent of my heart, to be at home with my children, and a consciousness of my utter inability to do

[44] Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

[45] William Rogers to Louisa Ruede, Dec. 3, 1839, *loc. cit.*

MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM ROGERS

Only known photograph of William Rogers, shown here with his second wife, Anna Louisa Ruede. The photograph is from glass ambrotypes (circa 1865) owned by their granddaughter, Mrs. Ruth R. Pickens of Lilburn, Georgia.

so, without some person to take charge of my domestic affairs. In you I thought I had discovered one whose qualifications both of mind and heart, were all I could desire. One whose amiable disposition would smooth my rugged path through life and make my home what it once was to my orphan children. Thoughts like these cause me to forget every prudential consideration, and to place myself in an attitude before you, which I am by your continued silence, now convinced is desagreeable to you. I am sorry that I have from the best of motives acted with so little discretion as to cause you one moment's dissatisfaction.

. . . Give my love to Albina and believe me truly and sincerely your well wisher.

William Rogers

Miss Ruede wrote to William Rogers on the same day: [46]

Mr. Rogers,

. . . You will no doubt be pleased to hear that your little daughter is well and happy and I think she begins to improve. She was quite punctual in delivering your letter into my hands, the contents of which greatly surprised me. I could see nothing wrong in what you write, unless it were the error in which you surely are as regards my merits or qualifications, which I must confess are totally inadequate to realize such expectations.

Having felt too much embarrassment to express myself in any way on so important a subject, I have been somewhat tardy in answering your proposal, which would involve on my part weighty responsibilities and sacrifices, and which would at once deprive me of all the religious enjoyments by which I have from my earliest infancy been encouraged to pursue a heavenward course, and by uniting my destiny with yours, I would have to renounce these privileges which I feel to be so very essential not only to my timely but eternal happiness; these convictions you may rest assured are my principal reason why I hereby wish to inform you of a decision unfavorable to your request.

Permit me at the same time to assure you that you have my sympathy and respect, and that I feel greatly indebted to you for the unmerited confidence which you seem to place in me.

A. Louisa Ruede

In his reply, written from Washington City and dated Jan. 27, 1840, William presented a masterful argument for the necessity of a person accepting responsibility in this life: [47]

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[46] Louisa Ruede to William Rogers, Dec. 3, 1839, *ibid.*

[47] William Rogers to Louisa Ruede, Jan. 27, 1840, *ibid.*

Miss Louisa Ruede,

I have for some time been hesitating between my feelings and my judgment; my feelings prompting me to write again to you, and my judgment telling me it is hopeless. I should as I almost always do, follow my judgment, were it not for the fact that a ray of hope is seen to glimmer amidst the terms of your denial, which encourages me to believe, that could you be assured your religious privileges and enjoyments would not be abridged by a union of our destinies, you might be induced to change the decisions you have made. Encouraged by this ray of hope, feeble though it be, I again venture to address you.

It is true as you remark, that an acceptance on your part of the proposals I have made, would involve you in weighty responsibility. Does Miss Ruede fear responsibility? Is it not the glory as well as the distinguishing characteristic of our condition? Take from us responsibility and we are at once deprived of all motive to action, both as it respects our duty to man and to our Creator. I do believe that all of our happiness depends upon the extent of our responsibility and the manner of our meeting them, especially as to amount. If this opinion be correct, then the person who is in a station of the greatest responsibilities, provided all the duties of that station are faithfully performed, is the most happy. Should we then if we wish to be happy avoid responsibility?

But what would be the responsibility devolved upon you by the acceptance of my proposals? In part and probably the most weighty would be the charge of my orphan children. And what task would be more pleasing to a Christian, than that of raising for Heaven the helpless orphan. . .? To my mind it is an employment angels might envy. If my proposals involve responsibility, they involve no religious sacrifice. Are you a Christian? — So am I. — Are you journeying to a better land? — So am I — Is your heart animated by those hopes and anticipations known only to Christians? — So is mine — There is not a single Christian duty you can propose, that is essential to salvation that I would not perform with all my heart. It is true I belong to the Methodist Church, but I am no sectarian. I believe in the religion of the heart, not of creed. I can serve God as well by the brook as by the consecrated fountain, as well in the grove as in the village or crowded church, as well by one name as by another. Do not however infer from this, that I would for the sake of getting a wife abandon my church for any other. Were I such a changeling I should be unworthy of any woman on earth . . .

If what I have said cannot remove your objections — I need say no more. Let me hear from you soon. I shall stay here three weeks longer and it is important to my happiness to have your final decision in that time. Give my love to Albina and believe me truly and sincerely your well wisher.

William Rogers

Other letters were written to William during February — now lost to posterity — which as indicated in his letter below, led him to believe that Miss Ruede definitely intended to accept his proposal. Still in Washington negotiating with the

Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he wrote to her on February 26: [48]

Miss A. Louisa Ruede,
Salem, N. Carolina

My dear Miss Ruede,

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter dated in the early part of this month, a few since, and should have replied at an earlier period, had I not at the time of its reception hoped to have been in Salem by this time. But like all hopes I have formed of getting away from this place since I have been here, it has been deceptive. Instead of being away, I am here, and here likely to be for some time yet unless Mr. Crawford, the Commissioner of Indian affairs, should act with more promptitude in the settlement of my business, than I have reason to anticipate. But you may rest assured that I shall not stay a day longer here than necessity will compel me to do — and that the happiest day I have seen in a long time, and the happiest I expect to see, excepting that on which I hope to receive from you a final answer and a favorable decision, will be that on which I shall bid adieu to Washington.

You cannot imagine what a change has been affected upon my feelings since the reception of your last letter . . .Indeed there are some circumstances connected with our present relations which place it beyond all doubt in my mind that the hand of Providence has been my guide and director. Give my love to Albina and believe me truly and devotedly your friend,

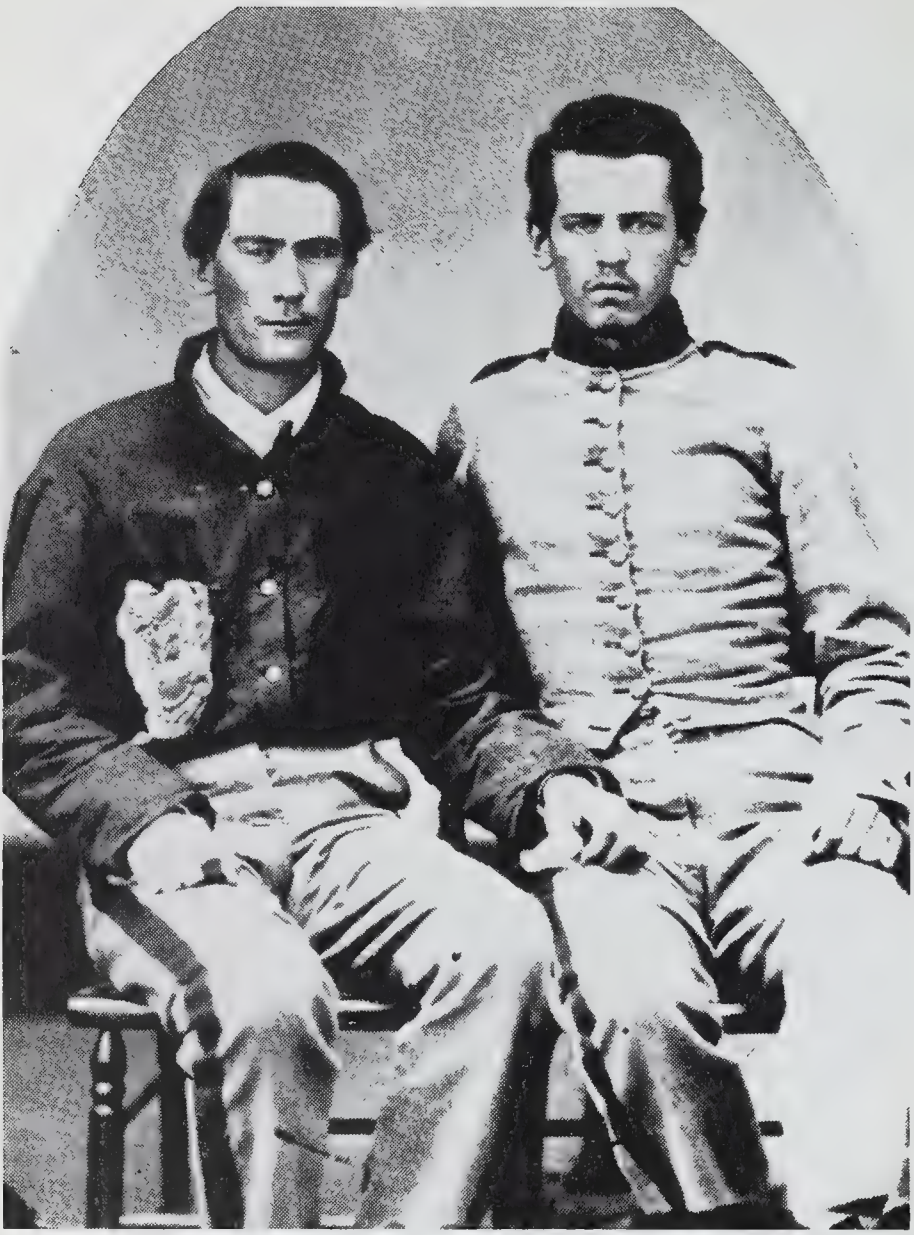
William Rogers

William Rogers had lived in Washington most of the winter of 1839-1840. Concluding his official business at last, he returned to Salem, enroute home, to get Louisa's final answer on the marriage question. Finally consenting, they were married in Salem on March 10, 1840, and left the following day for his home at Chattahoochee.

Anna Louisa Ruede was born August 1, 1813, in Friedberg, North Carolina, the fifth of ten children born to Rev. George Christian Heinrich Ruede. Her father, a weaver by trade, was born December 15, 1767, in Magdeburg, Germany, and came to Salem in 1802. In 1807, he married to his first wife, Maria Elizabeth Seiler, who was born June 12, 1781, near Bethania, North Carolina. [49]

[48] William Rogers to Louisa Ruede, Feb. 26, 1840, *ibid.*

[49] Contained in a letter from Adelaide E. Fries (now deceased), Archivist, Southern Province of the Moravian Church of America, Winston-Salem, N. C., to Mrs. Ruth Rogers Pickens, Lilburn, Ga., Jan. 31, 1947.



(From original photo, circa 1863. Courtesy of Mrs. Ruth R. Pickens, owner)

WILLIAM EDWARD ROGERS AND ROBERT N. ROGERS

"Will" (1842-1864), left in photo, and "Bob" (1838-1909) were half-brothers, sons of William Rogers by two marriages. These young men served together in the Confederate Army, Company E, 14th Regiment of Georgia Infantry. Will Rogers was killed in action on October 13, 1864, on Willeo Creek near Marietta, Georgia. Bob Rogers, promoted to captain in 1864, served until the end of the War. He died in Arkansas, in 1910, and was buried in the family cemetery in Georgia.

Louisa attended the girls' school in Salem from June 7, 1823 to 1826. During the first year she boarded in the school and afterwards lived in town and attended as a day scholar. She taught in the Salem Female Seminary from 1837 until her marriage to William Rogers.[50] When she left for Georgia, her membership in the Moravian Church was severed permanently, although she requested that when she visited there in the future she might be allowed to attend communion with the congregation. [51]

Many years later, when the Rogers boys went off to the Civil war, they wrote home expressing sentiments of deep affection and admiration for their "honored Father and Mother." [52] They had every reason to be proud of their distinguished father and the tasks he had faithfully executed in the troubled years behind them.

William Rogers' excellent moral character is portrayed in an incident recorded by Reverend William Jasper Cotter, A.M. The Reverend Mr. Cotter was a Methodist circuit rider in Georgia for seventy-three years and had many personal contacts with the Rogers family. He wrote in his autobiography: [53]

> William Rogers was a superior man. Before the removal of the Indians, the government offered to pay them for every fence rail and every improvement. . .The money paid them by the government amounted to thousands of dollars. William Rogers was one of the agents selected by the Indians to represent them at Washington City. After a day's transaction with the officers at Washington, he went to his room, locked the door, looked over what had been done, and saw that he had four hundred dollars too much. Though the door was locked, the 'Old Boy' was there and told him that nobody would know it. His reply was: 'William Rogers knows it.' The next day he went back and the officers of the treasury corrected the mistake. If it had been thousands of dollars, it would have been the same with William Rogers.

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[50] *Ibid.*

[51] *Ibid.* See *Appendix C* for names of children of William and Louisa Reude Rogers.

[52] Letters written by Bob and Will Rogers during the War Between the States, unpublished family collection.

[53] William J. Cotter, *My Autobiography* (Nashville, Tenn.: Methodist Publishing House, 1917), p. 109.

Major Richard D. Winn, who attended the Lawrenceville Academy with the older Rogers boys, wrote briefly of him: "William Rogers was a great man; great in manly proportion — he was six feet, two or three inches high; great in moral rectitude — for a better, more conscientious man I have never known; great in intellect and in mental capacity; and, but for his innate modesty, would have been a star of the first magnitude in both Church and State.[54]

Around 1840 Rogers built a new home at Chattahoochee among a grove of large oak trees, calling it Oakland. Earlier he had hopes of moving to the West and perhaps settling near his brother, Joseph, who had gone on to the Neutral Territory in eastern Kansas in 1837. In a letter to Louisa Ruede written the previous year, he expressed a wish that the time would soon come "when the conflicting parties amongst the Cherokees will be so far reconciled as to admit of my going to their country." [55]

But that day was never realized for William Rogers — the Cherokee statesman who had fought desperately, and almost forfeited his life, to keep his people from being trampled under the heels of unscrupulous politicians and fortune-hunters. On April 12, 1870, he died at his beloved Oakland, then in Milton County, Georgia. The inscription on his tombstone in the family cemetery reads: "*By faith and prayer he lived / And in perfect peace he died.*"

At the time of his death he had been a Methodist minister for more than twenty years. Three men — Colonel Hiram P. Bell, Rev. William S. "Buck" Williams, and Samuel Brown — were appointed from Mount Zion Church to draft a tribute in his memory, which reads in part: [56]

After three years of suffering. . .he died at his home surrounded by his family and a number of friends in great peace on the 12th inst. . A Prince of Israel has fallen. A noble heart has ceased to beat forever. The light of a great

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[54] Major Winn, *op. cit.*

[55] William Rogers to Louisa Ruede, *loc. cit.*

[56] Mount Zion Church Minutes, "Resolution in Relation of the Death of Rev. William Rogers."

mind is extinguished from the earth. His counsel of wisdom are withdrawn from the church of which he was a member and an ornament. The state has lost a useful and upright citizen; the social organization, a refined, cultured and genial spirit; the charmed circle of home, the ministrations of his patriarchal priesthood. The world has lost the power of a man of faith and prayer. . .He was for years a local preacher but he sought to teach by example rather than precept. He was a delegate elect to this meeting at the time of his death. How we miss his manly form, his sage advice, the communion of his gentle spirit. The distinguishing religious characteristics of our deceased friend and brother were deep humility of spirit, unwavering fidelity to duty, a present, living, active faith. . .an ardent devotion in prayer, and an entire devotion of his will to the Divine Will. Brave as Caesar, he was modest as a maiden. Upright in his transactions with men, he drew nigh with a pure heart in full assurance of faith in his communion with God. . .Full of charity, he forgave the faults of all but himself. Delicate in his sensibilities, ardent in his attachments, faithful in his friendships, "His life was gentle, and the elements so mixed in him that nature might stand up and say to all the world that this was a man."

. . .Perfectly conscious of approaching death, he noticed each change with special attention. His great mind was unclouded as the night of the grave distilled its death dews upon his brow. He delivered his dying message to his family one by one, and when asked if all was well, replied, "Yes. . .My departure is a happy one," and thus he passed away "Like one who gathers the drapery of his couch about him and lies down to pleasant dreams."

Lovely Rogers, living in California, wrote a brief but poignant memorial which aptly summarized his brother's life and service. Receiving news of William's death, he wrote (letter owned by Mrs. Ruth Rogers Pickens, Lilburn, Georgia) to Augustua L. Rogers: "During my past life I have known many men, but I have never known but one William Rogers. Take him altogether, he was the best specimen of humanity I have ever seen." [57]

APPENDIX A

John and Sarah raised twelve children — nine sons and three daughters — each of whom married and, with one exception, had issue:

1. *Dr. Robert R. Rogers* (June 4, 1804-1876) belonged to the Treaty Party and signed the Treaty of New Echota in 1835. A respected physician and Methodist minister, Dr. Rogers was a member of the North Georgia Conference for a while and at one time worked among the Creek Indians as a Missionary. Presumably, he is buried in an unmarked grave in the Rogers-Bell Cemetery at Sheltonville.

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[57] Lovely Rogers to Augustus Rogers, 1870 (exact date missing). Letter owned by Mrs. Ruth Rogers Pickens, Lilburn, Georgia.

ROGERS FAMILY CEMETERY
SHELTONVILLE COMMUNITY, GEORGIA

John and Sarah Cordery Rogers, William Rogers, Albina (Rogers) Bell and other members of the family are buried in this cemetery, near the old William Rogers home in the Sheltonville Community.

2. *William Rogers* (December 16, 1805 - April 12, 1870), eminent Cherokee statesman and influential member of the Treaty Party.

3. *Johnson K. Rogers* (April 23, 1808 - 1869), Cherokee representative in Washington for thirty years.

4. *Joseph Rogers* (May 23, 1810 - 1845), left his farm in lower Forsyth County (later Milton County) in 1837 and settled in the West in the Neutral Territory.

5. *Lovely Rogers* (Nov. 28, 1812 - d. after 1887), went to California during the 1849 Goldrush and never returned to Georgia.

6. *Mary Rogers* (September 27, 1814) Married to Nicholas Byers ("Nic") McNair, brother of William's wife, Mary Vann McNair, and went West in the Cherokee Removal. The family lived in McMinn County, Tennessee when the Cherokee census of 1835 was enumerated.

7. *Jackson Rogers* (October 12, 1816 - May 14, 1899) married February 7, 1844, in Forsyth County to Sarah G. Blackburn, daughter of Lewis Blackburn and Mary (Daniel) Buffington (widow of Thomas Buffington). He moved to Whitfield County, Georgia, after the War where he served one term in the Legislature, and later went West.

8. *Cynthia Rogers* (February 17, 1820 - April 5, 1905), married January 30, 1845, in Forsyth County to John Lowe (1814-1883), who is buried in the Rogers-Bell Family cemetery. Cynthia was living with children in Duluth at the time of her death and is buried there in the city cemetery. (One of her daughters, Julia Lowe, received a letter from Lovely Rogers in California, 1872 - See Footnote 7)

9. *Ann Chapel* - "*Annie*" (August 20, 1822) married April 3, 1840, in Forsyth County to John Wilson Lenoir, and eventually moved to the Indian Territory.

10. *Colonel Henry Curtis Rogers* (November 17, 1824 - 1896) married December 28, 1847, in Forsyth County to Louisa Jane Blackburn (1823 - November 30, 1882), daughter of Lewis Blackburn and Mary Daniel and the widow of Alfred R. Thompson. Colonel Rogers served as aide-de-camp under Governor Joseph Brown during the War Between the States. In the 1880's, following the death of Louisa, he moved to Oklahoma Territory, and is buried in Chelsea in the same cemetery with Clement Vann Rogers, one of his kinsmen.

11. *George Waters Rogers* (March 31, 1827), second postmaster at Sheltonville, was killed in Confederate service in the West. He was named after George Morgan Waters, a wealthy slaveholder of Cherokee descent who lived in Gwinnett and Bryan Counties, Georgia.

12. *John Pendergrass Rogers* (October 6, 1831) married first to Pattie Martha Crawford in Forsyth County on November 18, 1857. He moved to Arkansas after the War and married, secondly, to Mary Eugenia Eliza (Garland) Spencer, widow and a member of the Choctaw Nation.

Out of the twelve Rogers children only three Robert, William and Cynthia, died in their native Georgia hills.

APPENDIX B

Mary Vann (McNair Rogers was born in 1805, the third of six children of David and Delilah (Vann) McNair. Mary married first to Rev. Richard Clement Neely, a young Methodist preacher, but was soon widowed. She remarried to William Rogers on November 23, 1828. William and Mary were the parents of four children, as follows:

1. *Albina McNair Rogers* (July 2, 1830 - June 28, 1899) married on February 16, 1846, to Anderson Smith Bell (June 14, 1822 - March 15, 1910) son of Joseph Scott Bell and Rachael Phinazee of Jackson County, Georgia. Both are buried in the Rogers-Bell Cemetery in the Sheltonville Community.

2. *Henry S. Rogers* (February 25, 1833 - February 8, 1859) married Martha McNair, his first-cousin.

3. *David McNair Rogers* (August 17, 1835 - died in Adair, Oklahoma) married Mary J. Strickland in Forsyth County on February 3, 1856.

4. *Robert Nicholas "Bob" Rogers* (October 2, 1838 - September 25, 1909) married May 24, 1866, in Forsyth County to Sarah Elizabeth Jones (October 27, 1844 - October 23, 1929), daughter of Gilford W. Jones and Lavinia Young Bell. He enlisted in Company E, Georgia Infantry and was elected Captain of the company in 1864. Both are buried in the Rogers-Bell Cemetery.

APPENDIX C

Six children were born to William and Louisa Ruede Rogers, as follows:

1. *Mary Amelia Rogers,* born April 2, 1841, died August 12, 1874; she married October 8, 1868, to James Douglas in Forsyth County.

2. *William Edward [Will] Rogers,* born April 9, 1842, died October 13, 1864; never married. He served in Company E, 14th Regiment of Georgia Infantry with his half brother, Bob. He was killed in action on Willeo Creek in Cobb County, Georgia. His father wrote his epitaph in the family Testament: "A better boy never lived or died."

3. *John J. Rogers,* born June 25, 1843, died July 31, 1851.

4. *Sarah Louisa "Sallie" Rogers,* born July 1, 1845; she married April 14, 1864 in Forsyth County to Joseph Leonidas Moore.

5. *Elizabeth Seiler Rogers,* born October 1, 1846, died October 3, 1852.

6. *Augustus Lovely Rogers,* born August 8, 1849, died July 10, 1932. He married first to Maggie Hallman of Cumming and, second, to Julia Ann Petree of Woodstock, Georgia. Augustus Rogers is buried at Duluth Georgia, in the city cemetery.

HENRY C. HITCH AND HIS TIMES

By Roy P. Stewart *

The high plains country has a life all its own. Nature has been both kind and cruel to it, at times even capricious, while the soil into which its people are anchored has nurtured folk just a little bit different in some ways than their fellow Oklahomans.

The Panhandle country is changed in many ways since it was called "No Man's Land," for it has benefitted from rapid advances in agricultural and livestock technology, some industry, and all the comforts of personal living that offset periodic blasts of winter winds and the searing, listless days of late summer.

Into the legally unclaimed country in 1884, a mother with her infant son returned to a ranch holding along Coldwater Creek, twelve miles southeast of where Guymon, in Texas County, now stands as the middle of three counties created at statehood, twenty-three years later. There were no doctors there then. She had been driven 140 miles by buckboard to Dodge City, Kansas, to take a train to Springfield, Missouri, to be with her mother at the time of her third child's birth.

The child, Henry Charles Hitch, Senior, grew up on the Plains, his character built by hard working, religious parents, James Kerrick Hitch and Mary Westmoreland Hitch. His ranching knowledge and business acumen developed from age nine, and status of a full hand on the range at fourteen. His love for the land and a feeling of responsibility for its care was so nurtured that he could pass it on to two more generations. He

*Roy P. Stewart is the author of *The Country Boy Horn Book* (1958), and is well known for his column, "The Country Boy" which appeared in *The Oklahoman* for many years. The material used for this article appearing in *The Chronicles* came from personal interviews with Henry C. Hitch and his family. Mr. Stewart's sources also included the "Oklahoma Living Legends Library"; notes written periodically by Hitch himself; Hitch family records; and other historical and personal data relating to the Oklahoma Panhandle. — Ed.

was a product of his family background and of his era in time. Henry Hitch was very close to his father and later he was the same with his own son. Henry left much of the family history for James Hitch's descendants through many pencilled or dictated notes.

In Henry Hitch's eighty years before his death in 1967, his life covered only a short period in Time, yet his life spanned much of what was crude in pioneer life over until today when computers decide cattle feeding rations and pump water from the shallow subsurface. This water is the most precious gift of the Permian basin for it turns the semi-arid high Plains to living green.

Drouth and depressed markets, aided by near financial panics in the eastern money marts, broke Henry Hitch twice. Once he bought yearling steers for $100 a head and held them three years, waiting for a market, only to sell them for $65. "And I was glad to get that too," he said later.

Henry was a man of the Plains, a term that became a title of respect given by early residents of this region. The country developed him and he aided much in the Panhandle's development just as his father and others of the two parental families had done on the frontier. From his quiet, reserved nature, outsiders would never have known the depth of his feeling for the land that has passed so easily to his children and grandchildren.

His formal education was high school with a short time at a business school. But his cultural attainment came from reading that rated him at post-college level. He had a book collector's zeal for Lincoln stories, for Western Americana, for history and economics. He acquired a fine library over the years and read every volume studiously. From reading of the Far North, he had dreams of visiting there and in the later part of his life, he traveled in Alaska several times. He was drawn to the works of imaginative people, illustrated by a verse that has the simplicity of ancient Chinese style, from which he liked to quote:

Beyond the butternut, beyond the maple;
Beyond the white pine and the red —
Beyond even the white and yellow birches
There lies a land, and in that land
The shadows fall crimson across the snow.

His biblical knowledge and religious nature found somewhere a companion passage to Panhandle range life as he knew it, which he sent to the writer in 1966:

Since the days when Lot and Abram
Split the Jordan range in halves,
Just to fix it so their punchers wouldn't fight.
There has been a test of battle
'Mongst the men who handle cattle,
And the warmth of Laban's words
When he missed his speckled herds,
Still are useful as a language on the range.

The story of the Hitch family is the story of a most interesting period in America and certainly of our region. Overall it is a success story, with elements that are a bit different from that of some families, although in the High Plains there are others who came through difficult years when only the hardy and determined survived.

The ancesters of the Hitch family came to America in the 18th Century, settling in Maryland and Virginia. The Panhandle Hitches descend from Elias Hitch, who was born in Blount County, Tennessee, in 1783. He married Nancy Kerrick in 1812. James K. Hitch, Henry's father, was born in Tennessee in 1856. By 1875, following the strenuous times of post-war reconstruction, affairs of the family were in the hard scrabble stage.

James, at 19, felt the lure of moving west like so many others in his day. An aunt, who had friends in Missouri, advised him to go west to find work. From the family savings in an earthen pot, James took $10 in coins. Using some of the money for transportation and some for food, James went as far as he could toward Missouri. When his money ran out he worked at anything available for a few days. He reached Springfield and got a job as a helper in a wagon factory.

When Henry Westmoreland, a prosperous farmer, came around looking for a willing worker, James' employer

(Photo from Hitch Family Collection)

MR. AND MRS. JAMES K. HITCH

Early photograph of the parents of Henry Hitch, with two of their children.

recommended him and Westmoreland hired the young man. Perhaps he was not surprised four years later, in early 1879, when his daughter, Mary, and James were married, because by then the young man was accepted and was more than a hired hand.

A year later with his own savings and with a loan from Westmoreland, James was made a partner in an enterprise typical of the times. With his father-in-law and his son, William Westmoreland, James entered a partnership to trail some 1,000 cows, mostly Durham, to open range in Western Kansas to begin a new life. Kansas in 1879 was slowly becoming settled but its herd laws were not yet perfected as they later were. Barbed wire was still little more than a target of more than 100 patent infringement suits back east. The trio with some help trailed the herd of cattle west and stopped for a time near Medicine Lodge. Later, they moved the cattle on west to Meade County on Crooked Creek, then still later to Seward County on the Dry Cimarron some miles northwest of Liberal. That became the initial rangeland.

In 1884, five years later, James Hitch moved on down to the Coldwater in what is now Texas County, Oklahoma, in whose broad expanse of 1,309,680 acres there are even in 1972 less than eight persons per square mile. There was no private ownership. There was no law. The first man took what land he found without squatters along streams, not only for the water and wood, but because on the benches of streams there was lush grass. There was an unwritten law that you could claim grass half-way to the next water. Sparser grass on uplands was almost ignored. To discourage others, James built a few one-room soddies in the areas, using strips of native grass sod, 12 inches thick, 12 inches wide and 1-1/2 feet long, for the walls. Planks were bent over a low ridge pole, with just enough fall to drain with 2 by 4 inch scantling at the edge to hold back more layers of sod for the roof. A paste of gypsum, pounded out from that mineral easily available in the hills, was used to rough plaster the inside of the house. There was no problem of framing windows. There were not any. There was a 50-foot well, dug by hand. The two-room soddy was thus built as a home for the family, James and Mary with the children, Della, Josephine and the baby, Henry (George to come along a bit later).

"In 1888, my mother wrote to the Methodist Mission Board," Henry observed years later, holding a copy of her letter." She asked for help in getting a minister, writing that we lived 140 miles from the railroad and needed some spiritual help. The next year a young man answered that call and became a circuit rider. The first service for the area was in our house. We were the first children baptized. The preacher lived with us."

James Hitch cut hackberry trees along the creek to make cattle pens, tying the rails with thongs of wet rawhide, which became steel tight as they dried. Until he became one of the first to raise alfalfa along creek bottoms, the cattle had nothing but grass and, in winter, native hay, which the young Henry got five cents a day for stomping down on the wagon's hay rack, and atop the stack where it was piled near a corral.

When the railroad pushed on and Liberal became the end of the track about fifty miles away, James traded there for foodstuffs and other supplies. He did not arrive with an empty wagon. There were piles of buffalo bones on the prairie where hundreds had been slaughtered for their hides. The bones had a value of $5.00 to $6.00 a ton back east where they were made into fertilizer. James Hitch stocked his No Man's Land range primarily with Texas and Mexican cattle, typical Longhorns, at $7 each for steers and $15 each for yearling heifers in times of drouth. He bred up the cow progeny by using purebred Hereford bulls.

The country was becoming more "civilized." A school was started on the Hitch ranch, which soon covered about seven square miles, halfway to the Beaver from Coldwater Creek. An abandoned sod claim shack was used first, then a 12 by 14 foot shack that Harry Reese had left, as a subscription school. Watts Adams' claim shack was the next one, more nearly equal distance for the few families that used it for several years until 1895. Two winters later, Mrs. Hitch took her children to Liberal for school

A few "towns" were started, usually a general store and post office, in the region. One was Lavrock, north of the Beaver.

Another, some three miles below Hitch ranch headquarters on the Coldwater, was Eubank, the second of the two places. C. A. Booth took over the Eubank buildings and served as postmaster here until Guymon was established. Mail for the area went from Liberal to Hardesty three times a week, first carried by a man named Finch in a two-wheeled cart and later by an old cowboy, Allen Walker. From Hardesty the mail was taken to Eubank. Later, the mail was taken to Roy, three miles upstream from the Hitch home. Roy was a station operated by T. J. Creel until 1896. Mrs. Charles Westmoreland afterward ran this post office for a spell and so did Mrs. James Hitch.

Since they had driven their herds of three-year-old steers first to Dodge City and then the shorter distance to Liberal, Kansas, for several years, James Hitch and his neighbors were glad to see the Rock Island extend rails seven miles from Liberal to Old Tyrone, on the south side of the Kansas line. Kansans were fretful about "tick fever." Only cattle were shipped over this branch railway line.

With no place to hold cattle at Tyrone, the railroad had a 70-foot well dug at Shade's Well, about eight miles farther on southwest in the Panhandle. A new-fangled windmill was erected here to pump water into wooden troughs for the separate herds held here feeding on grass while waiting for shipment. Later a steam pump — wood fired by hustling Zack Cain — was put up at the well and some wood storage tanks were built to supply enough water for waiting herds, some of them numbering at times more than 3,000 head of cattle.

There was no communication with Liberal north in Kansas, so a horseman would ride out to Shade's Well to give an approximate time of arrival at Tyrone for a 12 to 15 stock train of cars.

The next shipment in line by order of arrival would water in the evening and head for Tyrone, reaching there about dawn. The cattle were shoved into loading chutes through a large inverted "V" fence to cars that the puffing engine dragged up opposite to the chute.

People drove out from Liberal to see the fun. The herds had been held quiet so most of the cattle were easy to work. Some of them had other ideas, and it took good men and good horses to load them without the use of crowding pens. An occasional need for roping and a few pitching horses added to the spectator show.

No matter how hard it was, Henry enjoyed working every moment with the cattle during the shipment, standing his turn on night guard — rain soaked or not. When a young man, Henry rode bucking broncos and entered roping contests at rodeos, although he said his brother, George, excelled him at roping. Henry never lost his interest and pleasure in watching rodeos, and never missed one at Guymon, especially on Pioneer Day. Because of his interest in that event and financial support for the rodeo grounds, a committee suggested the location be named the Henry Hitch Pioneer Stadium.

James Hitch, the father, like many others, was almost wiped out in the bad winter of 1886-87. An April blizzard — a common time for such disasters in the High Plains — nipped his buildup in 1895. Both times the only thing that saved the ranchers was skinning the cattle for hides. Hides had a far greater proportion of value contrasted to the live beast, than they do now; it was hard, stinking work, but the alternative was giving up.

Attracted by opportunities in the new country, Charles Hitch, a brother of James, had come out from Tennessee. He and James got land across the line in Texas, near where Hitchland is now, and started a large spread, using windmills to get stock water. With the Westmorelands, James also was still active in Kansas.

In early winter of 1898, James, with his wife's people and a son-in-law, Brice Keating, and Brice's brother, Burt, fenced about fifty sections of land in Kansas, northwest, west, and southwest of Liberal. On it they could run about 2,500 head. This was in addition to James' herds in the panhandles of Texas and Oklahoma. A spring blizzard cut these inventories.

Some of this land had been proven up as claims. Much of it

was abandoned. Some of the claims were available by tax titles or from mortgage foreclosures. By 1901, James Hitch and his associates divided up according to their investment — large enough for those times at $25 a quarter section — a pittance in cost today. Brice took some 11 sections on the southwest, James about 25 sections in the center, and Burt the rest on the northeast. James built a dugout on his land. He soon bought an old hotel building at Farwell, Texas, the last building there; tore it down and moved the material to the Coldwater ranch to build a 40 by 98 foot barn, with a hip roof and hay mow. This barn was used for 40 years.

James also bought an old office building at Hugoton, across the Kansas line, for $75, tore it down with the help of Jim Byerly, moved the findings down to the Coldwater, and built the first school, other than the old claim shacks. He also built the first permanent parsonage for a Methodist minister, Reverend D. J. M. Jones, a four-room stone house on the Coldwater. James Hitch earlier had built a rock house with walls two feet thick. Bachelor Louis Williamson mixed mud mortar — literally mud — to hold together the stones that Bill George (a cousin from Tennessee) cut out of slopes on nearby hills. The house nestled against a protective bluff that ran westward from the creek. The lumber used for framing, studding, beams, rafters and floor cost $600. The total cost was $1,800 for the original 20 by 40 foot, two-story dwelling, as James Hitch was careful to note in his ledger. It was later sheltered by cottonwoods, grown from seedlings taken along the creek. The trees survived only because Mary Hitch watered them in dry seasons with water she had drawn by windlass from the well.

The coming of territorial days in 1890 caused changes in land ownership. At this time, the Panhandle region belonged to the U.S. government. Under law one could now claim 160 acres in Oklahoma Territory (as James Hitch did around his headquarters), put up $14.75 and bet five years of your life against the government's land that you could stay there against all the whims of nature, or man-madedisasters. Or, one could live the claim eighteen months, then buy it for $1.25 per acre. Money was scarce so most folks found it easier to prove up

(Photo from Hitch Family Collection)

HOME BUILT BY JAMES K. HITCH ON THE COLDWATER

Later this was the home of Henry Hitch. It is now the home of Paul Hitch, son of Henry C. Hitch, Jr.

a claim if they could stick it out. If cash could be raised elsewhere, one could buy claim relinquishments, or acquire deserted land by paying the taxes due on it.

Kansas had a different situation where a person would get three quarter sections. One was a "tree claim," on which a claimant had to set out a specified number of trees on the treeless plain, and make them survive a certain time. Another was a "preemption claim" on 160 acres still unclaimed. The third was acquired by living on the claim, and proving it up in a period of five years.

Texas had still a different plan. Since Texas had come into the Union as a sovereign state, the U.S. government did not own any of that vast region. At this time in Texas history, a person could file on four sections (2,560 acres) of school land, live on it for three years, then buy it for $1.25 an acre on a 40 year note for 3% interest. James and Charles Hitch took advantage of this and bought some relinquishments in Texas too. They wound up at one time with about 40 sections of Texas land. In the early 1900's, cattle were so cheap, and money so scarce, that James Hitch and his associates sold some land for from $1 to $2 per acre, then used that money to fence and cross-fence the rest. It was in Texas that James Hitch started farming wheat with up to 1,000 acres under cultivation.

Henry Hitch enlarged his wheat-growing operation many times over, one year planting 10,000 acres from which harvested wheat had to be piled on the ground in a pile one-quarter of a mile long and six feet high. Cattle ranching and wheat farming occupied his major attention until middle life when he began making investments in stocks. His son, H. C., Jr., finished college and joined the ranch operations, taking over a great part of the active supervision, and Henry now had more time to devote to study and trading in the stock market. He built up a large portfolio in which there was never any stock in liquor or tobacco companies.

When the railroad came to Guymon in 1901, a wave of settlers came in through the lure of a homestead, although the most tillable lands along creeks were already owned in spots or

held as claims. Most of these people were farmers — "grangers" not cattlemen — and the moldboard plows with which they broke the thin sod in time caused siltation of the streams as well as loose soil which contributed some thirty years later to the "dirty thirties" of dust bowl memory.

Many of the settlers in 1901 did not have work stock and James Hitch loaned them unbroken mules. After one or two years, the mule teams were returned to him, and were saleable work stock. He did lose a few spans of mules sometimes when the dispirited, discouraged families loaded up a rickety wagon and headed back east in double darkness.

It was around 1902 that James Hitch started raising more winter feed for his Coldwater and Kansas ranching operations. Basically still a cattleman, he did not raise wheat until several years after that crop became fairly common, but went to "bundle crops," such as maize, kafir corn and feterita. The heads atop the high stalk were cut off by hand with a corn knife, to be fed whole or ground later as protein feed. The stalks were cut and bundled for winter forage which was hay that saved many cattle from death in the winter.

With his grains, forage, alfalfa and native hay, Hitch reduced the former three-year growth period for steers to two years before shipment to Kansas City, an innovation for the time that became the pattern for family operations over the next two generations. This, then, was the sort of operational atmosphere in which young Henry Hitch grew up. Consider the tender age in which a boy became a man in those days. At seven, Henry tramped hay during cutting time. At age eight, using a tarp for a saddle with rope stirrups, he helped drive 500 steers some 20 miles up Coldwater Creek, and returned home so tired he had to be lifted off his horse. At eleven, he helped his Uncle Charles trail cattle for three days — this time he had a saddle — at a wage of 10 cents a day. His father had said: "If he can make a hand, it's alright."

In 1898, at age fourteen, after James Hitch bought about 1,200 steers near Dodge City, Henry went along as a full cowboy, while George, then eleven, was wrangler for the

remuda. Roy Reser drove the mule team of the Chuck wagon. Herb Wilson and Jake Burton were two other riders from the home ranch. Two temporary cowboys were hired. "It took two days to get to Liberal, where we stayed all night in a wagon yard," Henry said a few years ago. "My brother-in-law, Brice Keating, who married Della, lived there and was going on with us to Cimarron Station near Dodge where the cattle were. Brice had a double interest — Father had promised him and Della a wedding present of 100 steers from this herd."

The trip took two days more before they reached the cattle and another day before they could get possession of them since a Fourth of July holiday intervened. "I saw my first rodeo then," Henry recalled, "although there were only three bucking horses used and one of them didn't pitch as much as some of our working stock did early in the mornings." Later he rode pitching horses, and roped steers in competition himself. The cattle were trailed home. Work of the two boys must have pleased James Hitch because that fall he gave them 30 heifers, then worth $15 each, with which to start their own herds under their own brands.

The next four years were a mixture of some schooling and a lot of work for Henry who said a few years ago:

> I never made a full school term. We shipped cattle in October and November. I was a regular hand by then. It took about a week to gather them. We'd have our own crew, and there were some outside "reps" along to cut out cattle under other brands that had drifted in, just like we did when others had a roundup.
>
> Then we'd need about three days to get them to Tyrone. The first day we'd go about halfway to the Beaver, and bed down. The next day we'd noon at the river. The second day we'd make it about halfway to Shade's Well, and bed down. The next noon, we would water at the well troughs, then pull out a ways to wait for our call to go on to Tyrone, making it at night after giving the cattle a fill of water, and load early in the morning.
>
> We all used from three to four horses a day when trailing cattle, two at least during the day, changing at noon. We might have a circle horse, one that could cover a lot of ground if that was necessary in the daytime, but he didn't have to be too smart. A night horse had to be the most gentle and sure-footed. You didn't want one to fall, and you didn't want one that would fret and cause extra noise.

Most of the time the cattle would be pretty easy to handle, after a day or so on the move, but they could get spooked pretty easy, and then you'd have trouble. That's one reason you tied your night horse to the chuck wagon on the side opposite from where the cattle were bedded down for the night. Any odd noise might get them stirred up.

Mostly there were just our own people but sometimes we had to have some extra hands, including maybe some drifters who were riding the chuck line, because mostly you needed eight riders for anything over 500 head, two riding point up front on each side, then two siding at swing, flank and drag.

That drag was the worst place because you had all the dust they stirred up and most times some weak ones to prod along. That's why even your movie cowboys wear a bandana around their necks — that's to put up over your nose to help breathe on the drag.

The worst times were trying to hold them in a storm. A thunderstorm is bad enough but a blizzard is worse because you can't see and they naturally drift with the wind. That's why we had drift fences — neither end tied to any other fence.

When cattle bunch up, and stay on their feet, they generate some heat that helps all of them, but when they lie down in a storm they may never get up.

You might find a moral in that, somewhere. They don't bunch up to keep each other warm but to keep themselves warm. But I heard that — I'll admit I didn't think it up. I believe it, though. People might learn something from it.

In 1902, James Hitch considered that a "man" coming eighteen years old in December, and particularly Henry, should have some responsibility. So in autumn, James sent Henry and four cowhands to the Kansas ranch to take charge of the 2,500 cattle there.

The pay was $16 a month and, as was the custom those days, you provided your own bedding and saddle. The foreman also seemed to be selected for cook — at least the way James Hitch figured it — because no other cook eas employed. So Henry did that, too, for the five of them, which meant that his day began about 3:30 a.m., and lasted until dark — plus getting supper. He said later he never got tired but did regret not being able to complete each day's allotted work. He read by lamplight for one sort of entertainment pursued all his life.

"We had about a dozen hens and got an average of six eggs a day." Henry remembered. "That didn't always divide equally. The other fellows sometimes would play poker for

eggs. One might have several of them and others none, but we tried to divide them right."

There was no wood available near the dugout so the main fuel was one common to all the High Plains in those days — dry cow chips. There was a bin nearby which James Hitch had built earlier, about 20 feet square and 6 feet high, that would be filled with chips in autumn for winter use.

The first year on the Kansas ranch Henry Hitch put some cattle back on the pasture burned out two years before. The next year, 1903 — in February — there was a 72-hour snow — not a blizzard — that left more than 3 feet of snow on the ground in freezing temperature. Fortunately some 1,200 head had been moved south earlier to winter so those remaining had a death loss of only around 100, Henry recalled. That meant skinning to save the hides.

They had been feeding some hay and corn chops but getting it to cattle was a problem. By putting four mules on a wagon, that could flounder out a trail, and enticing the lead cattle with some feed, they were able to move them about four miles to where a neighbor had some bundle feed to sell.

For six years, time was something the young ranch manager had little of, when one considers hours needed to handle the cattle through winter, through calving and later working the calves, fence riding and some feed raising.

Years later Henry recalled that coyote songs at night on the Kansas place seemed to have a more lonesome pitch than those around the home place down on the Coldwater. "Maybe it was because I was more lonesome," he said. "I could talk with the other fellows but I didn't want to gamble, and there was little else to do but play some sort of games a spell at night. So I just read things — and was a little homesick.

"It didn't exactly apply," he said, "but something I read stuck with me about wolves. We didn't see many of them but there were many coyotes around. I sort of liked this verse though . . .

(Photo from Hitch Family Collection)

CHRISTINE AND HENRY C. HITCH

Photo taken in 1910, the year of their marriage (July 5).

Born to be a cattle killer, thief and
general all around pest,
Still I hate to kill you, partner,
cause you're a part of our old west.

You and me are sort of brothers with our back
against the wall,
In an act that's almost over with the
curtain 'bout to fall.

Despite all the work on the ranch there were odd times when a fellow could do something besides handle cattle. Henry acquired a couple of grey hounds and chased coyotes, horseback of course, and finally had nine of them represented by pelts stretched out to dry with the flesh scraped off. He softened the tawny, hair-covered leather, then had it tanned and made into a laprobe, a popular thing in those days where buggies were the main mode of transportation, replacing buffalo robes that were gradually disappearing.

This was a pretty good thing, too, because about that time he met Christine Walker at a "literary," a combination school-community gathering where debates were held, pieces spoken and songs sung. Christine was teaching at Pleasant valley, near Liberal, where her mother had a claim. She was born in Sun City, near Medicine Lodge (Kansas), in 1890. Her father, Thomas Walker, had come out of Kentucky with his parents, like so many others in years after the Civil War, looking for a better chance, although he was but fifteen at the time. From Texas, he went up the Chisholm Trail through Red River Station twice. In Kansas, he hunted buffalo for the hides and tongues (Christine still has the gun he used), and then went to farming and horse raising.

In her youth Christine, with her mother and relatives, lived in Colorado where she made the highest county-grade average before securing a teacher's certificate after high school graduation. It has been a family joke that Christine, when Henry met her, was teaching in a "chicken house." Actually that was true but not quite as it sounds.

Pleasant Valley was fourteen miles northwest of Liberal. Provision was made for some buildings but not enough for the

students who came in. So, a new 14 by 28 foot structure, intended as a chicken house, was used to house from 16 to 18 kids, all grades, whom Christine taught for a salary of $45 a month. Henry went a-courting, driving Ginger Pop and Gooseneck to a buggy with the coyote laprobe to keep off chill winds in winter. This went on for two years. Meanwhile, Christine went that summer to the Emporia Normal School to advance her education, and teaching certificate. She took a job at Isabel, northwest of Medicine Lodge, for two years. She was engaged to Henry all the time, and earning slightly more money than at Pleasant Valley.

Henry had not been idle about building up his own fortunes. His father raised his salary to $25 a month because the ranch was doing well. Henry filed on a quarter-section and proved it easily enough during his six years in Kansas, before returning to the Coldwater, in 1908, where he assumed most of the managership. James Hitch then was living in Guymon but still active.

In 1910, Henry and Christine were married. Henry rode "Old Dewey," a bay horse named after the Admiral, into Guymon to take the train to Liberal. He went to his sister Della's home, then next day rented a surrey from the livery stable and went after Christine, her mother and sister, Irma, for the wedding. The young couple went to Colorado for a honeymoon, visiting relatives, but not enjoying a side trip to Marble, very much, since Henry had invested a $3,000 loan in a quarry outfit there and lost it.

It was a working life into which the new bride came. There were the ranch hands to feed, normally 5 in the winter and 12 to 15 in the summer — more during wheat harvest. There were odd mealtimes in the winter because the cattle came first.

There was a wood-burning stove. In winter beef halves or quarters were sheet wrapped and hung outside to freeze because there was no refrigeration. In summer the meat was chicken, or side bacon and ham put down into barrels in a salt cure. Sometimes there was fish taken from the creek (not yet silted) by cork line fishing or seining which was a Sunday afternoon sport.

The dry stores came in large sizes, usually 100 pounds, such as beans and potatoes and flour that had to be hung in the storm cellar on a wire-suspended shelf to keep rodents away. Honey was bought in 60-pound cans but in season there were wild sand plums and grapes to be picked, cooked and canned. Stirring a 20-gallon kettle of plum butter could get tiresome. But that was part of life for a woman.

"There was no bridge on the Coldwater, where the main freight road from Guymon to Spearman, Texas, went, and six and eight head teams on the wagons," Mrs. Hitch recalled. "When there was high water, people would have to wait to cross, and they came to the house. It was always open to them, for food and shelter. The women, if there were any, would stay in the house, on pallets if necessary, while men would bed down in the barn."

There was a way that salt cured bacon could be made more appetizing, Mrs. Hitch remembers. "You would soak it in soda water, then dip it in egg batter, roll it in cracker crumbs, and fry it," she said. "We had an apple orchard at the ranch, which helped, because the fruit, except plums and grapes in summer, was dried, but we had a problem of keeping the trees alive some years. That was true also of cedars, which we had to keep going, just like Henry's mother did the cottonwoods before."

The winters were hard on people, just as they were on livestock. Cattle came first. They had to be gotten up on their feet, if downed because of weakness, and early spring calves had to be especially cared for. Use of cottonseed cake in winter, started several years before, helped to keep the cows in good shape. There were times when it was difficult to get to the cattle because of storms. Hunting strays was necessary not only for the humane reasons but for the economics involved.

"I'll never forget some of those winters," Christine Hitch said. "That of 1911-12 was very bad, when we were relatively new, starting out with the responsibilities. Many cattle died and they had to be skinned to save the hides. It was bad — some of them got pretty rank — but an old method was used to lessen that. Wild sage was crushed and rubbed under one's nose to help diminish the smell."

She had pleasure in looking at the native flowers, and related:

> There was a type of gallardia, a bronze plant with a yellow and black center that looks like a cultivated plant. (Whole slopes were covered with them between the Henry and George Hitch homes — six miles apart.)
>
> There were clumps of white marguerites and that prolific gray-green sage. There were sunflowers that seemed to be different by years. There seemed to be a giant type every two years. Yucca cactus has a beautiful flowering bloom — the soapweek bell-like flower — and winecups on a creeping vine that also was called Indian root. These roots tasted like parsnips.
>
> Even the Russian thistle — the tumbleweed — had its good points. It has a nice bloom. In drouth years cattle would eat it early in its growth. When it dries out and blows around it can cause much trouble, piling up in fence rows to catch drifting soil, or snow, but it does have uses.
>
> For that matter, the loco weed had a purple fuchsia flower, as if to correct some of the trouble it could cause in very dry years, which were the only times horses would eat it, with bad results. There were yellow flowers that made carpets on the slopes whose botanical name I never knew, but they were pretty, in what could have been a bleak landscape.

Seeing beauty in nature around her, in contrast to overtones of ugliness that people disappointed in the land saw, was no casual trait of Christine Hitch. She was rather artistic herself. Soon after establishing her home on the Coldwater, she wanted to buy Henry a Christmas present — a special one — a tie stickpin with a small sapphire in it. That was his birthstone.

So she made some velvet cushion covers to sell for $2.50. This took about all the free time she could find amid day and evening household chores. But the decorated covers paid for the stickpin — which remains in the family.

Oil painting became quite the thing around Guymon in the decade after 1910. Mrs. Hitch would drive the twelve miles into Guymon in a buggy to take art lessons from a Mrs. Moore. Marjorie was born May 22, 1911, and afterward accompanied her mother to town.

Neighbors were from 5 to 7 miles away, including Henry's brother, George, and his Uncle Charles Hitch, and the families were close in spirit and affection if not in distance. Mrs. Hitch continued her reminiscences:

It is a bit odd that we enjoyed "camping out" together when we could. By today's standards, we were "camping out" at home. We had wood-burning stoves, water to carry if you needed it because gravity flow off the hill from a windmill tank was only a trickle. There was an outdoor toilet. We used kerosene lamps before the first windchargers were developed to provide electricity through storage batteries.

We would get together and go down by Hitchland and live in the open a few days. I remember setting some sourdough for biscuits to rise in a crock and have it bubble over and cause quite a mess on one trip.

In winter we'd play games and go to socials. There would be some square dancing and a few people — who might know an Irish jig or something — would perform, but some of the older people rather frowned on such goings on.

Mrs. Hitch soon found there was a profit potential in her oil painting. She used terrain with which she was so familiar for background with animals in the foreground. A cattle painting was sold to a Kansas banker in 1912 for $250 — which was more cash than some of the ranch operations produced — long enough for anyone to hold — at times.

In 1912, Henry went to Colorado and bought 300 steers at $41 a head, with an additional $1 each for delivery. There was a time, also, that he went to El Paso, looking for cheap Mexican cattle. There a friend told him there were some good buys at Phoenix, Arizona, so he took the train to Phoenix.

"Those cattle are at Winslow," he was told on arrival after checking the reported source. To get to Winslow he had to ride back to El Paso, then go north to Albuquerque, then west to Winslow. He did buy 300 yearlings for $33 a head. Since they had to be shipped, he ordered some stock cars and loaded them by himself. Perhaps he was trying to save expense of an extra car for it seems that he overloaded a part of the cars. As a result, when steers got down they could not get up and were in danger of being crippled or killed. So Henry, who had started out riding in the caboose according to custom, had to check the steers and spent the night climbing in and out of cars from the top tailing up the downed cattle. From Texhoma, the herds were trailed about thirty miles to the ranch and there were no losses.

"In those days," Henry said once, "you bought 'irons' of

horses or cattle, meaning brands that had been put on with a running iron or stamp iron, but that description has almost been lost. You could rent a horse for $1 a day most anywhere you went and needed one to check out some cattle, but you had to furnish your own saddle and blanket at that price."

Joyce Hitch was born October 12, 1915, and Henry C. Junior, on April 5, 1918. The son was originally called "Lad" by his father and today is generally known by the name of "Ladd."

When Marjorie was about seven, the Hitches and their neighbors saw the need for more school space than the old claim shack. Henry and George Hitch and Tom Stratton helped get a larger building located a few miles from each and Christine Hitch's sister, Irma, was the first teacher. Marjorie even took her first year of high school work at the one-room country school, going into Guymon periodically for examinations for county credit certification. Later, when districts were made up, the children were taken to town in a hired car, then eventually by bus.

Mrs. Henry Hitch says:

Until World War I, most of the hired men on the ranch were single. Then of course there were few able-bodied single men available, so we had to get married men. To obtain them we had to provide housing. This was automatically turned over to me because Henry had plenty of other things to look after.

We provided housing, basic furniture, curtains and that sort of thing. The employees also received som meat and other items. We had a common garden. There were some fruit trees and wild fruit that could be gathered. Everyone put up a large amount of food in those days.

Most of the employees planted flowers by their houses and in other ways responded by keeping their premises neat and attractive. For a few of them, this might have been better living than they had at the time they were looking for a job. It has been a great pleasure for us to know that most of our key people have been with us from 20 to 30 years.

The three-family activities now for ranch operations, farm operations and cattle feedlots, include 25 houses or mobile homes in 3 locations for employees. The original 8 homes near the ranch headquarters give the cluster of housing the appearance of a small community.

After James Hitch died in 1921, family heirship matters were adjusted so that the Kansas land was taken by other heirs and Henry acquired the Oklahoma property. The Texas land had been sold previously.

With 20,000 acres of grass the ranch was a cow and calf operation until the computer age. There were thousands of acres of farmland that really came to full use later when irrigation became the salvation of the Plains country. There are now 45 deep wells watering 9,000 acres for grain and feedstuffs, some leased but most of it owned.

The Hitch feedlots were the first to use vapor lights at night because cattle, as Henry well knew from his youthful trailing days, like to get up to eat at night — and they are in those lots to eat much and move little.

The Hitch Ranch enterprise is perhaps the largest operation of its type in the Plains region; it is one of the oldest, if not the oldest one-family business operation in modern cattle feeding. The family is financially interested in two other Guymon feedlots with joint capacities in excess of 60,000 head, "Master Feeders" and Texas County Feedlots."

They have other activities, too. The most recent is the creation of Master Commodity, Inc., which has a seat on the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, can trade in live cattle futures for their own account as a hedge against falling fed cattle prices, or for other accounts. Also to buy cash grain and other commodities needed in volume for their own or other feedlots. They use *Cattle Fax* and other timely market information on a ticker service.

There are three separate family corporations. None of them own land — the family personally and collectively owns the land — due to Oklahoma's populist oriented state constitution. The operating corporations can lease land, however, so the farm land is leased for raising cash grain and feedstuffs to be sold the feedlots; the ranch corporation leases grass to run young steers and heifers on and to sell to the feedlots. The feedlots buy cattle from the ranch, feed them out 105 to 120 days, and sell them.

The Hitch feedlots handle only family owned cattle. The other two feedlot operations do custom feeding.

All this is a far point in operational method, although little in the passage of time, since James Hitch first drew up his horse on the knoll along the Coldwater and looked into that beautiful valley. Or when the young Henry, who was to manage the operation through its largest growth and through some of its most trying years, proudly mounted his first personally owned saddle at age 14, pointed his horse north toward the Beaver and must have felt: "Today I am a *Man!*"

And from one who knew him for many years and saw him under varied conditions, including a tour of the Soviet Union and Europe when Henry was 72, one can take it that he was indeed a man.

Henry loved people and they in turn respected and loved him. After his passing hardly a day went by but some friend, or perhaps only an acquaintance, would stop a member of the family to recount something he had said to them, or had done for them, that had been a help.

In his optimistic approach to life he was a living example to his children and other loved ones of all that is best in this world. There was never a time so dark, or a business loss so great, in which he could not find something of a positive nature. His faith, tenacity, steadfastness to a cause and innate business ability, carried him through depressions and disastrous reversals that would have caused a man of less stature to give up.Inventory value is little less than fantastic in terms of today — much less James Hitch's mule power days.

INDIAN TERRITORY FORTS: CHARNEL HOUSES OF THE FRONTIER, 1839-1865

By Philip A. and Beatrice J. Kalisch *

Troops stationed at forts in Oklahoma during the sixteen year period 1839 to 1855 were, on the whole, a sickly lot, according to careful statistics compiled by the Surgeon General's Office of the War Department. The minute data revealed in the tables assembled upon receipt of the quarterly reports of each post surgeon furnish an insight into the level of physical well-being that the soldiers enjoyed and clearly reveal the anything but glamorous character of frontier duty in the pre-Civil War Army.

The gathering and compilation of these statistics was instigated by Joseph Lovell (1788-1836), Surgeon General of the United States Army from 1818 to 1836. Unaware of the microbial causes of diseases, Lovell based his rationale for the records along the lines of the then current concept of the injurious effects of certain climates and specific conditions of the atmosphere. Beginning in 1818 surgeons were required to keep meteorological records at their posts and investigate the relation of disease incidence to climate and weather. Lovell also required the submission of quarterly reports showing the sickness and mortality at each military post. [1]

In 1840, the first rather crude compilation of this data was published, embracing the twenty year period of 1819 to 1839. The second collection covering the years January 1839 to January 1855 appeared in 1856, and was the result of each post surgeon's report on the medical topography of his station. They were to describe the geographical position of the military post, the surrounding country, the geological formations, its flora, fauna, characteristics of the climate, the nature and causes of

* Dr. Philip A. Kalisch is an assistant professor in the Department of History at University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, Mississippi. Dr. Beatrice J. Kalisch has served as an associate professor in the School of Biomedical Arts and Sciences, at Amarillo College, Amarillo, Texas.

[1] See *Statistical Report on the Sickness and Mortality in the Army of the United States, 1819-1839* (Washington: Jacob Gideon, Jr., 1840), pp. 2-3.

the local diseases, and how these maladies could be traced to general and environmental causes. A uniform tabular statement, modeled after the "Sanitary Report" of the British Army, with specific categories and types of diseases was used throughout the sixteen year period and contributed much to the reliability and comparability of the data. Statistics of troops on marches or engaged in warlike operations were excluded so that the reports would yield solid information regarding the diseases suffered by the soldiers at each of the garrisons. [2]

Fort Smith, established in 1817, just to the west of the border between Arkansas and Indian Territory was the longstanding gateway to the Southwest for explorers and travelers. Another important post, Fort Gibson, was built further up the Arkansas on the Neosho river tributary in 1824. At nearly the same time Fort Towson, about fifty miles west of the Arkansas line and six miles north of the Red river was constructed. Fourteen years later Fort Wayne was located on Spavinaw Creek and was manned by a small detachment from 1838 to 1842. Colonel Zachary Taylor in 1842 established Fort Washita to protect the Chickasaws and Choctaws from raids by southwestern tribes. [3]

Taylor in an 1841 letter to a fellow officer in Washington, D.C., testified that the Oklahoma frontier was not exactly a healthy place and recommended the continuance of forts Smith, Gibson, and Towson along with two or three minor posts "to keep proper order among the lawless villains who congregate on or near the boundaries between different nations" and make the area secure for the more timid. [4] Fort Arbuckle, the last of the forts located in Indian Territory during the 1839-1855 period,

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2 *Statistical Report on the Sickness and Mortality in the Army of the United States, Compiled From the Records of the Surgeon General's Office; Embracing A Period of Sixteen Years, From January, 1839, to January, 1855* (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, 1856), pp. 3-6. Hereafter cited as *Statistical Report on Sickness and Mortality, 1839-1855.*

3 Bearss, Ed and Arrell M. Gibson, *Fort Smith: Little Gibralter on the Arkansas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), p. 222.

4 Letter, Zachary Taylor to Maj. E.A. Hitchcock, U.S.A., Washington City (D.C.), Fort Smith, Arkansas, November 3, 1841. Library of Congress, Zachary Taylor Papers, MSS.

was founded in 1850 to protect overland caravans from attack by the Kiowas and Comanches.[5] In early 1840 there were 1,054 troops stationed at the active posts in Indian Territory including 807 at Fort Gibson, 91 at Fort Towson, 88 at Fort Smith, and 68 at Fort Wayne. However, Secretary of War, John Bell, recommended that at least two regiments or about 2,000 men would constitute a sufficient permanent force on the Southwestern frontier.[6]

"One hundred men in good health, and sound in spirit, are better than a thousand dispirited, dissatisfied invalids, either to give chase or battle to the Indians," announced Surgeon General of the Army, Thomas Lawson in 1840.[7] He insisted that a healthy location for a military force was worth more to the soldiers than a dozen physicians. Lawson recommended to Secretary of War, Joel R. Poinsett, that in locating troops west of Fort Smith where the object was to watch the Indians and protect the frontier settlers, "the first object to be considered was the healthfulness of the position; the second may be facilities of transportation; and the last, the military position, or the defensibilities of the place."[8]

The records reveal that Surgeon Lawson was correct in emphasizing the fact that the environmental location of the early forts was extremely important in relation to sickness and disease. Fort Smith was surrounded by lakes and marshes which were sometimes inudated by the Arkansas and Poteau rivers. Fort Gibson was placed on river bottom land only twenty feet above the ordinary low water mark of the Neosho and Fort Wayne was originally constructed along a creek

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[5] Bearss and Gibson, p. 209.

[6] 27th Congress, 1st Session, "Letter From the Secretary of War Transmitting A Statement of Troops Stationed at Forts Gibson, Towson, Smith, and Wayne," *House of Representatives Document No. 59* (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1841), pp. 1-4. (See Table I - *Appendix A* at the end of this article.)

[7] 26th Congress, 2nd Session, "Report of the Surgeon General, September 1839 to October, 1840," in *Public Documents Printed by Order of the Senate of United States* (Washington: Blair and Rives, 1841), p. 196.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 197

bottom. Fort Washita, located in a small grove on the border of an extensive prairie, and Fort Arbuckle, placed in a wooded area on higher ground, were among the healthier posts in the southwest at that time. [9]

The effect of the unhealthy location of Fort Gibson was underlined when in January, 1843, the Neosho river suddenly rose thirty-five feet, inundating the surrounding bottomlands. The next year the area was again flooded this time overtaking a large number of cattle in the cane-brakes near the water and drowning them. The post's gardens were ruined and the commissary was also flooded. When the waters subsided, several weeks later, "so great was the amount of putrefying animal and vegetable matter, that travelers, passing in steamers on the Arkansas, were compelled to enter their rooms and close the doors." [10]

In addition, the quality of the water supply frequently presented a problem at the forts. For instance at Fort Washita all the wells, springs, and streams in the vicinity were strongly impregnated with lime. Thus rainwater had to be collected for everyday use. [11]

Congress in 1802, legislated that weekly rations for soldiers as either 1 ½ pounds of beef or ¾ pound pork along with 18 ounces of bread or flour and 1 gill of rum, whisky, or brandy. In 1838, the spirit ration was abolished and "six pounds of coffee and twelve pounds of sugar to every hundred rations, to be issued weekly" was ordered to replace the stronger brews. These particular regulations were in effect up to 1860 and thus

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9 Data on the geographical positions of the military posts is drawn from United States War Department, Surgeon General's Office, *Army Meteorological Register for 12 Years From 1843 to 1854, Inclusive. Prepared under the Direction of Thomas Lawson* (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, 1855), *passim.*

10 Assistant Surgeon R.H. Coolidge, "Medical Topography and Diseases of Fort Gibson" in *Statistical Report on Sickness and Mortality, 1839-1855,* p. 268.

11 Assistant Surgeon T.C. Madison, "Medical Topography of Fort Washita" in *Statistical Report on Sickness and Mortality,* 1839-1855, p. 271.

reveal the typical diet at the Oklahoma forts from 1839 to 1855.[12]

Even troops stationed in the damp climate of Florida suffered less from disease and lost fewer men by natural causes than the soldiers at the southwestern forts. The Surgeon General reported in November, 1840 that of all the military posts in the entire country which had been occupied by troops for the past several years, "Forts Gibson and Wayne are decidedly the most sickly." [13]

Surgeon General Lawson added that "Fort Gibson, in particular, is an exceedingly unhealthy position; it has not only given greater a number of deaths, but, I believe, has invalided more men, for the last ten years, than any other military station in the United States." He attributed much of the unhealthiness to the southwesterly prevailing winds during the summer season which came to the fort across the immense tract of low land, intersected with lakes, lagoons, and the confluence of streams. [14]

Lawson termed Fort Gibson as "manifestly an improper position" and recommended that it be abandoned because the soldier had the right to expect from the government in time of peace, "protection, as far as is compatible with the nature of the service, against the invisible enemy — that most destructive foe to all armies, malarial disease." [15] It was largely for this reason that Fort Gibson became known as the "charnel-house of the frontier." [16]

Soldiers during this period, with the exception of the Mexican War years, were characterized as "not of the most desirable character, consisting principally of newly arrived

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[12] U.S. War Department, Surgeon-General's Office, *A Report on the Hygiene of the United States Army with Descriptions of Military Posts* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), pp. xxi-xxiii.

[13] "Report of the Surgeon General, 1839-1840," p. 196.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 196-197.

[16] *A Report on the Hygiene of the U.S. Army*, p. 264.

immigrants, those broken down by bad habits and dissipation, the idle, and the improvident." For example, in 1852, 16,064 men volunteered for the Army but only 2,726 or 16.9 per cent of these men were found fit for enlistment. [17]

The regulations required that in examining a recruit, the medical officer was to look at him stripped, "to see that he has free use of all his limbs; that his chest is ample; that his hearing, vision, and speech are perfect; that he has no tumors, or ulcerated or extensively cicatrized legs; no rupture or chronic cutaneous affection; that he has not received any contusion or wound of the head that may impair his faculties." [18] Furthermore the surgeon was required to certify on his honor that the recruit passed by him was not a drunkard or subject to convulsions and indeed was "free from all bodily defects and mental infirmity" which might impair his performing the duties of a soldier.[19] Leading causes for the failure of volunteers to pass the examination were being too young, unable to speak English, judged intemperate, rejected as undersized, afflicted with varicose veins, and rejected as over age. Recruits had to be between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five and stand at least five feet four and a half inches high. [20]

Over-all the average age of the men in the early 1850's was twenty-four, the mean weight was 148 pounds, with the average height approximating 5 feet 7 inches. Indeed on 240 of a sampling of 1,800 recruits were 6 feet tall and over.[21] Men at the Oklahoma garrisons were most likely to have formerly been employed as farmers, laborers, and clerks.[22] As to the fate of the men who enlisted as soldiers, 8,000 service records pulled consecutively from the files in the Adjutant General's office in

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[17] "Statistics of the Recruiting Service" annexed to the *Statistical Report on Sickness and Mortality, 1839-1855,* pp. 625-626.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 626.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 626-627.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 626, 629, 631.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 638.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 633.

1852 reveal that 2,550 received honorable discharge: 2,329 deserted, 1,054 were disabled, 929 died in service, 616 were eliminated by order of the Adjutant General's Office, 230 were killed in battle or died from wounds, 190 were court martialed, and 102 were killed accidentally. [23] Thus, as one can readily see from the above, after the honorable discharges and desertions, physical disability and deaths from natural causes were the next most common fates of the soldiers.

Several of the surgeons at the Indian Territory military posts thought that the lack of acclimation was one of the biggest causes of disease and sickness among the troops. The fact that fatal cases occurred predominately among men who were recently from more northern and colder climates prompted them to make this observation. Prolonged exposure to the weather in "very indifferent shanties" during the course of erecting permanent quarters was another cause of disease.

The surgeon at Fort Arbuckle noted that "recruits are notorious for being frequently sick; owing, principally, to their not knowing how to adapt themselves properly to the vicissitudes of this climate." Indeed a soldier stationed in Indian Territory had to constantly be on the alert as it might be summer one day and winter the next. The physician recounted that on one not altogether untypical day, the afternoon was very warm but as night approached, the wind suddenly veered from the south to the northwest and by sunrise the next morning the thermometer had fallen to 15 degrees above zero, 61 degrees lower than at 3 p.m. the preceding day. [24]

The majority of the soldiers at Fort Arbuckle were foreigners at this time with Germans and Irish comprising the major nationalities. Surgeon Glisan attributed the unusually large number of wounds and injuries at his post to the fact that all the men had been working on the construction of quarters and building bridges. He observed that the Germans and the Irish soldiers "know nothing of the use of the broad-axe,

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[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Assistant Surgeon Rodney Glisan, "Medical Topography of Fort Arbuckle" in *Statistical Report on Sickness and Mortality*, 1839-1855, p. 274.

however expert the former may have been with the broad-sword or the latter with the spade, in their own country." Nearly 3,400 wounds and injuries at the Indian Territory garrisons from 1839 to 1855 testify to the accuracy of his statement.

Malaria was by far the leading cause of illness among the troops with nearly 14,000 cases of the various types reported at the Oklahoma forts over the sixteen year period. Surgeons at the early Oklahoma forts were fully aware that those soldiers exposed to night air in marshy terrain were particularly liable to attacks of malaria. They knew also that swampy lands were dangerous in that respect even by day but the disease was always attributed to foul gases, decomposing vegetable matter and so forth. It was not until half a century later that the mosquito was identified as the primary agent in the spread of malaria.

The first symptoms of malaria included languor, general discomfort, chilliness, and depression, with influenza like pains in the limbs, back and eyes. When the true attack began, the chilliness became aggravated into a violent shivering fit, with chattering teeth, and sometimes diarrhea and vomiting. After the onset no amount of external warmth or covering could make the sufferer feel warm although his temperature might be as high as 106 degrees or more. Following this stage, it was observed that the victim of malaria then felt intensely hot, though the body temperature was about the same as during the chilly stage. This might last four or five hours and then profuse sweating began. Finally the temperature would fall, the pain gradually disappearing, and sleep would generally come. [26] Another attack, however, would follow in twenty-four, forty-eight, or seventy-two hours according to the type of malaria, and so on for some time, the attacks generally lessening in severity, until they ceased altogether. [27]

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[25] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[26] See Leon J. Warshaw, *Malaria: The Biography of a Killer* (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1949), *passim.*

[27] *Ibid.*

The surgeons at the military posts noted that the soldiers who had been victims of malaria were often sallow, wasted, and languid with their muscular and mental strength much reduced. In addition, malaria so weakened the men's constitutions, that it was common for other diseases to follow.[28] Out of the twenty-two military regions in the United States during this period, only the soldiers on the Gulf Coast of Florida suffered more from malaria than the men at the Oklahoma forts.[29]

Malaria was so common at Fort Arbuckle that Surgeon Glisan remarked that anyone who, "after a residence here of three years, has escaped unscathed, is looked upon as the most fortunate of mortals."[30] There was scarcely a single day throughout the year in which some soldier was not ailing with the disease. Indeed about the first of October of each year, it was not uncommon to have twenty out of a command of 120 to be on sick report with malaria. As might be expected, cases of malaria shot up during the spring of 1853 when the men were engaged in bridging Wild Horse creek and were working daily in water up to their waists.[31] Glisan did notice that soldiers sleeping in raised bunks, three feet high, seemed much less affected by malaria than those who slept on the ground. He was sure that malaria was fostered by the decomposition of superabundant vegetable growth and dead timber by solar heat, intensified by the fact that the large timber had been previously cut down for building purposes.[32]

The treatment of malaria fevers with large doses of quinine was initiated by Assistant Surgeon Charles McCormick at Fort Gibson in the summer of 1843. The physician testified that he normally prescribed ten grains of the sulphate of quinine at bedtime and again the following morning. Aside from bleeding,

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[28] *Statistical Report on Sickness and Mortality, 1839-1855, passim.*

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 494.

[30] Glisan, p. 273.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

there was no other treatment for cases of fever, "unless perhaps a single purgative dose of calomel and rhubarb to cleanse the primae viae, and excite the functions of the liver." [33]

Pneumonia hit hard among the troops stationed at Fort Smith during the winter of 1846-47. Prior to the outbreak, Surgeon Bailey observed that the autumn and early winter had been very mild with an average temperature of 55 degrees in November and 47 degrees in December. In January, the temperature plunged to 10 degrees and fluctuated widely throughout the following two months with spring arriving at least three weeks late. A large number of the men soon developed bronchitis and catarrhal infections and many of these cases quickly deteriorated into pneumonitis. [34] Pneumonia was often ushered in by a severe chill with some soldiers initially "seized by pain in the nape of the neck and cerebellum, attended with giddiness, redness of the conjunctivae, and delirium." Bleeding was Doctor Bailey's favorite remedy followed by blistering and doses of opium and calomel, and he was sure that this treatment "doubtless saved a good number of patients." [35]

The post surgeons generally did not consider medical treatment of the Indians as part of their duties. According to Assistant Surgeon T. C. Madison in 1852, the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians near Fort Washita were hard hit by scrofula, scurvy, rheumatism, and typhoid pneumonia, or "winter fever." He observed that "the majority of them are too lazy to work, and are, consequently, badly clothed and badly fed." The rampant scurvy was due to their disinclination to grow vegetables and even the wealthiest of the Indians rarely procured vegetable for consumption during the winter months.

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[33] See Assistant Surgeon Charles McCormick, "Report of the Administration of Quinine in Large Doses," *Statistical Report on Sickness, pp. 638-644* and "Report of Assistant Surgeon Joseph H. Bailey, Fort Towson, October 14, 1843," pp. 669-672.

[34] *Statistical Report on Sickness,* p. 281.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 282.

Thus the disease among them was of little concern to him.[36] At Fort Gibson, Surgeon McCormick attributed the large number of deaths among the Indians in the area to their open houses, poor clothing, and intemperance.[37]

Notwithstanding the thousands of cases of malaria and the occasional severity of pneumonia, the disease responsible for the most deaths during the sixteen year period was cholera. Over two hundred cases of asiatic cholera at the Oklahoma forts in only a three year period yielded twenty-seven deaths during 1849, 1851, and 1852. The bacterial origin of the disease was not at all understood, and more than thirty years were to elapse before it was discovered by Robert Koch. Although cholera bacilli is now known to be spread through contaminated water supply, foods, or directly from man to man, the surgeons were prone to blame the epidemic on such factors as climate, night air, evening mists, overindulgence in strong drink, and the geological structure of the earth.Some soldiers were sure that beans were responsible for cholera attacks and they discarded their stores as a precautionary health measure.[38]

Boiling out of India, the third epidemic of cholera in the nineteenth century had reached the United States by 1848. The first mention of this disease at the Oklahoma forts came from Surgeon Bailey at Fort Smith in June, 1849 who reported the arrival of steamers from New Orleans with cholera cases. A traveler on one of the boats, the Robert Morris, wrote that "we had scarcely left New Orleans before the cholera was found on board."[39] Seven had died by the time the steamer reached Fort Smith.[40] At Fort Gibson, 120 miles further up the Arkansas river, Surgeon J. B. Wells noted the "constitution of

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36 C.E. Rosenberg, "The Cause of Cholera: Aspects of Etiological Thought in Nineteenth Century America," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XXXIV (1960), pp. 331-354.

37 *Statistical Report on Sickness*, p. 281.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 272.

39 Letter from Thomas Armitage to C.C. Willets, from Fort Smith, April 19, 1849, reprinted in *New York Tribune*, May 15, 1849.

40 *Ibid.*

atmosphere" which was favoring the development of epidemic cholera.[41] While his diagnosis of cause was incorrect, his prediction of outbreak was all too true as 181 cases of cholera occurred at Fort Gibson in July and August of 1849.[42]

The epidemic began on the night of July 15th when four privates of the 5th infantry were carried into the hospital in quick succession. All had collapsed and were pulseless, "agonizing under spasms, vomiting and purging rice-water-like discharges." Death followed six to eight hours later in each of the cases. As other cases occurred in the following days, Surgeon Wells resorted to a treatment composed of morphine and aromatic spirits of ammonia in camphor water. If this failed he went to a dose of creosote in mucilage and in some cases covered the victim's body with hot mustard cataplasm and irritated the spinal column with hot spirits of turpentine. The proportion of sick to dead in this epidemic at Fort Gibson approximated a ration of ten to one and Surgeon Wells attributed the recoveries to his medical treatment.[43]

The following year of 1850 saw additional cases brought in boats to the landing at Fort Smith in March but Surgeon Bailey reported that the disease did not spread in the town or the garrison. This luck did not hold out however, and on May 31st, two companies of the 5th infantry arrived at the post from Corpus Christi, Texas, with a number of the soldiers suffering from cholera which was broken out two or three days before. Acting Assistant Surgeon N. Spring wisely placed the sick in a hospital some 150 yards distant from the encamped troops. This measure failed to protect the healthy, however, as four days later five men in the barracks were violently seized with the disease. Eighteen other cases rapidly followed with several being of a "highly aggravated character" and as a result seven soldiers died. As to the question of contagion relative to malady, the doctor observed that seven of the fifteen attendants who waited on the cholera sick of the post command

41 *Statistical Report on Sickness*, p. 280.

42 *Ibid.*

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 280-281.

contacted the disease, two of them dying and the four others barely escaping death. Although Dr. Spring did not go into detail on his treatment of the victims, he did mention "bleeding to six ounces, with happy effect." [44]

One disease which was least encountered in Oklahoma by the soldiers was phthisis or tuberculosis with only 2 cases per 1,000 men. Only the men serving in New Mexico (1.3 cases per 1,000) were less likely to be afflicted while the other twenty regions all experienced higher rates than Oklahoma with the South Atlantic Region showing an incidence of 9.2 cases per 1,000 soldiers. [45]

As might be expected such discomforts as diarrhea, dysentery, rheumatism, and constipation weigh heavily in the statistics. Such totals as 540 cases of gonorrhea, 281 cases of syphilis, and 175 occurrences of delirium tremens, reveal the troopers at the Oklahoma military posts around 125 years ago to be no better in relation to dissipation than those of today. Some 669 instances of ulcers and 230 cases of severe headaches also indicate ample tension.

In summary, the health cost of those who served at the Oklahoma posts was heavy. Over the sixteen year period from 1839 to 1855, an aggregate strength of 10,012 men at the forts were afflicted with 35,520 cases of disease and 255 deaths. Numerous men, of course, were released from service before their ailments resulted in death and in many instances the same men would be incapacitated for a time with several specific or recurring diseases. However, on the whole, we can assume that the man in search of adventure during this era, who was assigned duty in Indian Territory, might very well have spent most of his time and energy fighting personal disease and sickness.

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[44] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 496. See Table II, *Appendix B* for compilation of diseases and deaths at forts in the Indian Territory (1839-1855).

APPENDIX A

TABLE I

NUMBER OF MEN ASSIGNED TO THE OKLAHOMA MILITARY POSTS AS OF JUNE 30TH OF EACH YEAR

Year	Number of Men	Year	Number of Men
1839	1,217	1847	340
1840	1,401	1848	308
1841	574	1849	472
1842	1,420	1850	505
1843	913	1851	448
1844	904	1852	271
1845	699	1853	444
1846	600	1854	374

APPENDIX B

TABLE II (1)

A Compilation of the Diseases and Deaths Occurring at Forts Smith, Gibson, Towson, Wayne, Washita, and Arbuckle, From 1839 to 1855

Classes of Diseases	Specific Diseases	Cases	Died
FEVERS	Congestive Terminations of Malaria	9	7
	Fever Affecting the Nerves	127	2
	Malaria: Attacks Recurring Daily (Quotidian)	8,356	4
	Malaria: Attacks Recurring Every Third Day (Tertian)	4,046	—
	Malaria: Attacks Recurring Every Fourth Day (Quartan)	205	—
	Malaria: Alternately Abating and Returning (Persistent)	1,347	14
	Typhus Fever	21	9
ERUPTIVE FEVERS	Rubeola (Measles)	30	4
	Erysipelas (St. Anthony's Fire)	76	10
DISEASES OF THE ORGANS CONNECTED WITH THE DIGESTIVE SYSTEM	Asiatic Cholera	208	27
	Diarrhea	2,744	15
	Acute Dysentery (Intestinal Disorders)	1,219	18
	Chronic Dysentery	92	22
	Enteritis (Inflammation of the Intestines)	35	6
	Accute Hepatitis	23	—
	Chronic Hepatitis	6	—
	Obstipatio (Constipation)	918	2
	All other Diseases of the Digestive System	1,105	11
DISEASES OF THE RESPIRATORY SYSTEM	Bronchitis	210	4
	Catarrhus (Inflammation of Mucous Membranes)	1,898	2
	Pulmonary Phthisis (Tuberculosis)	25	20
	Pleuritis (Inflammation of the Lungs)	231	1
	Pneumonia	162	15
	All Other Diseases of the Respiratory System	67	4

Classes of Diseases	Specific Diseases	Cases	Died
DISEASES OF THE BRAIN AND NERVOUS SYSTEM	Cephalalgia (Headache, Pain in the Head)	230	—
	Delirium Tremens (Psychic Disorder)	175	9
	Epilepsia (Epilepsy or Seizures)	91	1
	Neuralgia (Severe, Lancinating Pain Along a Nerve)	106	—
	All Other Diseases of the Brain and Nervous System	124	13
DISEASES OF THE URINARY AND GENITAL ORGANS	Gonorrhea	540	—
	Stricture of the Urethra	12	—
	Primary Stage Syphilis	203	1
	Secondary Stage Syphilis	78	—
	All Other Diseases of the Urinary and Genital Tracts	208	—
DISEASES OF THE SEROUS AND EXHALENT VESSELS	Ascites (Serous Fluid in Peritoneal Cavity)	5	2
	All Other Diseases of the Serous and Exhalent Vessels	23	4
DISEASES OF THE FIBROUS AND MUSCULAR STRUCTURES	Pernio (Congestion and Swelling of the Skin)	35	—
	Podagra (Gout)	6	—
	Rheumatism, Chronic and Acute	1,210	2
ABSCESSES AND ULCERS	Abscesses	1,513	1
	Ulcers	669	—
WOUND AND INJURIES	Burns	133	—
	Concussion of the Brain	12	2
	Bruises	1,592	1
	Fractures	57	1
	Dislocation of a Joint	59	—
	Wounds and Injuries from Physical Punishment	22	—
	A Partial Dislocation of a Joint	380	—
	Wound Caused by Cutting	836	3
	Laceration of the Flesh	102	—
	Wound Caused by Puncture	94	—
	Piercing Wound	51	5

TABLE II (3)

Classes of Diseases	Specific Diseases	Cases	Died
		191	1
	Debilitas (Weakness)	426	6
	Ebrietas	158	—
MISCELLANEOUS	Hemorrhoids	72	—
	Hernia	129	—
	Skin Diseases	610	—
	Eye Diseases	143	3
	Scurvy	2,127	18
Totals	All Other Diseases	(35,520)	(255)

*The above data is based on the Quarterly Reports of the Surgeons at Forts Smith, Gibson, Wayne, Washita, and Arbuckle and is adapted from the *Statistical Report on the Sickness and Mortality in the Army of the United States, 1839-1855.* Some of the names of diseases have been translated from Latin for the sake of clarity.

THE AGRARIAN REFORM PRESS IN OKLAHOMA 1889 — 1922

*By H. L. Meredith**

Change is so much an accepted condition of existence that social scientists can tell a receptive audience that the thinking of even fifty years ago has no relevance to the present. Yet, curiously enough, the recent National Chairman of the Democratic party, can call for a new "Populist coalition" to control the ballot box. Oklahoma leaders can ask for tax reform that will make the "Fat Cats" bear more of the tax burden, in the same vein as the agrarian Socialists of the early twentieth century. The present is bound inheritantly to the past. And, the newspaper voices of the early Oklahoma agrarian reform movements — the Alliance, Populists, the Farmers' Union, Socialists — offer valuable insight on the strong reform tradition exerting itself in Oklahoma today.[1]

Following the opening of Oklahoma territory in 1889 and the subsequent Anglo encroachment on Indian territory, these official and semi-official newspapers endorsed numerous variations of agrarian reform. Established by the various

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*Mr. H. L. Meredith is the author of the article on the Farmers' Alliance in the Indian Territory appearing in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol XLVII (Winter, 1969-1970). Mr. Meredity prepared his present paper on Agrarian Reform in Oklahoma while he was Assistant Professor of History in Kentucky Wesleyan College, Owensboro, Kentucky, having done research for this paper while he was a graduate training for the Ph.D. degree at the University of Oklahoma. He is now with the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church in New York City (276 First Avenue, 10009). —Ed.

[1] The term agrarianism is used in this article in a broad sense, taking its meaning from the various movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. An attempt at strict definition could only distort historical reality in the period of discussion. The meaning is in the use. For further discussion of the term, see: Thomas P. Goven, "Agrarian and Agrarianism: A Study in the Use and Abuse of Words," *Journal of Southern History*, XXX (February, 1964), p. 47; Ronald P. Formisano and William G. Shade, "The Concept of Agrarian Radicalism," *Mid-America*, LII (January, 1970), p. 30; and particularly, William Warren Rogers, *The One-Gallused Rebellion, Agrarianism in Alabama, 1865-1896* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), p. x.

agrarian organizations to educate and indoctrinate, the papers served a variety of needs and functioned as symbols of unity even as they sought to change the individual viewpoints of the farmers. As organization followed organization, a strong pattern of inertia emerged, that gave the reform tradition stability enough to survive.

The newly settled area gave a unique base that proved favorable to the reform elements. After many years of agitation, the Springer Amendment to the Indian Appropriation Bill of 1889 had opened the Oklahoma District or Unassigned Lands for settlement. As the frontier closed elsewhere, it initiated a series of land runs that attracted large numbers of farmers who held the hope of a new beginning.[2] This former Indian land under government control seemingly gave men an opportunity to obtain real wealth at relatively little cost.[3] Through the same period, a less dramatic process of occupying land took place in Indian territory to the east of the Oklahoma lands.[4] Most of these people moved into the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes without the sanction of the tribes or the federal government, while others purchased permits that allowed them to settle and farm the land for a small fee.[5] Even with the new opportunity, problems soon confronted the settlers. These included high local freight rates, widespread dependence upon the crop lien system and mortgages.[6] Even if the farmer practiced controlled indebtedness, taxation added a

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[2] U. S. Senate, "The Land Question in the Southwest," *Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations*, 10 Vols., Senate Document No. 415, 64th Congress, 1st Session (1916), X, p. 9071: A. M. Gibson, *Oklahoma, A History of Five Centuries* (Norman: Harlow Publishing Company, 1965), p. 293.

[3] Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Frontier* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952), p. 159.

[4] Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803-1906* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1919), p. 177.

[5] John S. Ferguson Interview, "Indian-Pioneer Paper," Western History Collection, Bizzell Library, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma; Laura Edna Baum, "Agriculture Among the Five Civilized Tribes, 1865-1906," unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1940, p. 64.

[6] *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita), May 7, 1891; "Second Declaration of Independence," February 22-24, 1892, Leonidas Lafayette Polk Papers, Southern History Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North

heavy burden to his financial problems.[7] As a result, many faced the gloomy prospect of foreclosure or perpetual tenancy.[8]

To contend with the difficulties that pressed the farmers, a number of organizations emerged during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Oklahoma, these included the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, the Populist party, the Socialist party, the National Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union, and the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League. Each of these movements existed independently, yet remained inextricably linked one with another through their leadership, membership, programs, journals, and basic reform nature.

Both the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist party entered the Twin Territories shortly after the opening of the Unassigned Lands in 1889. The Alliance predominated in Indian Territory while the Populists established a small movement in Oklahoma territory, where political activity went on undeterred by tribal governments.[9] However, neither organization established an official newspaper for the first few years. As a substitute, the agrarian reformers used columns in already established papers to publicize their cause. The Alliance, for example, used the *Territorial Topic* in Purcell, which began to carry an official column in 1890.[10] This feature remained the only Alliance voice in the Territory until 1893.[11]

Carolina; Taloga *Times,* July 18, 1901; Appeal to Reason (Girard, Kansas), September 5, 10;3; Elk City *Democrat,* April 14, 1904; *Oklahoma Farm Journal,* XXII (February 15, 1914), p. 2; *Oklahoma Farmer-Stockman,* XXVII (October 10, 1914), p. 3.

7 Stillwater *Gazette,* February 27, 1902; Woodward *News,* August 20, 1904; Madill *News,* November 4, 1904.

8 *People's Voice* (Norman), September 9, 1892; *Populist* (Stillwater), September 10, 1893; *Oklahoma Socialist* (Newkirk), August 1, 1901.

9 W. B. Richards (Comp.), *Oklahoma Red Book* (2 Vols., Oklahoma City: n. p., 1912), II, p. 354; Norman *Transcript,* November 16, 1889.

10 *Territorial Topic* (Purcell), April 17, 1890.

11 *Ibid.,* January 4, 1893; for other examples see, the *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita); Tecumseh *Leader;* Norman *Transcript.*

The *Alliance Courier*, published in Ardmore, represented the movement's most ambitious journalistic venture. It carried the banner, "Official Organ of the Alliance of the Indian Territory," and in 1893, claimed the largest newspaper circulation in the Chickasaw Nation.[12] In its twelve page layout, the editor, Jules Soule, managed a sizeable amount of advertising, which under-wrote the cost of the publication. The Alliance reform message centered on several matters of interest. Among the more popular issues aired by the paper, inflation of the currency through the coinage of silver received the most space.[13] The paper also carried a continuing call for public ownership of all means of communication, particularly the telegraph, telephone and railroads.[14] The editor emphasized his belief that, the "railroads of the country have been the greatest factors in bringing about civilization and development," but the mismanagement of this important tool necessitated complete government control.[15] The paper also voiced support for a progressive income tax on both the state and federal levels.[16] The most emotional attacks fell upon the "land vampires" who held large amounts of land outside the reach of the individual farmer, usually for speculative purposes. In allowing foreign investment in land, he wrote that President Cleveland and Senator John Sherman represented mere "beasts of burden for John Bull and the Rothschilds."[17]

In March of 1894, the Board of Directors of the Territorial Alliance took complete control of the paper through the purchase of the printing plant.[18] Soule remained as editor only a short while longer and then H. E. Ellsworth replaced him. Soule apparently sold the paper under some pressure from Alliance officials, for the growing number of Populist cartoons and

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12 *Alliance Courier* (Ardmore), November 30, 1893.

13 *Ibid.*, November 30, 1893; *ibid.*, December 21, 1893; *ibid.*, May 3, 1894; *ibid.*, July 5, 1895; *ibid.*, August 23, 1895.

14 *Ibid.*, December 14, 1893; *ibid.*, May 3, 1894.

15 *Ibid.*, May 3, 1894.

16 *Ibid.*,

17 *Ibid.*, February 1, 1894.

18 *Ibid.*, March 29, 1894.

articles in the paper under Soule's editorship stopped upon his departure, with the admonition that: ". . . the *Courier* will maintain its independence and will remain non-partisan in all things."[19] But, this attitude soon gave way to new Populist-oriented blandishments, such as this:[20]

> All our lives long we have trained with the old Democratic party, doing its bidding without a murmur and foolishly and blindly supporting its nominees. But we have seen the error of our ways; . . .we will see to it that not another demagogue or plutocrat ever gets into office through the aid of a vote cast by us. The paper will speak for itself.

The paper attempted to take as many Alliancemen out of the Democratic party as possible and maintained a strong Populist flavor through the next two years. [21]

The Populist third party movement rather than the Alliance held the strongest agrarian voice through much of the nineties. Like the Alliance, the Populists called for concerted action between the farmers and laborers to bring about reform of the political and economic system. In Oklahoma, however, the party remained primarily agrarian because of the rural nature of the newly opened territory. Numerous Populist papers sprang into existence. A notable example, the *People's Voice,* initiated publication in the summer of 1892 in Norman under the editorship of A. T. Ross. At the outset, the paper consisted of only four pages of seven columns each, but carrying a grest amount of advertising and an Alliance column to attract a wider reading public.[22] John S. Allen took over as editor in July of 1893 and expanded the paper to eight pages and innroduced clubbing rates. A relatively common practice among the small weeklies, it afforded discount subscription rates to various other papers of the same ideological persuasion. The *People's Voice* allowed the reader to add 10 cents to his yearly

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[19] *Ibid.*, April 12, 1894.

[20] *Ibid.*, May 3, 1894.

[21] *Ibid.*, February 22, 1894; *ibid.*, November 15, 1895; also see Charles W. Macune, "The Farmers' Alliance" (typescript), C. W. Macune Collection, Barker History Center, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

[22] *People's Voice* (Norman), September 9, 1892.

subscription rate of $1.00 and receive the Chicago *Sentinal.* By adding 50 cents, the reader could take Tom Watson's *People's Party of Georgia.*[23]

Other Populist papers joined the *People's Voice* in Oklahoma territory during the 1890's. The Newkirk *Populist,* edited by Thomas S. Smith, came into being in 1894 with very little advertising, but soon established itself as an eight page weekly. The editor later changed the name of the paper to the *Kay County Populist* and added a page entitled the "World of Labor," which went beyond a parochial agrarian view of the Populist movement.[24] The *Oklahoma Populist,* published in Guthrie, survived only a short while. It began and ended in 1893, with the last issue carrying the official proclamation of the opening of the Cherokee Strip.[25] The paper's sentiments were carried in its bannerline: "Wealth is but the Product of Labor, Let the Creator be Greater than the Created."[26] The *Populist* of Stillwater demanded "One Government, One Flag, One Money, Greenbacks."[27] These papers were all innepended Populist papers, while the *Payne County Populist* represented the fusion faction which joined the Democrats in 1896.[28]

The Populist papers promoted a more zealous line of political action than the Alliance, but built upon essentially the same ideological base. Among these issues, the Populists in Oklahoma, as elsewhere, chose to emphasize inflation of the currency through the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 with gold. This class type legislation remained paramount to the Populist cause throughout its existence. As the *People's Voice* proclaims, "Labor is the Parent of Capital Encourage Labor and Build Your Capital," the party grew in size and political strength.[29]

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[23] *Ibid.,* July 15, 1893.

[24] *Kay County Populist* (Newkirk), March 8, 1895.

[25] *Oklahoma Populist* (Guthrie), September 1, 1893.

[26] *Ibid.,* July 3, 1893.

[27] *Populist* (Stillwater), August 23, 1895.

[28] *Payne County Populist* (Stillwater), September 4, 1896.

[29] *People's Voice,* July 15, 1893.

But, as with the Alliance, the Populist papers eventually outlasted the effective strength of the organization. The election of 1896 represented the last serious effort of the party, although the fusionist Populists still claimed some autonomy within an alliance with the Democratic party.[30] Democratic organization, the strongest Populist journals espoused the belief that the new Socialist party offered a better political solution for the third party advocates. The *People's Voice* published articles entitled, "From Bryan to Debs," "Shall Populists and Socialists Unite," and "The Farmer is a Wage Earner."[31] Allen, the editor of the *People's Voice* and former Populist nominee for Oklahoma Territorial Delegate to Congress, spoke for numbers of party followers when he wrote that: "We believe in Socialist principles. We hope to see the nation progress through direct legislation and public ownership to the co-operative commonwealth."[32]

This close connection between the Populists and the Socialists produced the transformation of Thomas S. Smith's paper, the *Kay County Populist,* into the *Oklahoma Socialist* in 1901.[33] As the first Socialist journal in either Oklahoma or Indian territory, it espoused a more radical position than even the official Socialist platforms of Oklahoma territory in 1899 and 1900. Smith immediately attacked the concept of private property with statements like: "No person may own real estate. Every acre of land in the country is owned by the whole people through the national government — taxes are simply rent."[34] He promised a better life with Socialism, as it would:[35]

> . . .guarantee to every man, woman, or child a beautiful home. That home will be built for use, not rent.

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[30] Terry Paul Wilson, "The Demise of Populist in Oklahoma Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma, XLIII [Autumn, 1965], pp. 266-267.*

[31] *People's Voice,* April 13, 1900; *ibid.*, December 31, 1901; *ibic.*, January 3, 1902.

[32] *Ibid.*, December 27, 1901.

[33] *Oklahoma Socialist,* June 20, 1901.

[34] *Ibid.*, September 6, 1901.

[35] *Ibid.*, June 27, 1901.

It will be built in the best locality, as regards health and sanitary conditions, and built of the very best material that can be procured, granite, terra cotta, tiling or glass. It will be built absolutely fireproof.

* * *

All education would be free, which would include an unlimited opportunity to learn a trade, occupation or profession. Employment would be guaranteed the worker in what he or she could do best and all that would be demanded in return for this would be four hours daily six days in the week.

The criticism this extreme position received apparently brought Smith back to those same principles put forth by the Alliance and the People's party. The *Oklahoma Socialist* remained the only Socialist publication through the early years of the party's development, although the *Cleveland County Socialist* published for a few months in 1902.[36] But the paper's owners could not obtain a Second Class Mail permit and failed to continue publishing.[37] By 1905, the *Oklahoma Socialist* had lost much of its reform spirit. The paper itself had grown into a daily and received much more advertising than earlier in its existence, but Smith grew ill and died the next year. With his death came the end of the paper and the Socialists in Oklahoma remained without a voice until 1910.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union also established itself in both Oklahoma and Indian territories, using the old Alliance ideas to attract followers. It grew in numbers much more rapidly than did the Socialist movement and claimed 28,768 members in the Indiahoma State Union in early 1906.[38] The most powerful voice of the Farmers' Union during this early period was the *Indiahoma Union Signal,* first published in Cordell, then moved to Shawnee in 1905.[39] S. O. Daws, President of the Farmers' Union in the two territories and a

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[36] *Ibid.*, August 28, 1902; Norman *Democratic-Topic,* May 29, 1903; People's Voice, September 5, 1902.

[37] Norman *Democratic-Topic,* May 29, 1903.

[38] *Indiahoma Union Signal* (Shawnee), April 19, 1906.

[39] *Ibid.*, January 17, 1907; also see the *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), August 21, 1906.

former organizer in the Farmers' Alliance, owned a principal part of the paper and intended it to become the major propaganda journal in organizing the farmers.[40] But, just as in the case of the *Cleveland County Socialist,* the postal authorities denied Second Class mailing privileges to the paper on the ground that it represented a private business enterprise. The *Daily Oklahoman* reported that several Republican congressmen brought pressure on the Postal Department to stop the licensing of the paper.[41] But, by July of 1906, the paper had obtained its mailing privilege and the next year it became known as the *Farmers' Union Advocate.* It, with the *Union Review,* of Ardmore, espoused the Union's program of organization, cooperation, and education throughout the new state of Oklahoma. By 1910, however, the Union had declined noticeably and for financial reasons, the *Farmers' Union Advocate* and the *Union Review* combined to form the *Union Advocate Review.*[42] The Union failed within a few months and what had become a dormant organization went without a voice until the reconstruction policies of John A. Simpson in the period after World War I.[43]

With the decline of the Farmers' Union, the Socialist party became the single most important agrarian reform movement in Oklahoma.[44] Through the years after the demise of the *Oklahoma Socialist,* the party had relied on a state party page in the *Appeal to Reason,* published in Girard, Kansas, to put

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[40] Norman *Transcript,* June 1, 1905; *Indiahoma Union Signal,* January 17, 1907.

[41] *Daily Oklahoman,* April 17, 1906.

[42] Farmers' Union Advocate (Shawnee), February 27, 1908; *Union Review* (Ardmore), October 17, 1907; *ibid.,* April 29, 1909; *Union Advocate-Review* (Ardmore), December 12, 1910.

[43] Gilbert C. Fite, "John A. Simpson: The Southwest's Militant Farm Leader," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XXXV (March, 1949), p. 564-565.

[44] Oscar W. Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken, The Autobiography of Oscar Ameringer* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1940), p. 454; "Political Action vs. Economic, Industrial or Direct Action," National Office File, Socialist Party of America Papers, Manuscripts Division, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

forth its propaganda within the state.[45] Edited and owned by Julius A. Wayland, this paper exerted its force throughout the west, with its Populist brand of reform Socialism.[46]

The Oklahoma Socialists established two new newspapers in Oklahoma City in 1910. In January of that year the *Industrial Democrat* began publication under the editorship of Marvin L. Brown, formerly of the *Appeal to Reason* staff. In the first issue of this Socialist weekly, it announced that the editors stood for only "Humanity's Advancement."[47] The publishers intended it to be the Southwest's major Socialist propaganda organ.[48] Trouble arose when the State Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Socialist party attempted to bring about a change in the editorship of the paper. Oscar Ameringer, although scheduled to take over as editor, failed to receive the position because of the *Industrial Democrat.*[49] This struggle between Ameringer and Armstrong went deeply into the party's leadership and broke into the open in May of 1910. As a result, the Ameringer faction of the party started its own paper, the *Oklahoma Pioneer,* to ". . . preserve and safeguard the basic principles of Socialism in Oklahoma."[50]

As the controversy grew in intensity, it crystallized into a struggle the radical and reform elements of the party. The *Pioneer* represented the reform wing and the *Democrat,* the radicals. From its inception, the *Pioneer* spoke out against the *Industrial Democrat* as not properly representing the agrarian Socialist cause. Reacting to this, Brown launched an attack on the leadership of the reform element, under party secretary, Otto Branstetter and Ameringer, representing them as the

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[45] *Appeal to Reason,* April 16, 1910.

[46] Howard H. Quint, "Julius A. Wayland, Pioneer Socialist Propagandist," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XXXV (March, 1949), pp. 585-606.

[47] *Appeal to Reason,* April 16, 1910; *Industrial Democrat* (Oklahoma City), January 1, 1910.

[48] Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken,* p. 228.

[49] "Minutes of the State Executive Meeting, April 3-4, 1910" (typescript), Socialist Papers, Bureau of Government Research Collection, Western History Collection, Bizzell Library, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

[50] *Industrial Democrat,* May 7, 1910; *Oklahoma Pioneer* (Oklahoma City), September 3, 1910.

"silk stocking contingent."[51] The Ameringer-Branstetter faction prevailed at the next State Executive Committee meeting when it accepted the *Oklahoma Pioneer* as the official organ of the party.[52]

The Socialists in Oklahoma had increased their strength enormously after statehood; and after 1910, numerous Socialist journals sprang into existence. These papers spread the Socialist ideology and at the same time expressed the deep divisions within the party structure. The most important paper, outside Oklahoma City, was the *New Century,* published in Sulphur. It began publication under the editorship of Stanley J. Clark, a "Red" or radical Socialist, in January of 1911, under the banner: "Not mad, but desperately in earnest."[53]But, by September of 1912, it barely survived in dire financial trouble. J. Tad Cumbie, also a radical, pleaded on several occasions for additional funds to keep the paper going. It finally merged with the *Social Democrat* in early 1913.[54]The *Social Democrat,* edited by H. H. Stallard, who had edited the *Farmers' Union Advocate,* had replaced the *Industrial Democrat.* Many local Socialist papers were established in this period before World War I and were caught up in the ideological clash to a large extent.[55] But, by the time of American intervention in the war, most of the Socialist journals had ceased publication.[56]Only one

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[51]Exceptions to the Findings," Socialist Papers, Bureau of Government Research Collection; *Industrial Democrat,* December 12, 1910; Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken,* p. 278.

[52]"Minutes of the State Executive Meeting, May 5, 1910" (typescript), Socialist Papers, Bureau of Government Research Collection.

[53]*New Century* (Sulphur), January 6, 1911.

[54]*Social-Democrat* (Oklahoma City), February 5, 1913.

[55]*New Century,* November 22, 1912; *Appeal to Reason,* July 13, 1912; Sulphur *Democrat,* August 9, 1912.

[56]"State Office Notes," October 14, 1911 (typescript), Socialist Papers, Bureau of Government Research Collection; other Socialist Journals included: *Agitator* (Sayre), 1913-1914; *Beckham County Advocate* (Carter), 1913; *Clark's Buzz-Saw* (Sulphur), 1911-1913; *Constructive Socialist* (Alva), 1911-1913; *Ellis County Socialist* (Shattuck), 1915-1917; *Grant County Socialist* (Medford), 1912-1913; *Johnson County Socialist* (Tishomingo), 1911-1912; *Lincoln County Socialist* (Davenport), 1915; *Musings of an Old Kuss* (Sayre), 1915; *Oklahoma Farmer and Laborer* (Sapulpa), 1911-1915; Otter Valley *Socialist,* 1913-1917; Sayre *Social Democrat,* 1912; *Socialist Herald* (Madill), 1912; *Sword of Truth* (Sentinal), 1913-1914; *Tenant Farmer* (Kingfisher), 1912-1915; Wayne *Ignitor,* 1911.

incident arose involving a Socialist publication and the anti-war movement. Vernon L. Rhodyback, editor of the *Otter Valley Socialist* was arrested for resisting the draft. But, the authorities released him when he proved that he was over the draft age.[57]

In the confusion of the war years, agrarian reform in Oklahoma went almost without a public voice. But, in 1919, two new journals found impetus from the Farmers' Union and the Socialists. At the 1919 state meeting of the rejuvenated Farmers' Union at Clinton, delegates instructed the State Executive Committee to establish a state paper.[58] John Simpson became publisher and editor.[59] In the period immediately following the war, he stressed the need for farm cooperation and opposition to compulsory military training.[60] With no official organizational backing, Oscar Ameringer established the Oklahoma Leader Company in 1919 and began publication of the *Oklahoma Leader* in 1920.[61] The majority of the stock was held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin and the principal board member was the prominant Socialist, Victor Berger.[62] Oklahoma Socialists such as John Hagel, Fred W. Holt, and Patrick S. Nagle supported the paper, even the Socialist party organization had ceased to exist.

These two papers, the *Oklahoma Union Farmer* and the *Oklahoma Leader* joined forces the next year in an attempt to bring about a farm-labor coalition in the form of the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League.[63] The State Federation of Labor

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[57] Otter Valley *Socialist*, June 14, 1917; *Official Report of the Oklahoma State Council of Defense, From May, 1917 to* January, 1919, p. 37, Chester Westfall Collection, Western History Collection, Bizzell Library, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

[58] *Oklahoma Union Farmer* (Weatherford), May 1, 1920.

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] *Ibid.*, January 1, 1920; *ibid.*, January 28, 1920; *ibid.*, February 15, 1920.

[61] Patrick S. Nagle to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America, April 1, 1922, Oklahoma State File, Socialist Party of America Papers.

[62] *Ibid.*, Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken*, pp. 358-364.

[63] *Oklahoma Leader* (Oklahoma City), September 22, 1921; *Oklahoma Union Farmer*, December 1, 1922.

gave support to the movement and soon it became a real force in the election campaign of 1922.[64] The Reconstruction League formed officially in the Shawnee Convention in February of 1922. Labor and farm elements met and agreed on a candidate for governor to seek the Democratic nomination, a platform of agrarian and industrial reform, and established the Oklahoma City *Reconstructionist*.[65] The League managed to win control of the Democratic party, then the election, only to have their candidate, J. C. "Our Jack" Walton, turn his back on the reformers. Even so, a large segment of the reform element in the state had re-entered the Democratic party just as many had done in 1896.

The journals of the reform coalitions in Oklahoma created an image of change and a sense of continuity at the same time. The editors of these papers recognized that their publications were a direct cause of events in many instances and so they managed items to create a critical frame of reference in the various members' minds. The press served as a collective organizer and propagandist which made it essential to the respective reform coalition. These papers, from the Farmers' Alliance through the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League, show strong continuity among the various movements, not only through their espoused messages, but even through the presses themselves. The inertia of reform extends itself into the contemporary period, reinforced by a substantial tradition that is older than the state itself.

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[64] *Harlow's Weekly*, XXI (January 6, 1922), p. 3.

[65] Oklahoma City *Reconstructionist*, June 10, 1922; Gilbert C. Fite, "Oklahoma's Reconstruction League: An Experiment in Farmer-Labor Politics," *Journal of Southern History*, XII (November, 1947), p. 537.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Annual Index For The Chronicles

The *Annual Index* for 1971, compiled for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Volume XLIX) by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is distributed free to those who receive the quarterly magazine. An order for the *Annual Index* should be addressed to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105.

Memorials To Deceased Members Of Oklahoma Historical Society

Memorials will be written on recently deceased members of the Oklahoma Historical Society. We ask that notice of a member's death together with information on his or her life be sent by the family or friends to the Editorial Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Okla. 73105. These notes will be necessary if a memorial is to be published. Though brief, each will serve as a tribute to the individual and become a part of the historical records of the Historical Society.

Recent Accessions To The Library

The following list gives the titles of books accessioned and catalogued in the library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, by Mrs. Alene Simpson, Librarian, from July 1, 1970, to July 1, 1971:

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BOOK REVIEWS

The St. Louis San Francisco Transcontinental Railroad, The Thirty-fifth Parallel Project, 1853-1890. By H. Craig Miner. (The University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, 1972. Ills. Maps. Biblio. Pp. viii, 263. $8.50.)

Fortunately, railroad companies in recent years have opened their records, thus enabling researchers to construct a fuller picture of transcontinental building after the Civil War. Miner used these sources, plus numerous other archival and secondary materials, to give the first comprehensive study of the least successful and most obscure of the transcontinental adventures.

The thirty-fifth parallel route seemed to have nine lives as it was reincarnated under half a dozen corporate entities. This endeavor attracted some of the most illustrious railroad entrepreneurs of the day, among them John C. Fremont, Jay Gould, and Collis P. Huntington. Through these years ran a dream spun by the first developers who envisioned a year-round route to California to tap the riches of the Orient. Yet dreams have a way of becoming spoiled. Although the Frisco never received the lucrative land grants that were typical of the other transcontinentals, it was plagued by a "certain affinity for short-term speculative gain" (p. 64). Complaints of farmers through their Grange, failure to link up physically and financially with San Francisco, and the Panic of 1873 which occurred just as the line was beginning to develop, hampered the line's progress.

Oklahoma readers will be particularly interested in Miner's descriptions of events and problems which the Frisco encountered in Indian Territory. From Lieutenant Whipple's exploration in 1853 and 1854 through the vexing negotiations with intransigent Indian tribes in the 1880's and 90's, the thirty-fifth parallel route never was able to secure a route through Indian lands. When in 1883 a transcontinental route was accomplished, it was by a circuitous and mixed-media route that scarcely touched Indian Territory. Significant to a Frisco right-of-way through Indian lands was the deathblow

the railroads dealt to the theory of Indian self-determination. Miner maintained that after this time no Indian legislature would be asked for consent for railroad right-of-way. Yet another possible success turned to failure at the very time the Indian lands were opened because competing companies controlled the line and were uninterested in transcontinental dreams. The final years were a ceaseless round of problems with workers, land holdings, schedules, and reformers. One railroader's comment is quite appropriate to the Frisco system: "the power of a Railroad . . . depends upon its length, and the extent of the territory it can touch" (p. 122). Perhaps Mark Twain put it better: "A railroad is like a lie — you have to keep building to it to make it stand" (p. 73).

Miner does not fall into the trap of moralizing or sympathizing but presents his material in a balanced manner with a very readable style. He gives the reader a sense of anticipation by projecting the narrative beyond a particular episode. His conclusions seem valid and come at appropriate places. Readers without a fair knowledge of railroad history may become confused at points, a fault which more maps might have overcome. Railroad buffs and interested laymen will find the work rewarding.

—Gary E. Moulton

Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma

The Image Of Lincoln In The South. By Michael Davis. (The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 1971. pp. 204. $7.95.)

In this brief volume former Oklahoman Michael Davis traces the South's evolving image of Abraham Lincoln over the 50 years between the Douglas debates and the emancipator's 100th birthday, February 12, 1909.

At his nomination in May 1860, Lincoln was virtually unknown in the South. A few might remember him as the obscure prairie lawyer who forced Douglas into the Freeport

Doctrine during their debates in the 1858 Illinois senatorial race. One researcher has found Lincoln's name spelled 11 different ways in the Southern press following his nomination.

Conservatives of the slave states like Alexander Stephens urged the South to accept the constitutionally-elected Lincoln and await an overt act of hostility before considering secession. But general sentiment was represented in William Yancey's cry, "Resistance to Lincoln is obedience to God."

As the country drifted deeper into war during the spring of 1861, all the trauma of the South was laid at Lincoln's door. Every war must have its Tojo, Musso or Adolph. Writers like Mark Twain, Joel Chandler Harris and "Marse" Henry Watterson vied in lauding Lincoln during the 1880's, but poured out their youthful vitrol upon him in the early months of the war.

While more tolerant secessionists might grant some merit to the Union president, they still faulted him for refusing to let the "southern sisters depart in peace". Scathing hatred of the Northern leader was by no means confined to the soldier in the field. In no quarter was villification more pronounced than among the Southern clergy.

But with the bitter post-war years there came a new appraisal of Lincoln. Reconstruction could be summed up in these words: "Lincoln died too soon." Led by men like Henry W. Grady and General John Brown Gordon, a new Lincoln was revealed to the "New South".

However hard-core memorializers of the Lost Cause fanned the flames of Lincoln hatred well into the twentieth century. This school of writers felt elevation of Lincoln to sainthood detracted from their own heroes. Led by men like Albert Taylor Bledsoe who had ridden the Illinois circuit with Lincoln, Paul Hamilton Hayne, Charles Landon Minor, Elizabeth Meriwether and Lyon Gardiner Tyler, son of the tenth president, the legend of Lincoln villany has never been laid to rest.

By his 100th birthday much of the South accepted Lincoln

as an authentic American hero. Parented by Virginians, reared in Kentucky and southern in many basic attitudes, he was, after all, one of their own.

The Image of Lincoln in the South is a bench mark in Lincoln lore. Michael Davis received his Ph.D. at Rice and afterward taught American "intellectual" history at the University of Miami. We are not surprised. His book shows cerebral accomplishment. It is the best Southern view of Lincoln we have found.

—Paul L. Bennett

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Black Military Experience In The American West. Edited by John M. Carroll. (New York, 1971, illustrated: bibliography. pp. 591; $17.50).

For the decades following the Civil War there is no doubt that in all of the many aspects of life in America, was the role of the American black more unique than his life in the military. Temporary or provisional Negro units of varying size and responsibility were organized before the close of the war, but with the organization of the post-war Regular Army establishment of this new source of manpower was a factor of important but until now of little recognized significance. Today in Oklahoma we are prone to point out with alacrity that Negro troops were engaged at Honey Springs in July of 1863 and that black cavalry units established Fort Sill, but beyond those two circumstances we tend to become vague in trying to discuss the role of the Negro in the Army during the final one-third of the 19th century.

This book dispels such vagueness once and for all. It indeed packs a whallop. In fact, the volume is a complete handbook and compendium of almost everything in writing pertaining to the black military experience in America.

Under ten general subdivisions or classifications, the editor

has collected writings and articles of every kind and character on the subject. Some are from magazines, others are private letters and correspondence, and others are excerpts from contemporary books and journals. Editorial introductions and notes have been added that are most complete and helpful. The illustrations comprise a copious collection of western military art.

The volume is not only timely; it is long overdue. It makes great reading; and it would be difficult if not impossible, for a reader not to lay the volume down with a new sense of pride in a tremendous service of many dedicated soldiers who served their country unheralded and unrecognized. It would be troublesome not to agree with Editor Carroll of "the real fact that they were heroic men who served their country bravely and well".

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City

Longhorns North Of The Arkansas. By Ralph F. Jones (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1969. pp. 372. $7.95.)

The upper Arkansas River was a natural division point between an area to the south where the early Spanish culture and settlements had been established for over two hundred years, and the vast, rolling grasslands of the northern high plains. This northern sea of grass extended for over a thousand miles northward to the Canadian border, and from the Missouri River on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west.

Cattle from the breeding grounds of the southwest were trailed to the north during a period of time when the buffalo were being rapidly killed off by the hunters. After this slaughter, great quantities of grass became available for cattle on the open range.

Ralph Jones is the son of a Wyoming cattleman and has done a fine job in presenting a story of this colorful era to our younger readers. His writing shows much research and

personal knowledge of his subject. He is at his best when writing the story of the coming of the great open-range cattle companies, many being multi-million dollar British and Scottish syndicates.

Though he wanders far from North of the Arkansas at times and skips around chronologically, Mr. Jones has written of tireless men during colorful times. The best chapter in the book is the one on John Clay, author of *My Life On The Range.* Clay managed more than one of the giant ranches and became one of the most successful and respected men in the west.

Frontier Governor. Samuel J. Crawford Of Kansas. By Mark A. Plummer. (Lawrence/Manhatten/Wichita: University Press of Kansas, 1971. pp. 210. $7.75.)

Here is the story of Samuel Johnson Crawford; country lawyer, Civil War colonel, third and youngest governor in the history of the state of Kansas, famous Indian fighter and millionaire claims agent. It is the first comprehensive study of the details of Crawford's extraordinary political and military career.

In 1864 young Crawford, twenty-nine years old and serving as commander of a black Union regiment, was recommended on the basis of his "brilliant example and courageous bearing" for promotion to brigadier general. He never received that promotion; instead he was nominated for the state's chief executive position. Though a virtual newcomer to Kansas politics, Crawford accepted the nomination and won the election. He had little to start with but his contribution to the state during his two terms in office, however, was quite significant. He was involved in reconstruction politics, the post-Civil War land rush and the building of western railroads.

Crawford resigned as governor in 1868 to lead a regiment of Kansas troops against the Indians. He was in distinguished

company with the likes of Generals Sheridan and Custer. After this expedition he once again turned to politics, but failed in three attempts for a Congressional seat in Washington.

The 1880s brought Crawford great wealth as a state claims agent and he lived long enough to become a maverick elder statesman and a gentleman farmer. He helped guide the state during its infancy by displaying qualities that were admired on the frontier: courage, hard work, honesty, and tenacity. His story is also the story of Kansas, and of the period of the state's most rapid growth.

Mark Plummer's narrative presents a wealth of new information on the neglected decades of the sixties, seventies, and eighties and on the Republican party, which dominated Kansas politics throughout the period. Also included are some excellent notes on the material covered and a fine bibliography.

—Arthur Shoemaker

Hominy, Oklahoma

Hell on the Border. Jack Gregory and Rennard Strickland, Editors. (Indian Heritage Association: Muskogee, Oklahoma, 1971. Pp. 214. Illus. Biblio. $25.00.)

Probably no single book of Western Americana has experienced the vagaries of fate and circumstance and at the same time has enjoyed such popular response over the years as has *Hell on the Border.* The first edition, limited to 1,000 copies, was printed in Fort Smith by the Phoenix Publishing Company and bears the official publication date of 1898. Although the title page reflects the author to be Samuel W. Harman and the "compiler" as C. P. Sterns, in fact the motivating force that brought the book into existence was J. W. Reid, a Fort Smith attorney who had extensive practice before Judge Isaac C. Parker. The printing bill was paid by Reid, and without doubt most of the material was "compiled" from the files of his own law office, yet he preferred not to have his name shown as either a contributor or editor.

The first edition, now extremely rare, was an unusual mixture of almanac, court calendar, statistical index and assorted odds and ends, dealing with the remarkable court of Judge Parker and its jurisdiction. Subsequent editions incorporated various modifications and editorial changes; and even though there have been many printings bearing the same title, some editions in fact bear little semblance to the somewhat disorganized appearance of the original effort.

Editors Gregory and Strickland have made a distinct contribution in rearranging the material in a more logical and readable form, omitting duplication and surplusage yet reserving the original flavor and flamboyant style. The present edition is limited to 1,000 numbered copies, with each copy inscribed by the editors.

The "tabulated lists" which now read as sort of a roll call of desperadoes and other frontier characters have been retained and an excellent bibliography has been added. The binding is especially attractive. The Indian Heritage Association is to be commended for making available this frontier classic in a form reflecting the obvious and capable effort of the editors.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

February 17, 1972

The meeting was called to order by President George H. Shirk at 10:00 a.m.

All members were present except H. B. Bass, Nolen J. Fuqua, Morton R. Harrison, John E. Kirkpatrick, and Dr. James D. Morrison. The absent members had either written or telephoned in regard to being unable to attend and their absence was excused.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that February 17, 1972, be declared the official meeting date after formal recess due to adverse weather conditions on the fourth Thursday in January, 1972.

Mr. Shirk paid an excellent and fitting tribute to the late Board member Mr. Joe W. McBride. He ended by reading the following statement from Mrs. McBride, addressed to the Board of Directors and Staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society: "Thanks to you all for the beautiful flowers sent for Joe. Of all the many things that he was associated with, I believe he valued being on the Board of the Historical Society the most. It was a great love of his." Sincerely, Clella McBride. A minute of silence was then observed. It was moved, seconded, and carried that an appropriate tribute be printed in "The Chronicles of Oklahoma".

Dr. Easterling gave a brief summary of his progress on the list of ten priorities stated in President Shirk's letter dated December 1, 1972 and supported by Vice President H. Milt Phillips.

Mr. Pendleton Woods presented a brief oral report on the Living Legends project and he distributed copies of his written report.

Two new Life Members were added to the roster of the Oklahoma Historical Society. They are Mr. A. C. Martin and Mr. Pendleton Woods, both of Oklahoma City.

Mrs. Edna Bowman gave the Treasurer's Report and copies of the report were distributed. A motion was made by Mr. Phillips and seconded by Miss Seger that the payment due the Society from the Trustees of the Life Membership Endowment Fund 1 July 1971 be waived. Upon a vote the motion was adopted.

Committee reports:

1. Mr. Phillips gave a brief report on the Microfilm Department and stated that the goal for next year would be one and one-half million pages.

2. Mr. McIntosh reported on Historic Sites. He presented the deed to the Pleasant Porter property and asked that it be accepted. Dr. Easterling was directed to have the Attorney-General's office examine the deed.

Mr. McIntosh stated that the Alexander Posey marker west of Eufaula had been stolen. Motion was made by Mr. Pierce, seconded by Miss Seger, that the Oklahoma Historical Society should replace the marker. The motion was adopted. Mr. Michael Bureman, Director of Historic Sites, was directed to check on a legal location on Highway 9 west of Eufaula. Dr. Deupree suggested the possibility of erecting a marker at the place where Mr. Posey drowned.

3. Publications. Chairman Shirk asked Miss Wright to see that a complete list of properties owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society be published in "The Chronicles". Dr. Fischer stated that the Society owned approximately sixty pieces of real estate.

Chairman Shirk stated that he would like to have a meeting of the

Publications Committee at 9:00 a.m., April 27, 1972, at the Historical Building.

4. Dr. Fischer gave an oral report in regard to the process of modernizing the Oklahoma Historical Museum. He reviewed the progress that has been made and he outlined plans for the immediate future.

Dr. Fischer continued his report on the subject of the Honey Springs Battlefield. The plans include continued archaeological work, the reconstruction of the powder house, the acquisition of land, a fence building program, and improvements at the springs site. He expressed hope that the site could be opened to the public by late 1973.

5. Mr. Curtis made a brief report on the Library wherein he stressed the current work on improving the organization of the collections.

Three books were presented to the Library by the following members: Mr. McIntosh gave a copy of the first "Dictionary of the Cherokee Language", compiled by J. T. Alexander; Mrs. Bowman presented "George Bowman and His Descendants", by Anna Harman Bowman; and Mr. Pierce offered "The Boydstun-Boydston Family", by Gladys Boydstun Domonoshe.

6. Mr. Foresman reported for the Education Committee. He emphasized the work among junior and high school students and the interest shown throughout the State to organize youth Heritage Clubs. Membership cards are given to each member. Approximately 100 schools have expressed an interest in this program.

He stated that the first copy of a newsletter would soon be mailed to these schools to be followed by publications on a regular basis.

Mr. Phillips moved and Mr. Curtis seconded that Mr. Foresman be commended for his excellent report. The motion was adopted.

At this point Dr. Easterling spoke briefly of his liaison contacts with members of the Junior League and his hopes of obtaining additional volunteer workers.

Motion made by Mr. Allard, seconded by Dr. Fischer, that the title of Administrative Secretary be changed to Executive Director. The motion carried. Mr. Phillips asked that the Minutes show that the duties set out in the Constitution for the Administrative Secretary are now the same as the duties for the Executive Director and that this should be noted in a future revision of the basic document.

Mrs. Mildred Frizzell gave an oral report in which she stated that over 3,000 invitation letters had been mailed in regard to the Elmer L. Fraker Appreciation Dinner to be held February 21, 1972, at the Oklahoma City University Scarab Room. Mrs. Frizzell was commended for her excellent and intensive work in regard to the Dinner. This was all done without the use of appropriated funds.

Dr. Fischer outlined the policies agreed upon by the Portrait Committee. The Oklahoma Historical Society has prepared a list of portraits and busts to be placed on indefinite loan with the Oklahoma Heritage Association. These honored persons are inductees into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame. Dr. Fischer recommended that portraits and busts of the Territorial governors, the State governors, the United States senators, and truly unique and distinguished Oklahomans should remain in the Oklahoma Historical Society Building.

Mr. Shirk summarized briefly the points covered in the proposed contract with the Oklahoma Heritage Association. A motion by Mr. Phillips, seconded by Dr. Fischer, that the contract be approved and the officers authorized to execute the same was passed unanimously.

A portrait of Dennis Flynn, sponsor of "Oklahoma Free Lands Bill" and first Congressional delegate from Oklahoma Territory, had been brought to

the Board Room in order to make positive identification. Mr. Shirk gave some highlights of Mr. Flynn's life and Mrs. Bowman remembered that the portrait had been presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mr. Pierce gave an oral report in regard to the projected Tellico Dam on the Little Tennessee River. Mr. Pierce had been approached in regard to combined efforts in order to preserve Cherokee historic sites in the valley.

Mr. Shirk and Mr. Pierce were in agreement that the Oklahoma Historical Society should not become involved in the litigation.

Dr. Easterling reported on the fact that the Assistant Attorney General had drawn up copies of a lease and an agreement on the Overholser Mansion. This draft took into consideration the recommendations of Mr. Shirk. Assistant Attorney General Charles L. Pain will continue to work with legal counsel for the Oklahoma chapter of the American Institute of Architects in regard to the final form of the documents. Mr. Phillips moved and Mr. McIntosh seconded that the form of contract be approved and that President Shirk and Dr. Easterling sign the corrected documents.

Dr. Fischer outlined the steps required in order to obtain state funds and matching funds from the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the purpose of restoring "Old Central" on the Oklahoma State University campus, and making it into a historical museum. The total sum required was said to be $250,000 to $300,000.

Dr. Fischer moved and Dr. Gibson seconded the motion that the application to H.U.D. be made. The motion was adopted. Mr. McIntosh requested that such an arrangement to purchase the Creek Capitol at Okmulgee be considered.

President Shirk commented briefly on the Cherokee National Capitol buildings at Tahlequah. It was moved by Dr. Fischer that grant application for matching funds be filed with H.U.D. The motion was seconded and upon a vote adopted. President Shirk stated that $33,000 in grants had been received from the Department of the Interior under PL 86-665.

Mr. Shirk took up the matter of reappointments and appointments to the committees of the Board of Directors. After informal discussion, the President announced the committee assignments.

A motion was made by Mr. Allard and seconded by Mr. Muldrow that the Role of Committees Statement be approved. It was carried unanimously.

Mrs. Bowman told of the industriousness of the State Highway Department staff in the Kingfisher area who spent their time during a recent snowstorm refurbishing Oklahoma Historical Society highway markers. Mr. Boydstun also spoke of Highway Department employees who had repainted markers at Fort Gibson. Mrs. Bowman moved and Dr. Fischer seconded a motion that the President write a Letter of Commendation to Highway Department Director Chester Brooks, expressing the appreciation of the Society to the Highway Department for their help in maintaining the highway markers.

The Kingfisher Rotary Club had requested Mrs. Bowman to ask the Society to erect a marker showing the exact line where the 98th Meridian was crossed in the Race to Unassigned Lands in 1889, at the Cheyenne-Arapahoe boundary. Mr. Phillips moved that this request be granted. Mr. Woods seconded the motion. The motion carried.

Mr. Shirk directed that all marker requests be forwarded to Dr. Easterling in the future, rather than to Board meetings.

President Shirk advised that nominations for a Director to fill the unexpired term of Mr. McBride should be sent to Dr. Easterling. Nominations will be closed and the list of nominees will be mailed to all Board members twenty days prior to the Annual meeting in April.

The President then declared the meeting open for the election of Directors for the five Directors whose term expires January, 1972. As no other nominations had been received, Dr. Easterling cast one vote for those five whose terms are so expiring, and they were declared re-elected for a five year term.

The meeting then turned to an election of officers for the two year term beginning January, 1972. The chair was turned to Mr. Curtis, and Mr. Shirk retired from the room. After a nomination, and separate ballots, all of the present officers were re-elected for a two year term, and Dr. Easterling was designated Executive Director as of January 27, 1972 without tenure. Mr. Shirk was recalled to the Board room, and resumed the chair.

Mr. Phillips also requested that a unanimous expression of appreciation go to the family of Joe McBride for the tremendous service he gave to the Board and to the State of Oklahoma. The motion was seconded and approved by all members of the Board.

Dr. Deupree raised the question of whether or not it would be possible for the Chambers of Commerce in the various state communities in which the Oklahoma Historical Society has historic sites to assume some of the responsibility for the site.

An informal meeting on March 4 of the Oklahoma Historical Society with County, City, and Regional Historical Societies and all interested in the preservation of Oklahoma's history, was announced by Dr. Easterling. The purpose of the meeting is to bring about a closer relationship between state and local societies.

Preliminary plans for the Annual Meeting in April were announced by Dr. Easterling. This year the session will include a luncheon-meeting for all Oklahoma Historical Society members and guests in the Persian Room of the Skirvin Tower Hotel. The Hon. Will Rogers, Jr., of Beverly Hills, California, has consented to be the speaker at the luncheon. The regular business and committee meetings will be held at the Historical Building.

Governor Hall and Lt. Governor Nigh have been asked to be co-hosts for a premier showing of "The Run of '89", a Living Legends film presentation, tentatively set for March.

There being no further business, Mr. Muldrow moved that the meeting adjourn. Mr. Curtis seconded the motion, all approved, and the meeting adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

V. R. EASTERLING,
Executive Director

GEORGE H. SHIRK,
President

GIFT LIST FOR FOURTH QUARTER, 1971

LIBRARY:

The UTU (United Transportation Union) *Handbook of Transportation in America* by Charles Luna, 1971.
Donor: Popular Library, Inc., New York.

Newsclippings of Oklahoma's Gov. J.B.A. Robertson signing the resolution ratifying the Federal Woman Sufferage Amendment.
Donor: Mrs. J. Wm. Cordell, Oklahoma City.

Names — Journal of the American Name Society, Vol. 19, No. 2, June 1971.
Behind the Old Brick Wall — A Cemetery Story, compiled by Lucy Harrison Miller Baber and Evelyn Lee Moore for National Society of Colonial Dames in Commonwealth of Virginia, 1968.
Directory and Register — Rolls-Royce Owners' Club, 1969.
Selected Papers from the Volunteer Leaders Conference of United Way of America, 1971.
Historic Preservation — National Trust for Historic Preservation, Vol. 23, No. 3, July-Sept., 1971.
Society for Advancement of Management — Advanced Management Journal, Oct. 1971.
The Pioneer Lawyer and Jurist in Missouri by William Francis English, 1947.
Directory — Licensed Real Estate Brokers and Salesmen, 1971.
"The Second U.S. Cavalry in Texas, 1855-1861" by Harold B. Simpson.
"Gunston Hall Education and Development", 1968.
Newcomen Society Publications:
Making Change — The Story of First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Jackson (Miss.) by Tom B. Scott, Jr.
The Hofstra Adventure — The Story of An Emerging University by Clifford L. Lord, 1970.
North American Rockwell — Storehouse of High Technology by J. L. Atwood, 1970.
A Promise of Quality — The First 100 Years of Canisus College by Jas. M. Demske, 1970.
Washington Gas Light Company — A Potpourri of Past, Present & Future by Donald S. Bittinger, 1970.
Black & Veatch — Consulting Engineers — A Backsight at 63 Years of Growth by Thomas B. Robinson, 1970.
The American West, Vol. VIII, No. 6, Nov. 1971.
The Oklahoma Archaeological Survey — A Report of Activities, Dec. 1, 1970 to Nov. 1, 1971, Don G. Wyckoff.
Oklahoma Higher Education, Dan S. Hobbs, July 1971.
The Case for Support for Mercy Hospital's Community Health Center, 1971.
Newsletter — Society for the Preservation and Appreciation of Antique Motor Fire Apparatus in America, Fall 1971.
Opinion and Order Determining Just and Reasonable Rates for Natural Gas Produced in the Other Southwest Area, Opinion No. 607, U. S. A. Federal Power Commission, Oct., 1971.
ANS Bulletins, Nos. 24 & 25, Fall-Winter, 1971.
Western Historical Quarterly, Vol. 2. No. 4, Oct. 1971.
Additional Assignment of Civil and Criminal Cases for Trial in the District Court of Oklahoma County, State of Oklahoma, 1914 Term.
Rocks in the Roadway by Dan Hollingsworth, 1971.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Pioneers of Cleveland County 1889-1907, Edited by Nadine Runyan, produced by Cleveland County Historical Society, 1971.
Donor: Cleveland Co. Historical Society by Joe Curtis.

Policy of Title Insurance No. 279779 of Title Guarantee and Trust Company and was issued to: J. Frederick Roe and Morganna Stewart Roe, October 9, 1908.
Donor: Mrs. James Mitchell by Mrs. Mildred Toaz, Hartshorne, Okla.

Vikings in Oklahoma — A reprint of Daily Oklahoman series by Bryce Patterson, 1971.
Donor: Michael Shannon Hull, Midwest City.

Localized History of Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma to 1907 by Charles W. Mooney, 1971.
Donor: Robert Barnes, Oklahoma City.

Maps Showing Explorers' Routes, Trails and Early Roads in the United States — An Annotated List, compiled by Richard S. Ladd, 1962.
Donor: Mrs. Patty Eubanks, Oklahoma City.

Index to the County Wills of South Carolina compiled by Martha Lou Houston, 1970.
Donor: Alta Miller, Oklahoma City.

47 Copies of Congressional Documents regarding Oklahoma and Indian Territory.
Donor: Sen. Fred R. Harris, Washington, D. C. & Oklahoma.

Driggs — History of An American Family, Book 2 by L. Lynne Driggs, 1971.
Donor: Author, Phoenix, Ariz. by Oklahoma State Department of Libraries.

The Garrison Gazette, Vol. 2, No. 2, Fall 1971.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Paul Garrison, Oklahoma City.

Collection of back issues of *Carolinas Genealogical Society Bulletin* and *Car-Del Scribe.*
Donor: John Cheek, Oklahoma City.

King James Version of Fraternal Altar Holy Bible, Order of Eastern Star.
Donor: Hope Chapter No. 401, Order of Eastern Star of Muskogee, Oklahoma by Mrs. Carmen Hogan, Worthy Matron.

Wynema — A Child of the Forest by S. Alice Callahan, 1891.
The Life and Practice of the Indian by J. A. Newsom.
Donor: Miss Zella Moorman, Perkins, Okla.

The Thomas Lamonts in America edited by Corliss Lamont, 1971.
Donor: Editor, New York City.

Yearbook — The 89ers, 1971-1972.
Donor: Miss Edna Couch, Norman.

Federal Census, 1850 Clinton County, Missouri compiled by Miss Nadine Hodges and Mrs. Howard W. Woodruff, 1968.
Marriage Records of Clinton County, Missouri 1833-1870 compiled by Nanon L. Carr, 1955.
Federal Census, 1850 Clay County, Missouri compiled by Nadine Hodges.
Marriage Records of Clay County, Missouri 1822-1852 compiled by Nanon L. Carr, 1957.
Clay County, Missouri Records — "Old Men of Clay County in 1870" and *Patrons of Clay County Atlas of 1877* compiled by Nadine Hodges.

History of Randolph County, Missouri by Elizabeth Prather Ellsberry.
Donor: Mrs. Warren Parks, Chandler, Oklahoma.

Thorowgood Family Charts of Princess Anne County, Virginia by J. W. Creecy, 1971.
Donor: Author, Richmond, Virginia.

"Poet With A Purpose: Charles Douglas Clem" by Joan Sherman from *Negro History Bulletin,* Vol. 34, No. 7, Nov. 1971.
Donor: Author & Assist. Prof. of English, Rutgers University.

The Neal, Harbison, Snodgrass, Miller and Related Families by Thomas Howe R. Neal, 1971.
Donor: Author, Knoxville, Tenn.

1850 Census of Highland County, Virginia, published by (Mrs.) Emma Robertson Matheny, 1966.
Donor: Theron D. Elder, Oklahoma City.

"Cochran Genealogy."
Donor: Jeanne Cochran, Kingfisher, Oklahoma.

U. S. Family Distribution 1619-1880 Hough and Huff by Granville W. Hough, 1971.
Donor: Clark Hibbard, Oklahoma City.

Hugo Reservoir I by Charles L. Rohrbaugh, Robert J. Burton, Susan S. Burton and Lura J. Rosewitz — Archaeological Site Report No. 22, University of Oklahoma Research Institute, Norman, Oklahoma, 1971.
Donor: Oklahoma River Basin Survey, Norman, Oklahoma.

He Is Risen — The Authentic History of the Wichita Mountain Easter Pageant by Florence Guild Bruce, 1940.
Donor: The Dallas Public Library, Dallas, Texas.

Collection of back issues of *United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine.*
Donor: Mrs. O. J. (Louise) Cook, U.D.C. Jefferson Davis Chapter 2255, of Oklahoma City.

Madison County Genealogist, Vol 2, 1970.
Lifeliner, Vol. 6, 1970.
Santa Clara County Historical and Genealogical Society, Vol. 7, 1970.
They Were Here, Vol. 6, 1970.
Quarterly of the South Texas Genealogical and Historical Society, Vol. 5, 1970.
Michigan Heritage, Vol. 12, 1970.
Our Heritage, Vol. 12, 1970.
Maryland and Delaware Genealogist, Vol. 9, 1970.
Wisconsin State Genealogical Society Newsletter, 1970.
Kansas City Genealogist, Vol. 11, 1970.
Oregon Genealogical Society Bulletin, Vol. 9, 1970.
Seattle Genealogical Society Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 20, 1970.
Wisconsin Helper, Vol. 4, 1970.
The Tallow Light, Vol. 5, 1970.
Deep South Genealogical Quarterly, Vol. 8, 1970.
Mohr News, Vol. 3, 1970.
The Scottish Genealogist, Vol. 17, 1970.
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION:

Zerox copy letter Mar. 15, 1878 from J. M. Bryan to daughter in re Cherokee Old Settlers, etc.
Donor: Mrs. H. A. DuPrins, 905 W. 18th Ave., Eugene, Oregon.

Zerox copy newspaper clippings in re Indian Ceremonials near Braggs, Okla., including "The Revival of a Natchez-Cherokee Ceremonial Ground" by Dr. James Howard.
Donor: Archie Sam, Oklahoma City, Okla.

"Nuyaka Indian Mission with names of students" by Oakla Mount Spears.
Donor: Oakla Mount Spears, Okmulgee, Okla.

Texas Libraries, Summer and Fall 1971.
Donor: Texas Library & Historical Commission, Austin, Tex.

Akwesasne Notes, Sept., Oct. - Nov., and Dec. 1971.
Donor: Akwesasne Notes, Roosevelt, N. Y.

Report quarterly meeting Inter-Tribal Council Five Civilized Tribes, Oct. 8, 1971.
Donor: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Muskogee, Okla.

Apache Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 49; Order Dismissing petition.
Bay Mills Indian Community, et al vs. U. S., Docket Nos. 18E and 58: Opinion Final Award.
Cayuga Nation vs. U. S., Docket No. 230: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Order of Dismissal
Creek Nation vs. U. S., Docket No. 272: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Delaware Tribe vs. U. S., Docket Nos. 27-A and 241: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Final Award.
Three Affiliated Tribes of Fort Berthold Reservation vs. U. S., Docket Nos. 350 B & C, 113, 246, 191, 221, 74, 221A: Order granting rehearing.
Miami Tribe of Okla. v. U. S.: Docket Nos. 76, 251a, 252-256: Opinion; Order allowing reimbursable.
Mohave Indians v. U. S., Docket Nos. 283, 295: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Final Award.
Oneida Nation, et al v. U. S., Docket No. 301: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Ottawa Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 40-K; Order allowing Attorneys fees.
Papago Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 102: Opinion; Order.
Peoria Tribe of Okla., et al, and Delaware Tribe of Okla. v. U. S., Docket No. 289: Order allowing attorneys expenses.
Ponca Tribe of Okla., et al, v. U. S., Docket No. 322: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Final Award.
Pueblos de Zia, de Jemez and de Santa Ana, vs. U. S., Docket No. 137: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Final Award.
Sac & Fox Tribe of Oklahoma, Missouri, Iowa, vs. U. S., Docket No. 95: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Sac & FoxTribe of Iowa and Oklahoma, et al vs. U. S., Docket No. 219: Order allowing reimbursement of attorneys fees.
Samish Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 261: Final Award.
Seneca Tribe, et al v. U. S., Docket Nos. 341A and B: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Lower Sioux Indian Community in Minnesota vs. U. S., Docket No. 363:

Opinion; Order granting plaintiff's motion to amend first amended petition.
Skagit Tribe vs. U. S., Docket No. 294: Final Award.
Swinomish Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 233: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Stockbridge Munsee Community v. U. S., Docket No. 300: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Order.
Washoe Tribes of Nevada and California v. U. S., Docket No. 288: Findings of Fact; Order allowing reimbursable expenses.

Donor: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D. C.

MUSEUMS:

(Historical Building)

Wiley Post artifacts, including the following: Distinguished Flying Cross; Federation Aeronautique Internationale medal; The Olympiad of the Air medal; Belgian International Aviation Award; various other medals and awards presented to Wiley Post for outstanding achievement in the field of aviation; keys to cities and proclamations presented to Wiley Post; charcoal portrait and oil portrait of Wiley Post; watercolor portrait of Wiley Post's aircraft, "Winnie Mae;" items recovered from the plane in which Wiley Post and Will Rogers were killed, including wristwatch worn by Wiley Post, camera and light meter, and collection of fishing lures and lines; other watches owned and worn by Wiley Post; fishing boat motor used by Wiley Post; flight helmet and goggles used by Wiley Post during his early barn-storming days when he flew open cockpit airplanes; items of clothing, some for hunting; binoculars; photograph of airplane which Charles and Ann Lindbergh flew around the world, autographed by Charles Lindbergh; altimeter; .45 caliber pistol; Remington rifle and scope, used by Wiley Post for deer hunting; Remington autoloading .35 caliber rifle used by Wiley Post for hunting in bushy country.

Donor: Mrs. Mae Post, Ralls, Texas.

Collection of furniture, household items, personal items, and items of clothing from donor's family.

Donor: Jesse D. Biggers, Rochelle, Illinois.

Collection of furniture, household items, personal items, and items of clothing from donor's family

Donor: Miss Helen L. Biggers, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

46-star button, issued prior to statehood to encourage placing capitol at Oklahoma City.

Donor: Mrs. Janeene Holdsclaw, Moore, Oklahoma.

Personal and household items from the family of Thomas C. and Genetta Troxel Tolson, 89'ers.

Donor: Jon Stedman, Denton, Texas.

Photographs and documents concerning Wiley Post.

Donor: Gordon Post, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

World War II items, including boots, military insignia, and German armbands and insignia.

Donor: Stephen McCartney, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

(Newspaper Museum)

Early printing equipment, including guages, spacers, punch, and perforator.
Donor: H. Milt Phillips, Seminole, Oklahoma.

(Chickasaw Council House)

Photograph of delegates to Constitutional Convention.
Donor: Mrs. Vera Taylor, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

(Erin Springs Mansion)

Handmade bedspread and quilt, 19th century, made by donor's mother.
Donor: Mrs. Lura Goldston, Lindsay, Oklahoma.

Late 19th century sewing machine in cabinet.
Donor: Mrs. Pearl Adkins, Lindsay, Oklahoma.

(Oklahoma Territorial Museum)

Royal Bar brass token.
Donor: Kenneth Nelson, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

19th century cut nails.
Donor: Les and Homer Rouse, Everst, Kansas.

Matching settee and chair from home of F. B. Lillie, pioneer Guthrie druggist, who established Oklahoma Territory's first drug store, April 22, 1889.
Donor: Foress B. Lillie, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Steinola phonograph, with records and needles.
Donor: Mrs. E. C. Heilman, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Photograph, documents.
Donor: Richard Watts, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

(Sod House Site)

Castiron kettle and adjustable wrench, in donor's family since 1900.
Donor: Abe Taylor, Fairview, Oklahoma.

Wooden handled knives and forks, brought to present Major county upon the opening of the Cherokee outlet by Harry Edingfield.
Donor: Hattie Edingfield, Fairview, Oklahoma.

Flat iron, pin cushion, eyeglasses, rolling pin, razor, and apron, from Jim Thompson family; crock churn from Elza G. Perkins family.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Charley Sheffield, Fairview, Oklahoma.

(Thomas-Foreman Home)

Photographs of Mrs. Foreman and home taken by donor in 1966.
Donor: Jess C. Epple, Warner, Oklahoma.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

the chronicles

BLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF OKLAHOMA

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

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H. Milt Phillips, 1st Vice President
Fisher Muldrow, 2nd Vice President
Mrs. George L. Bowman, Treasurer
V. R. Easterling, Executive Director
Historical Building, Oklahoma City

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Term Expiring in January, 1973

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John E. Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City
Q. B. Boydstun, Fort Gibson

Term Expiring in January, 1974

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Term Expiring in January, 1975

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Term Expiring in January, 1976

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Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be sent to t
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Cover: The print on the front cover is from an original photograph of the Peoria Hotel taken on June 28, 1894, at Peoria, Indian Territory.

OLD PEORIA: A MOTHER OF MINING CAMPS

By Velma Nieberding

The Tri-State District is a mining area that covers approximately 2,000 square miles and occupies parts of four adjoining counties: Jasper and Newton counties in Missouri; Cherokee County in Kansas, and Ottawa County in Oklahoma. The greatest concentration of ore deposits was found in Ottawa County around Picher, and they were the last to be developed. The first ore was found at Peoria on the reservation of the Confederated Peoria Indians.[1]

The Tri-State District lies on the northwest flank of the Ozark uplift in a more or less continuously mineralized belt which is up to 30 miles wide and nearly 100 miles long, extending from Springfield, Missouri to Miami, Oklahoma. The elevation of the region ranges from 700 to 1,200 feet above sea level. The vicinity of the Picher field is fairly open prairie.

The mineral wealth of the Tri-State district was first tapped commercially in 1849, the year the nation was agog with "California gold fever" and every westward traveler was a potential prospector. During the course of this rush to the newly-won state of California, one of the fortune-hunting pioneers stubbed his toe against a chunk of dark-gray ore in the Ozark foothills of Missouri and unknowingly uncovered greater wealth than all of California's gold. The ore was Galena, containing 80 percent lead.[2]

Don Campbell, so the story goes, was on his way to the gold fields of California when he stopped to visit with an uncle, William Tingle, a well-to-do stockman, who lived in the vicinity of what is now Joplin, Missouri. Tingle had heard the Indians talking about buried treasure, stories of treasure-laden Spanish caravans being way-laid as they traveled this section of the Ozarks on the Government wire road from old Mexico. Tales of gold stolen by the Indians and buried in nearby caves intrigued every old-timer.

Tingle showed his nephew a crock of gold dust for which he said he had traded ponies to the Indians who had told him of buried treasure. There were other stories of metals found locally from which the Indians (pre-

[1] For an account of Peoria removal to Oklahoma, see *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* by Muriel H. Wright (University of Oklahoma Press, 1951).

[2] Glenn A. Hickman, "International Business Concern with its Heart in the Magic Circle," *Mid-American Purchaser*, October, 1950; also: *Old Grub-Stake Days in Joplin* by William R. and Mabel Draper (Haldeman-Julius Publishers, Girard, Kansas, 1946).

sumably the Quapaw and Osage) made shot for their guns and a legend of a lost treasure mine opened by Spaniards somewhere in Indian Territory sparked every account.

Campbell polished his diving rod, sharpened his pickawee—then the principal equipment of prospectors—and began to explore. A slave loaned to him by his uncle carried his equipment. Campbell found rock outcroppings of free lead ore; a small smelter was built and under this first crude system of mining, two wagon loads of the smelted chunks of lead (called "pigs") were hauled by ox team and wagon to Boonville, Missouri and shipped by rail to LaSalle, Ilinois.

The returns of this initial mining venture were said to have been approximately $50 for each of the partners. Campbell decided to continue his journey to California and was never heard from again. But his parting remark to his uncle was to go down in history as a sentiment shared by many a hard-rock miner: "Them shafts do smell bad," he growled.[3]

Mining operations, such as they were, were halted during the Civil War to be resumed on a commercial basis in 1879 in the Joplin district.[4] Meanwhile, the Indians were returning to Indian Territory to the lands they had fled during the war. The Quapaws in a most impoverished condition from the hardships of refugee life returned from their sanctuary with the Osages and Ottawas in Kansas. The Senecas and Shawnees returned to find their lands ravaged and their homes burned.

The Confederated Peorias, under the treaty of February 23, 1867, had been assigned to the north-half of the Seneca and Shawnee reservation and part of the Quapaw reservation. Restrictions on their lands in Kansas had been removed to allow them to sell these lands and they soon began to remove to their new reserve, to open up little farms and to build a school for their children. Remnants of other tribes were being sent into the Territory so that by 1867 eleven tribes were living in what is now Ottawa County.[5]

Although no official notice of the presence of lead ore appears in the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reports until 1883, it is obvious that the Indians knew of the surface outcroppings of ore and probably said nothing about it, fearing it would be taken from them. In 1883, an agency official

[3] *Old Grub Stake Days in Joplin, ibid.*

[4] For detailed mining development, see A. M. Gibson, "Early Mining Camps in Northeast Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV (July 1956).

[5] Records of the Indian agency included Quapaws, Confederated Peorias, Kaskaskia, Piankeshaw and Wea; Miami (allotted lands among the Peorias); Ottawas, Eastern Shawnees, Wyandots, Senecas and Captain Jack's band of Modocs. (Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1867.) Cherokees also were in the area but not under supervision of the Seneca Indian Agency.

reported that lead had been found at the surface near what is now Peoria, on the east side of Spring River.

Numerous accounts are cited that Indians and hunters of this area used to take out enough lead to make shot for their guns, especially during the Civil War. Hollow places in the rocks were pointed out as places where the Indians separated the lead from flint. The procedure was to fill a depression in the rocks with wood, put the ore-bearing flint on that, then cover it all with something to prevent the heat from escaping. The wood was burned slowly and as soon as the flint was hot enough it would crack to pieces and the lead would settle to the bottom.[6]

The story is told of David Harland, a Cherokee, who owned a valuable farm along Shoal Creek, which included the present site of Galena, Kansas. After a severe windstorm in 1865, several large trees had been uprooted on the farm, and lead was plainly visible at the roots. But the family said nothing about the discovery because they did not want to pay a royalty to the Government on the mineral. The trees were put back into place and the ore left undisturbed.[7]

On the Peoria lands, a few miles south of the Kansas line, were located the legendary "Spanish treasure mines." It was inevitable that prospectors knowing the story and with the mining industry well established in Southwestern Missouri, should consider these lands in the light of future prospecting. By 1873, several lead mines were in operation astride the Missouri-Indian Territory border some four miles south of Seneca, Missouri.[8]

One of the first such pioneer prospectors was John Patrick McNaughton, who came to the Peoria reservation in 1878 after an Indian he had befriended told him of "Treasure" mines in the northeastern tip of the Indian Territory. McNaughton was by nature and environment well fitted to the role he eventually would play in the development of the mining industry in Northeastern Oklahoma. He was born in Tennessee in 1853, the son of Scotch-Irish parents. His elder brother, a Captain in the Confederate Army, had lost his life during the war; his father, Thomas McNaughton, had been so severely wounded at the Battle of Shiloh that he was left unable to work the rest of his life.

John P. McNaughton, then a schoolboy of thirteen, left his home in Petersburg, Tennessee, and went by boat to Fort Smith, Arkansas, where he went to work as a laborer. In 1867, he was engaged as a teamster, hauling cotton from Texas to Springfield, Missouri, which then was the terminal of

[6] Irene G. Stone, "The Lead and Zinc Field of Kansas" (*Kansas Historical Collections*, Vol. 7, 1901–02).

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Gibson, "Early Mining Camps . . . ," *op. cit.*

Willis McNaughton looking into a legendary "Spanish treasure mine"

the Atlantic and Pacific railroad. He held this job for three years, driving a six-mule team across country on numerous freighting trips. In 1870, when he had accumulated enough capital to go into business for himself, he purchased his own teams and traveled by wagon with a group of Government surveyors through the Indian Territory.

After this venture, McNaughton worked as a "Bullwhacker" on a wagon train from Texas to Utah and from there he went to Arizona as a "mule skinner" with a freighting crew. His travels took him into old Mexico where he became familiar with mining methods used in that country and he learned various Indian languages in which he was able to converse fluently.[9] In September, 1877, McNaughton was on his way to the Black Hills of South Dakota where he intended to do some prospecting. Along the way he befriended a penniless Shawnee Indian who was trying to get back to his people and learned of the "Spanish mines" on the Peoria lands. With an abrupt change of plans he went to Seneca, Missouri where he hired a team and buckboard and pushed into the wild, timbered region of Indian Territory, traveling along Spring River west of the Missouri line, to reach the Peoria reservation.

When McNaughton found the "mines" described by the Indians, he was amazed at the type of operation that had been carried on there. Scattered over an area of some forty acres, crude shafts and tunnels indicated that much digging had been done there over an extensive period of time. He judged that from 500 to 1,000 men must have been engaged in the primitive mining venture. There were shafts 250 to 300 feet in depth, round in shape and similar to mining methods of early Spaniards. They showed evidence of having been made largely by means of stone implements.[10]

But were they mined by the Spanish? In later years the site of the mines has been studied by archaeologists who believe that the shafts found by McNaughton were merely flint pits where the Indians, long before the white man came, quarried rock for arrowheads. In 1884, W. H. Holmes of the Smithsonian Institution visited the area and believed that the mines were simply factories and that the large flakes of flint, some more than three inches long found in the area, may have been used as scrapers in the manufacture of wood and bone objects. Flint quarried by the Indians was not surface flint but was brought up from below the surface. It has been compared to the novaculite found near Hot Springs, Arkansas. This was the

[9] Notes on McNaughton family history were given the author some years ago by Willis McNaughton, son of J. P. McNaughton and second chief of the Peoria tribe. Willis McNaughton died in 1969.

[10] Data furnished by Willis McNaughton. His father made maps and had the area surveyed in an effort to interest outside capital for developing them.

stone used by the Quapaw Indians for arrowheads, as well as barter for tribal necessities in pre-historic days. Older Indians have recalled that they visited the site as children when their parents went for flint to make arrowheads.[11]

In an article on "Indian Quarries" in the *Missouri Archaeologist*, C. Helmer Turner wrote: "The most spectacular of the sites examined is not in Missouri but is located two and a half miles west of the state line in Oklahoma . . . This site is also known as the 'Spanish Diggings' or Peoria quarry."[12]

However, some historians believe that these mines could have been opened by the French explorers. Renault, a Frenchman who vainly had been seeking for gold and silver in Missouri in 1723 was told by a director of the Mississippi Company, "Dig for lead instead of silver. The lead that you will get here will bring you more silver than you will ever find in these rocks and hills." Thus Renault, more than 50 years before the United States Government was founded and 80 years before the Missouri region became a state, had begun the development of mineral resources whose product as mined throughout the world had been of immeasurably greater service to mankind than all the gold and silver which had been dug out of the earth.

McNaughton, busy with rigging up ropes that would let him descend into the ancient shafts seems to have accepted the "Spanish treasure" theory. Although he found no trace of mineral in the old diggings he was confident that Spanish armies would not have expended so much time and energy for nothing. He wasted no time in applying to Hiram Jones, United States Indian Agent in charge of the Seneca Indian Agency, for permission to prospect in the Peoria reservation.

Agent Jones, who had no knowledge of McNaughton's already extensive investigations, refused to grant him permission to enter the reservation. Undaunted by this opposition, McNaughton went to Texas, where he tried to interest some of his friends in the Peoria project. He obtained the financial aid of George W. Newcombe, a wealthy resident of Sherman, and they decided to go directly to the Department of the Interior for permission to carry on their mining investigations. A trip to Washington, D.C. resulted in the issuance of a special permit by Carl Shurz, Secretary of the Interior under President U. S. Grant. It enabled the young prospector to search for mineral on the Peoria lands but prohibited him from mining or selling any ore he might discover.

The Peoria chiefs, however, endorsed leases on several sections of land

[11] Lawrence E. Zane, late chief of the Wyandot tribe was one of these. He always declared the "mining shafts" were made by Indians.

[12] C. Helmer Turner, "Indian Quarries," *Missouri Archaeologist*, Vol. 16, No. 2, July, 1954.

Group with John P. McNaughton (X) in 1881, in front of Jim Charley's Store, Baxter Springs, Kansas

near what became the town of Peoria. The documents signed with the thumbmark of Jim Charley and with the signature of Ed Black (who could write) are said to be the first mining leases made in the Indian Territory. While these tribal agreements may not have been approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, they indicate the attitude of the Indians toward a man they considered their friend.[13]

Under this supposedly valid grant, McNaughton began intensive prospecting in the vicinity of Peoria, west of the old Spanish mines. There he found, not the gold which the Spaniards apparently had sought, but lead. The deposits lay close to the surface in a sheet and bunch formation at a

[13] The head chief of the Peorias in 1878 was Jim Charley (Mah Che Haw To Zah) second chief was Ed Black (MeZho Zah Ke Mah) and councilmen: Daniel Eddy (Nom Wem Zah), Thomas Peckham (Wah Pe Mong Wash) and Jim Skye (Kish e Kon Zah).—From a family record of the Baptiste and Peery families (unpublished) compiled by A. J. Peery, Lindsay, California, 1938.

point more than twenty feet below the surface of the ground. Mixed with the lead was another ore which McNaughton at the time discarded as valueless. This was spalerite or zinc called "jack," "black jack" and "blende."[14]

Although the Peorias presented no opposition to developing mines on their reservation, the Secretary of the Interior did. He refused to approve the tribal leasing agreement on the grounds that it might establish a harmful precedent and decreed that McNaughton should confine his activities merely to prospecting. For a time the young prospector abandoned his dream of mining. He obtained a clerical position in a store in Baxter Springs, Kansas, belonging to the Peoria Chief, Jim Charley. Here, he was in a position to observe mining activities only a few miles from Indian Territory. A shaft had been put down near Galena, Kansas, and lead was struck on March 21, 1877.[15]

As news spread of the Galena strike, it was estimated that 10,000 people were attracted to the vicinity within thirty days. It was during this time that McNaughton met and married Miss Clare E. Peery, whose father was the purchasing agent for the Peoria tribe. She was a granddaughter of Baptiste Peoria.[16] McNaughton, with his bride, returned to the Indian Territory, now in a position as an intermarried Peoria Indian to assume a place in tribal affairs. It was the custom of many Indian tribes who held their land in common for members to take land claims and live on them, improve them and rent or lease them. Nothing was done with some of these claims—they perhaps were plowed around or stakes or poles put up, but as allotment time drew near there was much trading in these claims on which only the improvements or the right to live on them were sold or traded.

"The Mirage View Farm," which became the McNaughton homestead, was first claimed by Jim Charley, Peoria Chief, and his wife, Lizzie Kaw-Wah-Tah, the two claims comprising 320 acres of land. Jim Charley had some improvements on the east 80 acres of his claim—a small field, a two or three-room log house, a log stable, a well, and a rail fence. It was on this east 80 acres that McNaughton built the family home. Here in 1891 was estab-

[14] "The first zinc ore of the Tri-State district was shipped from the Joplin area in 1872. It became increasingly important and the despised "black jack" rapidly displaced lead as the leader in output. Zinc smelting began at Weir City in 1873 and at Pittsburgh, Kansas in 1878. Joplin was known in its early history as "the town that jack built."—"The Story of the Tri-State Zinc and Lead Mining District" a convention folder of the American Mining Congress and American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, September, 1931.

[15] Kansas Historical Collections, *op. cit.*

[16] Baptiste Peoria was born about the year 1800 near Kaskaskia, Illinois and died in Indian Territory in 1875. He is buried in the Peoria tribal cemetery, east of Miami. For many years he was Chief and Interpreter for the tribe and was prominent in promoting peace among the Indians during the Civil War.—Cutler's *History of Kansas*, 1883. p. 876.

lished one of the early postoffices of Ottawa County. It was called "Max."[16a]

In 1889, Congress had passed legislation allotting to each member of the Confederated Wea, Peoria, Kaskaskia and Piankeshaw tribes of Indians two hundred acres of land, each out of the common reserve. Members of the Western Miami tribe (located in what is now northwest Ottawa County) were also allotted.[17]

Spencer Hartwig, U.S. government representative of the allotting committee for the Peorias, made his headquarters at the McNaughton farm and issued allotment certificates to 153 Confederated Peorias and 66 Miamis. The patents contained a clause restricting the sale of the lands for twenty-five years and permission for individual allottees to lease or rent allotments for a period not to exceed three years.[18]

McNaughton had been waiting for this event for over ten years. He immediately leased 8,000 acres of land for grazing purposes and several thousand acres for mining. The first leases were for five years; the latter for ten years. The 8,000 acres were fenced with wire and became the first fenced-in tract of large extent in Ottawa County.

Meanwhile, after bringing in a horsepower drill by wagon and mule team from Texas, McNaughton began to drill northwest of Peoria. The first shaft was sunk in 1891. That year the Peoria Mining Company was organized under the laws of Kansas with a capital stock of one million dollars, to mine in Indian Territory. The incorporators were W. C. Perry, Fort Scott, Kansas, president; J. P. McNaughton, vice-president and manager; W. H. Herner, Baxter Springs, secretary-treasurer; J. C. Wilson, Topeka; and Colonel J. R. Hallowell, Columbus, Kansas. The incorporators were equal owners, each one contributing the money to furnish the capital.[19]

Meanwhile, critics of the new mining enterprise had questioned the validity of the leases on the Peoria lands. McNaughton, according to newspaper reports of the time, again took the issue to Washington, basing his right to lease on the Treaty of February 23, 1867, which had made the Peorias citizens of the United States in order that they might sell their Kansas lands. He was permitted to continue his leasing activities.[20]

Another crisis now developed in the affairs of McNaughton's infant

[16a] George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (1948).

[17] The Government had tried to include the Miami (Western) with the Confederated Peorias but this did not please the Miamis who wanted a separate council. "We bought land from the Peorias although at the time we had money on deposit with the Government."—Interview with Forest D. Olds, Chief of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, 1970.

[18] Peoria and Miami Allotment Act, *Statutes at Large* Vol. 25, p. 1013.

[19] As told by Willis McNaughton, 1958.

mining company. His associates, disheartened by the series of delays and legal entanglements, coupled with the low price of ore (lead was selling for less than fifty dollars a ton and zinc for twelve to fifteen dollars) decided to liquidate their holdings. The new company thus suspended operations before it was fairly started.

McNaughton stubbornly refused to abandon his dream of mining Peoria lands. He took an option on his partners' holdings and went to New York seeking capital. He sold the company, retaining a third interest in what was now called the "Peoria Mining, Construction and Lead Company." This company, organized in February 1892, under the laws of New Jersey, with a capital stock of three million dollars. McNaughton retained his position as vice-president and manager of the new organization. At last the mining in Indian Territory could begin. By the end of 1892, three million pounds of virtually free lead ore and twelve carloads of zinc ore and silicate had been taken from the ground.

The little settlement of Peoria, beginning as a cluster of miners' huts, began to attract new residents by the hundreds. Miss Clara Platter, an old-time resident of Peoria and Mrs. Rosa Carver, a Miami Indian born in that locality, recalled that some seven hundred people were living in tents and log huts by 1893. The mining was done, for the most part, by groups of two or three or more partners.[21]

Clara Platter, who had come to the Peoria camp in 1893 when she was fourteen years old described it as follows: "Mining was at its height. The mines were shallow, 50 to 75 feet deep at the most. The ore mostly occurred in chunks (called 'free ore'). It was a cheap kind of lead called 'dry bone.' "

Miss Platter worked in the mines alongside other women and girls. "We broke the rocks with an implement something like a churn dash." The ore would be taken either to Galena, Kansas, or Joplin, Missouri. Roads were almost impassable. It took three days for the trip, twenty wagon loads going at a time so the miners could help each other on the road. Little mining was done in cold weather because the ore had to be washed by hand, in sieves.[22]

Although the ore proved to be in pockets and was not found in sufficient

[20] On June 7, 1897, a General Leasing Law pertaining to the Quapaw Agency, Indian Territory, was approved by Congress. It provided that allottees of lands within the limits of the agency could lease their lands for ten years for mining purposes (*Public Document* No. 3. p. 11.)

[21] Personal Interview Miss Clara Platter, 1955. She was 78 years old at the time, and is since deceased.

[22] In October, 1925, there were 163 mining plants in operation in the Oklahoma field and of these, 32 were operating night shifts. Zinc was $51 to $59 a ton and lead was $130. In 1926, Ottawa County produced 67% of the entire Tri-State district's $55,920,650.00 worth of ore.—*Report District Mining* (Ottawa County).

quantities to justify the placing of expensive machinery, reports as late as 1904 show a turn-in from the company, of 15,700 pounds of ore valued at $40.00 per pound. This company was making small turn-ins of ore as late as middle 1905.[23] A number of "poor man's workings" were under operation during this period and the reports on sales may have included these.

The shafts in the Peoria mines were from 50 to 75 feet deep. Rock was brought to the surface by horse hoisters or hand windlass. Most of the ore mined by the small outfits was free lead, or so nearly free that it could be "bugged off" as the miners term it (the attached rock could be hammered off easily). Much of this work of separating the rock from the free ore and the sorting and washing of the ore was done by the wives and children of miners' families.

Since there was no railroad, the ore was hauled to Galena, Kansas, 16 miles distant, or to Joplin, Missouri, 22 miles to the north to be sold to a smelter. A wagon train of 18 to 20 teams would make the trip because the rough trail and streams were without bridges and cooperation was necessary if the ore wagons were to get to their destination.

Oklahoma's first mining boom was short-lived and Peoria never achieved the "wild" aspect of other mining camps of that period. The town seemingly had few of the usual boom-camp problems. Since whiskey could not be sold on Indian reservations, there were no saloons. However, according to old-timers, an occasional disturbance of the peace testified to the presence of bootleggers from outside the reservation. Miss Platter observed, "Due to numerous copper-head snakes in the area, miners insisted that some whiskey should be kept on hand in the case of snake bite!"

One story concerns the theft of a 500-pound chunk of pure lead that had been taken from one of the mines and put on display at the village store. It disappeared one night and it was later discovered that the Indian, on whose lease the lead had been found, had carted it off in a wheelbarrow, broken it up and sold it to a buyer not given to asking questions.

Today there are remains of mill refuse heaps, abandoned mining machinery and deep slashes in the earth around Peoria, mute testimony to the dreams and energy of pioneer miners. Most of the workers who "followed the lead" in from the Joplin district lived in "log town" a little to the northeast of present Peoria.

A postoffice had been established in 1891 and named Peoria, in the Peoria Indian Reservation, with James Dent (in whose store it was located) as the first postmaster.[24] Peoria was incorporated on May 20, 1898 and the

[23] *The Joplin Globe*, February 21, 1904; *ibid.*, January 12 and 29, 1905.

[24] Shirk, "First Post offices within the boundaries of Oklahoma," Vol. XX (1949).

The McNaughton Family in 1900. Front row from left: Willis, Mrs. John P. McNaughton, Ray; back row: Pearl, Guy, John P. McNaughton

first town election under its charter was held July 16, 1898. Thirty-two town lots were sold for residence and business purposes and Captain William Mayse, one of the first merchants of the town, and its postmaster, made a spirited address in which he predicted that "This day will be long remembered."[25]

Captain Mayse's words have been prophetic. For Peoria will never be overlooked when historians record the events of Ottawa County. It was the first mining camp, and is one of the old towns of Indian Territory. Around it yet hovers the mystery of the old Spanish Treasure mines. The stories of early prospectors are still recalled and the lure of buried treasure still attracts hopefuls who have come across fascinating maps or listened to the

[25] Pleasant Porter, *History of Indian Territory*. Biography of Captain Mayse, pp. 252–256.

oft-told tales. The old Peoria camp continued a heavy producer of lead even after it was part of the fabulous Tri-State District that yielded more than a billion dollars in minerals to 1960.[26]

Peoria's boom was short-lived, but McNaughton became interested in the development of the Lincolnville and Commerce fields, the next mining ventures in Ottawa County. He retired to his farm following the decline of Peoria mining and began breeding Shorthorn and Angus cattle and Percheron and Clydesdale horses. The farm by this time had grown to 800 acres. He purchased the farm outright from Chief Jim Charley of the Peorias and thus obtained the first deed to land in what is now Ottawa County.

McNaughton remained a friend and adviser of the Indians even after his retirement from mining. He represented them several times in allotment proceedings in Washington. In the course of this work he obtained the first copyrighted map of the first survey of what is now Ottawa County.

In 1895, McNaughton moved his family to Miami with the exception of one son, Willis,[27] who remained to manage the Max Mirage View farm. The elder McNaughton continued to be a force for progress at Miami helping to build up the city then only four years old. He was instrumental in obtaining a postoffice for Miami and establishing the first rural route out of the city. He also helped to establish the Friend's (Quaker) Church in Miami.

Although old-timers say "McNaughton was the first man to stick a shovel in the ground at Peoria" they overlook the evidence he found in 1878 when he mapped and described the "Spanish Treasure Mines." It is true that he probably marketed the first ore from Indian Territory and from the Peoria Reservation. But a study of the development of mining in this district reveals that as early as 1716 both the French and Spanish had knowledge of ore deposits in this area. Henry Schoolcraft, visiting eastern Missouri camps in 1818, journeyed to the future mining area of the Tri-State District where he found good lead specimens in the creek banks as well as traces of shallow mining and crude log furnaces, presumably used by Indians and hunters.

Members of the Stephen H. Long Expedition skirted the future Tri-State

[26] Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries* (Harlow Publishing Company, Norman, 1965), p. 454.

[27] The sons of Mr. and Mrs. John P. McNaughton were: Ray McNaughton who became a leading attorney of Miami; Dr. Guy P. McNaughton who acquired distinction as a bacteriologist; and Willis McNaughton who was a prominent farmer until his retirement. Later, Willis became interested in Peoria tribal affairs and served as second chief of the tribe for several years. Their mother, Pearl Baptiste (Mrs. J. P.) McNaughton died on April 10, 1935.

District in 1819–1820, and their reports mention the geology of the area and note traces of lead ore.[28] The ore was here. It lay waiting for the right time in history and for a combination of events, courage and resourcefulness of certain men before it could be developed into a paying industry.

The Peoria venture is only relatively important so far as the camp's production in the Tri-State District totals of ore output which became the greatest in the world. Nevertheless this old camp in Ottawa County has the distinction of being the only development of lead and zinc mining occurring in the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) many years before 1900.

[28] Edwin James, *Expedition of Major S. H. Long to the Rocky Mountains in 1819 and 1820.* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905.)

SACRED HEART MISSION AMONG THE POTAWATOMI INDIANS

By Maxine Fightmaster

When I first set about to discover the history of Sacred Heart Mission, I wrote the present pastor of Sacred Heart Parish. He replied, "There are scarcely any people left here who know anything about old Sacred Heart."[1] I was to discover that there are scarcely any people at all who know anything about the mission. Many are vaguely aware that such a mission did once exist, but only a few priests and nuns, several of whom have reflected facets of its existence in scholarly theses, seemed to have explored its history.

Realizing I faced a paucity of information, I was excited every time I came upon some new reference to the mission—an article in an ambitious pre-statehood journal, a clipping from a seventy-year-old newspaper, notes written in a distinctive European hand on the backs of old church correspondence, a brief history written for a jubilee anniversary of the Catholic Church in the state—any of these was enough to hearten a flagging searcher. All were encountered in the discouraging quest for the story of Sacred Heart. I was encouraged briefly—and disappointed almost inevitably, for most references had been lifted, almost without change and usually without credit, from "The Annals of Sacred Heart."[2] Although not a systematic chronicle, this Benedictine record contains most of what is known of the early history of the Benedictine order in Oklahoma and of Sacred Heart Mission.

From 1889 until 1910 the mission staff published *The Indian Advocate*.[3] In this day of careless journalism and sloppy editorial procedures, the *Advocate*, particularly before 1902, when it became an overly pious monthly, is a wonder. It is well-written, free of typographical errors, and rich with information about early missions and mission Indians. Many of its articles, however, duplicate information found in the "Annals of Sacred Heart."

The beginning of Sacred Heart is inextricably joined to the Potawatomi Indians.[4] The search for the Potawatomi is a haunting and frustrating one.

[1] Father Claude Sons, personal letter, ca. January, 1970.

[2] "The Annals of Sacred Heart Abbey, 1875 to 1921." Copied from the original manuscript, and annotated by Urban de Hasque, Archives, Chancery Office, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[3] The only known complete collection of this publication is in St. Gregory's College Library, Shawnee, Oklahoma. This microfilm copy in the Western Collection of the University of Oklahoma Library was reproduced from it.

Sacred Heart Mission: *Left*, log cabin, Father Robot's first dwelling; *right*, the stone Bakery

The facts are elusive, the trail formless, promising sources redundantly disappointing. The search, one begins to suspect, is like the Potawatomi experience. When I had all but despaired of finding more than a line or two about these Indians, I came upon Joseph Francis Murphy's dissertation, "Potawatomi Indians of the West,"[5] in the Oklahoma Historical Society Library. This study confirmed my own discovery: Information about the Potawatomi is hard to come by. Murphy earlier wrote his master's thesis[6] on the Benedictine order in Oklahoma, incorporating necessarily much about Sacred Heart Mission. I unwittingly chose a subject for which he had done much research; and since in many cases his sources were not available to me, I very much relied on both his studies.

[4] "Potawatomi" is the spelling adopted by the Department of Indian Affairs and by ethnologists generally. Variant spellings have been kept here in quoted material.

[5] Francis Joseph Murphy, "Potawatomi Indians of the West: Origins of the Citizen Band" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1961).

[6] Francis Joseph Murphy, *The Monastic Centers of the Order of St. Benedict in Oklahoma* (Shawnee: Benedictine Color Press, 1968).

The Countryside Around Sacred Heart Mission Today

The countryside surrounding the site of Sacred Heart Mission has the look common to semi-arid regions. It is a landscape of scrubby trees and unkempt grasses, yet grasses that produce amazingly sleek cattle. Great stretches of the land are broken only by stock fences. Houses are usually small, nondescript, and infrequent; decaying car bodies or farm machinery clutters dooryards; outbuildings sag unpainted; and an occasional oilwell pump or tank farm adds its ugliness to the untidy scene. Only the sky looks clean, barring dust storms. And it is perhaps the sky that marks peculiarly the Southwest—its vastness, its openness, the loneliness that pervades its rural stretches. Asphalt highways cutting through the land serve to make it more, not less, lonely.

It is surprising, then, on one of the minor highways in Pottawatomie County, amidst this rural unconcern, to find a spired white Roman Catholic church with stained-glass windows, confronted with its own fenced cemetery. Farther up the road a deserted grocery-store building and a few scattered houses sit single file along the paving. Certainly this is no thriving community. Yet the church is in repair, and the grass worn away by traffic in and out of the churchyard. The cemetery gate proclaims "Sacred Heart Cemetery, 1909," certainly a venerable structure in a state as adolescent as Oklahoma. But this church, this churchyard, are only vestiges of an earlier establishment. A quarter-mile past the present church the Catholic Church was first permanently established in Oklahoma.[7]

The square mile of land on which the mission stood was once part of the Potawatomi reserve, the tract set aside in the 1860's to receive the dispossessed Potawatomi of the Citizen Band from their reservation in Kansas. There is nothing here now, or almost nothing. At first, the place looks wild and unattended, much as it must have a hundred years ago. Dry grass rustles restlessly in the incessant, vaguely threatening wind; dust motes skip among the red pebbles of the road; overgrown thickets show no sign of any attention save from pasturing cattle. Weathered feeding troughs and desiccated cow piles speak only of a rural pasture. Yet an uncanny insistence, a sense of someone's having been here, seems to be in the air—more than rural desolation. For one thing, the fence is stock fence, but two stucco fenceposts interrupt its length. And when the slovenly grass bends in a sudden gust, it reveals the contradictions of concrete stairs, a foundation.

[7] A small church building existed in Atoka, Indian Territory, before the founding of Sacred Heart. However, it had no resident priest, and services there depended on a traveling missionary from the Arkansas Diocese.

Other foundations and footings confirm the first discoveries. One thing is striking: There is no rubble, no trace of crumbling walls. The devastation is complete, the sense of loss absolute.

Beyond a disheveled hillock an ancient tangle of *Poncirus trifoliata* flourishes. It is veiled in spring with pristine blossoms and redolent in October with the cloying sweetness of its stunted orange fruit. There is no way to tell whether it is native or whether some nun or priest set cuttings here—whether its vicious thorns are an innate or deliberate metaphor. Its impenetrable thorns and stems are an apt protection for what lies beyond: three small graveyards, each one fenced and secured now against trespassers, and against searchers for the past as well. Beyond the graveyards stand a corrugated iron shed and, some distance on, a small rock building and a log cabin, both obviously restored. A bleak chainlink fence surrounds the rock building, once the mission bakery.

The site is mute. It gives no hint of what set of circumstances, of what chance or what design accounts for the appearance and disappearance of a religious settlement in this wilderness that even now is so vast and so remote.

The Potawatomi Tribe

The written history of the Indian in Oklahoma is preeminently the history of the Five Civilized Tribes—Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole. Perhaps the Cherokee removal has been explored most exhaustively; there is, after all, a certain sad glamor in the story of these Indians.

But not even a sad glamor attends the past of the Potawatomi Indians. They figure hardly at all in our written hitsory, receiving at most a line or two of mention, usually an incidental or oblique reference, or a statistic in support of one of the better-chronicled tribes. Yet the Potawatomi account for nearly a seventh of the total Indian population in Oklahoma today, second in numbers only to the Creeks.[8] The present record reports the Potawatomi are concentrated in Shawnee, Maud, Tecumseh, and Wanette —all towns in or bordering Pottawatomie County, the modern equivalent of the former Potawatomi tract.

Because of the impenetrable complications of intermarriage, tribal consolidations, and similarities of appearance and customs, Indian tribes are grouped into language families. The Potawatomi belong to the Algonquian

[8] Lonnie E. Underhill and John H. Battle, "Classification of Oklahoma Indian Tribes: Language Stocks, Populations, and Locations," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII (Summer, 1970), pp. 202–205.

group. According to one noted historian, "The Algonkins were the most numerous, holding the greater portion of the country from the unoccupied 'debatable' land of Kentucky northward to Hudson Bay, and from the Atlantic westward to the Mississippi. . . . They have made a larger figure in our history than any other family, because through their lands came the heaviest and most agressive of white population, French or English."[9]

Almost the first of these "aggressive" trespassers were the French Jesuits. France had hardly begun to colonize Canada than missionaries made their appearance—Calvinists for French settlers and Roman Catholic for the "savages," since the French king had decreed that Indians were to be instructed only in the Catholic faith.[10] Jesuits lived and roamed with and endured whatever the Indians did, eager to seize any opportunity for converts. Furthermore, they wrote about their experiences:[11]

> . . . it is to the Jesuits that we owe the great body of our information concerning the frontiers of New France in the seventeenth century. It was their duty annually to transmit to their superior in Quebec, or Montreal, a written journal of their doings. . . . Annually, between 1632 and 1673, the superior made up a narrative, or *Relation*, of the most important events which had occurred in the several missionary districts under his charge, . . .

When a Jesuit, Father Claude Allouez, full of anthropological curiosity as well as missionary zeal, ventured into the country of the Ottawa in the years 1666 and 1667, he sent back this report:[12]

> The Pouteouatomi are a people speaking the Algonquin tongue, but in a dialect much harder to understand than that of the Outaouacs. Their country lies along the Lake of the Ilimouek . . . Of all the people with whom I have mingled in these regions, they are the most docile, and the most disposed toward the French. Their wives and daughters are more modest than those of the other Nations. They observe among themselves a certain sort of civility, and also show it toward strangers—which is rare among our Barbarians . . . when I went to see (one of the elders), he arose from his seat to yield it to me, with the same formalities that politeness demands of gentlefolk . . .

Father Allouez' assessment of Potawatomi docility, gentleness and receptiveness to the French and to Catholicism were strikingly astute, for these traits endured perceptively in a discernible number of the Potawatomi.

[9] Reuben Gold Thwaites, in Appendix I, *The Indians of North America: From the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, ed. by Edna Kenton, Vol. II (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927), p. 496.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 493.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 511.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 168–169.

From their first encounter with the French, these Indians proved themselves eager for education, religion, and later, for a settled agricultural economy. Although, eventually, according to Angie Debo, "All the tribes believed fervently in education as their only defense against the white aggression that threatened them."[13]

Even before the Potawatomi were "nudged by the pressure of white settlement,"[14] as a booklet from the United States Department of the Interior puts it, they suffered at the hands of other Indian tribes. Father Dablon, in the Relation of 1670–71, reported: ". . . the best instructed in the faith, are the people living at the head of the Bay commonly called des Puans . . . the Pouteouatami . . . also live here, but as foreigners, driven by their fear of the Iroquois from their own territories, which lie between the Lake of the Hurons and that of the Illinois."[15]

Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor of the voluminous *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, notes the further dispersal of the Potawatomi: "In 1681, one of their bands was located on the Chicago River; other bands, at various historic periods, occupied the vicinity of St. Joseph, Michigan, and the neighborhood of Detroit, and the Manitoulin Islands. Their tribal location is often indistinct, through their frequent migrations and extensive affiliations with other tribes, . . ."[16]

By whatever forces, for two centuries the Potawatomi were driven farther and farther southward. As often as they made treaties with the United States government, those treaties were violated, enabling white settlers or speculators to gain possession of Potawatomi lands. In 1838 the first Potawatomi were removed into what would become Kansas:[17]

> They were already tending toward the civilized status; they were most reluctant to leave Indiana, and the removal entailed much mental and physical suffering. They or their descendants would be subject to two more major removals in the course of the next fifty years—from one Kansas reservation to another, and finally to Oklahoma. An inherent reluctance and period of relative degradation accompanied each of these removals.

Yet in 1846, when the Potawatomi were again forced to move, they showed their accustomed docility:[18]

[13] Angie Debo, *A History of the Indians of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), p. 170.

[14] United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Indians of Oklahoma* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), p. 1.

[15] Kenton, *Relations*, p. 228.

[16] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 592.

[17] Murphy, "Potawatomi," p. 109.

[18] William Medill, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report to the Secretary of War, William

It was a new feature of our Indian system, to see an entire tribe of Indians quietly organize, and leave their old homes, and peacefully, and without disorder of any kind, remove themselves to a new country, nearly two hundred miles distant from most of them, in conformity with a stipulation to that effect in a treaty which they had made with the government; and bearing their own expense.

During their years in Kansas the Potawatomi suffered acts of God and man: Other Indian tribes and white men maltreated them. They were victims of both Indian and white wars; of drought and flood; of the white man's diseases cholera and smallpox; and of the traffic to Oregon and the California gold rush, which trespassed their lands. Since they were not United States' citizens, the Potawatomi had no legal recourse, yet they appear in the records steadfast in their docility: "Trespasses and depredations of every conceivable kind have been committed on the Indians. They have been personally maltreated, their property stolen, their timber destroyed, their possessions encroached upon, and divers other wrongs and injuries done them. Notwithstanding all which, they have afforded a praiseworthy example of good conduct, under the most trying circumstances."[19]

In their migration of two hundred years, the Potawatomi, wherever they went, exhibited besides their docility certain other predilections, which Father Allouez had first observed. For one, they liked the whites, especially the French, and consistently associated with and married them. Murphy calls this behavior "one of the habitual, never-failing characteristics of the Citizen Band."[20] Children of mixed parentage very often got good educations, and the Potawatomi looked to these educated mixed-bloods for leadership. Regardless of the abuse heaped upon them, the Indians apparently harbored no widespread hatred of the whites, nor did they ostracize them.

Another pronounced predisposition among the Potawatomi was, if not always an ardent faith, an enduring loyalty to Catholicism. In 1837, settled tentatively at Council Bluffs, Iowa, a group of the Indians petitioned the Secretary of War to provide priests as teachers for their children. Murphy doubts whether any great number of the Potawatomi tribe subscribed to this petition, because the missionary Father De Smet, arriving to minister

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L. Marcy, November 30, 1848, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1829–1908) 1848, p. 396, quoted in Murphy, "Potawatomi," p. 251.

[19] George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report to the Secretary of the Interior, Report Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1856, pp. 21–22, quoted in Murphy, "Potawatomi," p. 283.

[20] Murphy, "Potawatomi," p. 33.

to them, reported that of two thousand Indians, only one was a Catholic, although the mixed-bloods, particularly, were apparently quite willing for their children to have a Catholic education.

Yet other Potawatomi, like those who settled for a time at Sugar Creek in Kansas, were undoubtedly fervent. Here "... the Potawatomi attachment to the Catholic church was, for many, not just a superficial aspect of their lives. It was actually an integral part of the daily routine; so much so, perhaps, that conditions of greater fervor might be difficult to discover in all the history of American Catholic Indian missions.[21]

These Catholic Potawatomi possessed not only spiritual fervor but an unusual "zeal for other aspects of the external ritual of the Church."[22] Their feast-day celebrations were as splendid as those in Catholic Spain or Mexico. They dressed ceremoniously in bright plumes and feathers to greet approaching visitors at a distance from the reservation. In 1891, they extended "a similar welcome to the first bishop of the Indian Territory on the occasion of his first visit to Sacred Heart Mission."[23]

The Catholic Potawatomi generally hunted and fished, but were content to add garden crops to their diet. They lived settled, peaceable lives and apparently took readily to the white man's civilization. In 1845 the Indian agent reported that they "have raised this season a considerable quantity of small grain. . . . They are industrious and moral, are comfortably fixed in good log houses; . . . They are communicants, to the number of about eleven hundred, of the Roman Catholic church. . . ."[24]

Not all Potawatomi were Catholic. Those who were not, and even some who were, held the settled life in contempt. The predominantly non-Catholic Indians hunted, fished, and disdained agriculture and settled ways. Although a minority of the tribe, they usually prevailed in tribal decisions. The two factions later were distinguished as the Citizen Band and the Prairie Band, living in separate locations after 1840. Each member of the tribe was free to choose the group with which he would align himself, but "the great plurality of the Citizen Band's membership was from those elements of the Potawatomi Kansas River Reservation who had long since become accustomed to the way of life associated with schools, farms, and missionaries."[25]

By 1860 the advance of railroads across the United States became yet another pressure to which the Indians could only yield. Now not only white

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 172.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 173.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 174.
[24] Report Indian Affairs, 1845, p. 555, quoted in Murphy, "Potawatomi," p. 116.
[25] Murphy, "Potawatomi," p. 500.

settlers but railroad companies were avid for Indian lands, and the Government strove to give them what they wanted. Vernon L. Parrington, usually a moderate and balanced commentator, becomes strident when he contemplates the opportunities of the time:[26]

> On the prairies from Mexico to Canada—across which rumbled great herds of buffalo—roved powerful tribes of hostile Indians who fretted against the forward thrust of settlement and disputed the right of possession. The urgent business of the times was the subduing of this wild region, wresting it from Indians and buffalo and wilderness; and the forty years that lay between the California Gold Rush of '49 and the Oklahoma Land Rush of '89 saw the greatest wave of pioneer expansion—the swiftest and most reckless—in all our pioneer experience. Expansion on so vast a scale necessitated building, and the seventies became the railway age, bonding the future to break down present barriers of isolation, and opening new territories for later exploitation.

Henry Adams bluntly stated, "The generation between 1865 and 1895 was already mortgaged to the railways. . . ."[27]

The Potawatomi Treaty of 1861 had "as its main purpose the furtherance of railway interests; even the settlement of the Potawatomi lands by white settlers was a secondary consideration."[28] The Treaty gave the Prairie Band, which maintained that land was to be used by all, a small reservation in Kansas. The Treaty made the agricultural Potawatomi citizens, each free to own land separately. Murphy comments, "The fiction of regarding the Potawatomi as equal to the surrounding whites, a main implication of the Treaty of 1861, simply paved the way for a measure of exploitation which even this tribe had hardly experienced in the past."[29]

Should the Citizen Band find the white man's ways too perplexing, the U.S. Government, according to the treaty, would buy back the land from the Potawatomi and find them another home. This provision was patently a means to get the Indians out of Kansas and let the railroad in. Decades later the unpublished report of the Hoover Commission in 1947 said:[30]

> The practice of allotting land and issuing fee patents obviously did not make the Indians "competent." It proved to be chiefly a way of getting Indian land into non-Indian ownership. . . . this policy . . . could not have prevailed for so long if

[26] *Main Currents in American Thought*, Vol. III: *The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, Inc., 1958), p. 8.

[27] Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams*, with an introduction by James Truslow Adams (New York: Modern Library of Random House, 1931), p. 240.

[28] Murphy, "Potawatomi," p. 403.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

[30] Quoted in Debo, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

not supported by the avid demands of others for Indian lands. This was a way of getting them, usually at bargain prices.

For at least a quarter of a century before the Treaty of 1861, many of the Potawatomi as well as some of their priests and agents had advocated individual ownership of land for the Indian. Given his own plot of ground, the reasoning went, the agricultural, peaceable, stable Potawatomi would gain advantage over his untamed brother of the Prairie Band. He would benefit from a more sophisticated state or territorial government, from educational facilities, and from other similar refinements. Hypothetically, at least, as a citizen under local government, he would have some kind of consistent protection instead of the long-drawn-out negotiations necessary between even the best of Indian agents and the Government in Washington. Furthermore, the Citizen Band were protected from the Prairie Band, which victimized the settled Indians and raised hell in general.

As landowning citizens the Potawatomi were, of course, no longer members of a tribal unit. And as landowners they suddenly were faced with paying taxes, which few understood or were provident enough to pay. In the resulting foreclosures many lost their land and white men secured it at bargain prices. This appeared the inescapable intent of the Treaty of 1861.

The Potawatomi citizens, to escape a chaotic existence in a culture they could not cope with and to salvage their tribal unity if possible, agreed to let the government sell their Kansas lands and buy a tract for them in Oklahoma. Their citizenship put their right to bargain as a tribe under a cloud, but since expediency served for the purpose of their removal, the U.S. Government chose to ignore the ambiguous situation. Perhaps the government really intended to benefit the Indians, but its policy was unquestionably flawed:[31]

> The fundamental flaw . . . was the lack of adequate protection to safeguard the allotted Indian in the possession of his land. . . . the Indians were dispossessed and left homeless. This was particularly unfortunate for the Citizen Band member in that he was also bereft of all annuities, and being a citizen, was generally deprived for a considerable time of the ordinary advantages of the status of an Indian. . . . Having lost the lands, being only doubtfully an Indian, and even more doubtfully a member of a nation or a tribe, he was in a precarious condition indeed.

There was no concentrated removal of the Potawatomi into Indian Territory: About 300 of the Citizen Band settled here during the 1870s; by 1890 there were 500; and in 1892 the Potawatomi population was 754.[32]

[31] Murphy, "Potawatomi," pp. 449, 451.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 493–494.

The Potawatomi tract was merely one of the many tracts which the government assigned the Indians. So many different tribes were forced into Indian Territory by the 1880's that "the western half of Oklahoma became a crazy quilt of Indian reservations."[33] The Potawatomi patch in the crazy design was about thirty miles square, bounded on the west by the Indian Meridian, on the north by the Sac and Fox and Kickapoo reserves, on the east by the Seminole Nation, and on the south by the Canadian River.

Across the river a mixed-blood Chickasaw youth, E. B. Johnson, lived with his family. This is how he remembered the arrival of the new citizens: "We had a lot of newcomers in our country then, the Pottowattomie Tribe had moved down from Kansas in 1871 and they brought lots of civilization with them and some good stock. Father got a big Norman grey stallion from them in a trade."[34] In striking contrast to this civilizing influence were certain other Indians that Johnson and his family encountered in 1872:[35]

About 6000 Comanches [Father] estimated were camped all along Beaver Creek, had just killed about 100 buffalo and the squaws were busy preparing the meat. . . . The little boys looked like they were 5 to 8 years old mounted on bare back, decked on gee strings and breech clout. . . . Some of the Chiefs or Medicine Men met Father whom they knew and seemed glad to see him and told him to come back that night as about 200 warriors would be coming in from Texas and he would witness a great celebration and possibly a war, medicine and scalp dance, all pulled off at once. . . . When we arrived they had already begun the Tom Tom and a few dancing, mostly squaws and young folks. Pretty soon they began to yell and whoop, and started the war dance, around the the fire. Then a lot of chanting and gestures and pretty soon another group was in the Medicine dance. The warriors had already arrived and we did not realize it but pretty soon an old Chief arose and called out, I suppose for the scalp dance, a tremendous whoop almost shook the valley and here came all kinds of warriors with the scalps on their belts, some fresh, hair of all colors and many dried up, that was the big thrill and almost broke up the other dancers. My hair simply stood on end, and [they] came pretty close for real comfort and had a bad, wild odor which I have always remembered. They all left the next day, only buzzards and their refuse was left.

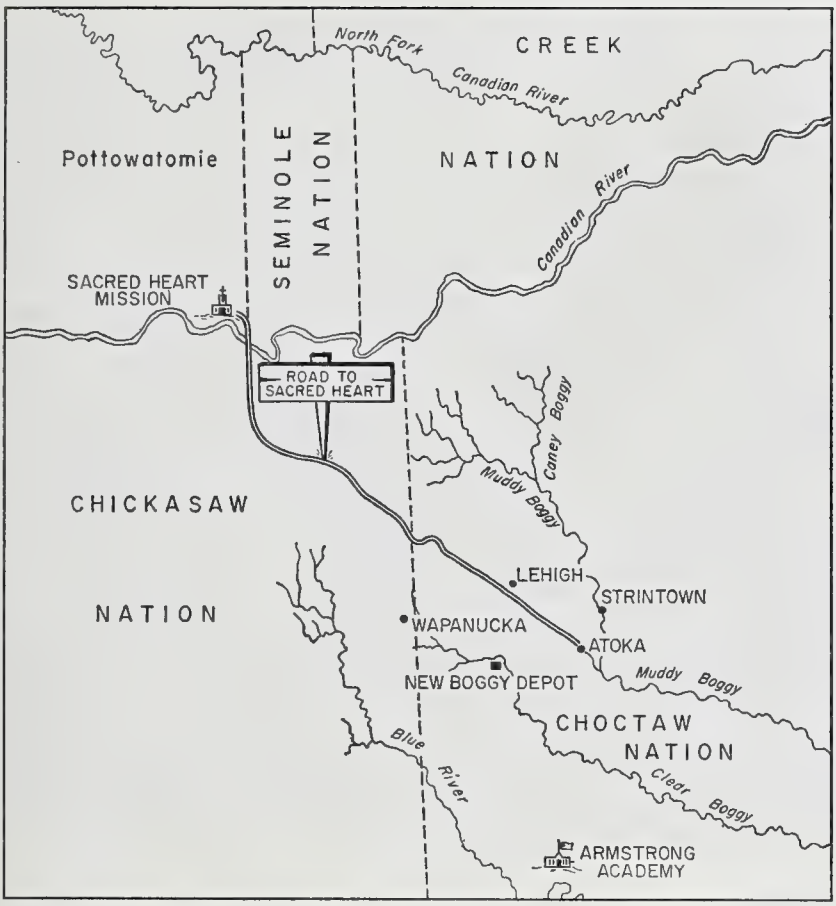
Into this wild land the tenuous new, Potawatomi citizens had come. For

[33] Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A Student's Guide to Localized History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 16.

[34] (E. B. Johnson), "Memoirs of M(ontford) T. Johnson" (title page missing, ca. 1931), p. 33. (Mimeographed.)

This little book was given originally to members of the Johnson family. It later had all the humanity edited out of it and was published as *The Chickasaw Rancher.* The original version was loaned the writer by a member of the family.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 23–24.



two centuries they had depended upon the Jesuits, but no Jesuits awaited them here—no masses, no celebrations, no nuns. The Potawatomi, of course, were not the only ones who had learned to rely on the Church, who exhibited the complacent dependence that it generated in its adherents. The confident assumption that priests or nuns would take their children in, educate and care for them, and instill them with morality was a quite common one among all Catholics certainly, and even among many Protestants. On the frontier the human need for the assurances of the Church was vastly magnified:[36]

[Mother] died suddenly. A great shock to all, leaving a house full of little children. . . . The men at the store made the coffin out of some lumber there and large boxes and lined it with cloth, outside with black cloth and laid her to rest on the little knoll. . . . She was only 33 years old. . . . Placed all the children in convents. Mother was a Catholic and always told Father if anything should happen to him or her there would be the place to get help.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Sacred Heart Mission, 1876–1901

Indians in the northern part of the Territory could count on occasional visits from a traveling Jesuit missionary from Kansas, but most of the remote Potawatomi saw no priest from the time of their removal until the arrival of Benedictine missionaries in 1876 and 1877.

Founding of Sacred Heart Mission

Until the XIII Century Benedictine monasteries "were the sole repositories of learning and literature in Western Europe,"[37] and their members were devoted to converting and civilizing European barbarians quite as much as to erudition. Then reformation, rationalism, and revolution each in its turn contributed to the enervation of the order. However, a renaissance of the monasteries occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century. It was during

[37] Michael D. Knowles, "Benedictines," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1968, Vol. III, p. 466.

this resurgence that the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary of Pierre-qui-Vire was founded in France, and "deeply monastic though it was, never for a moment lost sight of the aim to carry on missionary and apostolic work."[38]

A priest from Pierre-qui-Vire, Father Isidore Robot,[39] whose Louisiana mission had been devastated by yellow fever, learned of the unchurched Catholic Indians in Indian Territory and got the Bishop of Arkansas to assign him as their missionary. Father Robot later wrote, "It is the business of the Benedictines to die in civilizing barbarians. Our predecessors did it in Europe. We must do it for the abandoned Indians."[40]

Father Robot and his companion Brother Dominic first approached the wildly pieced patches of Indian Territory at Atoka on October 12, 1875.

[38] Murphy, *Monastic Centers*, p. 4.

[39] "The Annals of Sacred Heart Abbey" p. 2. Unless otherwise noted, all information about Sacred Heart Mission is from this source (cited as *Annals*).

[40] Quoted in Murphy, *Monastic Centers*, p. 18.

Father Robot was a frail but undoubtedly courageous man, and he needed courage for a trip to Atoka. E. B. Johnson has described the experience:[41]

We changed cars there from Atoka, I.T. over the M.K. and T. We went via New Orleans, mostly swamps and big alligators all along the railroad, some times they were piled on the track so bad and thick the train would stop and the trainmen would go out on the engine and shoot them, had big guns for that business and of course would kill lots of them until the atmosphere was almost stifling and bad odor. When we got to the Miss. River we got off our train and took a boat across, stayed over night in New Orleans, . . . mosquitoes bad all along, altho this was in the fall of the year, and everyone talking about the yellow fever. . . .

In Atoka the Benedictine missionaries found a tiny Catholic church building to which a visiting priest from Arkansas came only infrequently, and they got a warm welcome from the few resident Catholics, most of whom had come with the railroad. Learning that the Potawatomi northwest of Atoka were Catholics, the two Benedictines started on the seventy-mile journey to the Potawatomi reserve. Another Benedictine has described what a traveler saw on such a journey:[42]

The whole country seemed to be an immense pasture in which were numerous herds of range cattle and many horses, and wild game abounded everywhere. In traveling through the country, one might frequently see deer grazing quietly with the half-wild range cattle. Wild turkeys, prairie chickens and quails were so numerous that one scarcely noticed them as they sought safety in flight as they were approached. Almost every man that one met seemed to be armed with one or two Colt's revolvers, with a belt of cartridges and, not infrequently, a Winchester rifle as well. . . . There were no white men in the country except the few who had married Indian women.

Father Robot managed to cross without mishap the Canadian River, which is in accounts of the time invariably described as "treacherous." Traveling through the wilderness, he met among others, Potawatomi and Choctaw who convinced him of their need for a permanent mission.

The next year Father Robot's nomination as Prefect Apostolic gave him charge of all Catholic activities in Indian Territory, and the Potawatomi offered him a section of their land for a mission, on the condition that he would build a church and a school for them. The priest chose a place known locally as Bald Hill, four miles north of the treacherous river, "in the last

41 Johnson "Memoirs," p. 40.

42 John Laracy, "Sacred Heart Mission and Abbey," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V (June, 1927), p. 236.

wild spot left in the United States."[43] The mission site was on an old military road occasionally used in hauling freight from Ft. Smith westward.[44] The Indians began work immediately on a log building and continued until the severe winter halted them.

In the spring of 1877 seven recruits—two Americans and five Europeans —came up from Atoka with Father Robot, to live at first in tents, shanties, or under the sky. Staffing the mission was not to be a great problem; anticlerical feeling in France had sent many priests looking for assignments in other countries. But financing the mission presented many problems. The parent monastery in France could offer little monetary support; the Bishop of Arkansas sent insignificant amounts; and the only existing Catholic group in Oklahoma was Father Robot's band. Then James McMaster, editor of *New York Freeman's Journal*, wrote a pointed editorial questioning the wisdom of establishing Catholic missions in the barren Southwest. Father Robot's answer to McMaster began a strenuous correspondence between the two men, and the editor became, through his editorials, a benefactor of Sacred Heart. He brought not only financial aid, but his articles attracted John Laracy, who renounced the world and came, in 1879, to spend the rest of his life as a lay brother at the mission.[45] Laracy's brief accounts of his experiences as a wilderness missioner are almost the only personal accounts that exist. They are human, humorous, altogether delightful.

The first mass was said, "to the great delight of the Indians," at Sacred Heart on May 13, 1877. Among the experiences of that first spring the *Annals* records:[46]

> On the 28th we witnessed for the first time a terrific storm, then so common in this country. . . . the shanty immersed, the light blew out. We thought the last day had come. . . . during the night a worse storm than the one previously related broke loose and frightened our horses away. . . . six lumber wagons left for Atoka to freight lumber. . . . It usually took a week to haul a load, but when the streams were swollen, it took much longer. God only knows what hardships men and beasts had to undergo in the many trips 70 miles to and from Atoka for many years.

The furious pace of physical construction at the new mission was never at all to distract the Benedictines from their spiritual building program. Priests began immediately long missionary trips throughout the Territory,

[43] Joseph Lanchet, "Diary of a Young French Immigrant," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, July, 1909, p. 43.
[44] Laracy, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
[45] Murphy, *Monastic Centers*, p. 20.
[46] *Annals*, pp. 8–10.

bringing the comforts of the Church to isolated settlers and Indians and establishing missions, churches, and schools in larger communities.

At the mission the religious community arose at three in the morning, said their offices, and had dry bread and coffee at six-thirty before beginning their physical labors in garden, woods, farm, or quarry. They finished their day at eight in the evening:[47]

> . . . to sleep, not on spring iron beds, but on boards with a straw mattress covered with b[l]ankets; no sheets. Be it observed that no meat was served, nor was there any wine to be had. The bill of fare for the whole year was: breakfast, bread and coffee; dinner, soup and vegetables; supper, rice and three prunes and no more. We were never solicitous what shall we eat. We knew it before.

The *Annals* first mentions a student body at the mission in 1879: "D. Bernard has 12 students of both sexes in the day school."[48] By 1880 the two-story main building had two wings; the stone bakery had been built and taken by the Indians as their church; Sacred Heart Institute had both Indian and white boys as students; and St. Mary's Academy for girls was completed and staffed by six Benedictine nuns.

By the end of August, 1881, the visitor from Atoka, the soldier enroute from Ft. Sill, or the occasional freighter traveling on the old military road had a new landmark on the journey, for the fathers had set, between the towers of the main building, a metal statue of the Sacred Heart four feet high. It must have been a welcome sight for anyone seeking lodging in the wilderness. The fathers were hospitable, sheltering all who stopped for supper and a bed, asking no questions. Scattered as human establishments were on the frontier, no one refused shelter to a stranger.[49]

Nature in the Territory continued unrelenting. Quicksand, thunderstorms, rattlesnakes, March blizzards, malaria, poison ivy, tornadoes, and rampaging streams seemed to be constants in the lives of the missionaries. The men, apparently, never faltered, but the mission proved too remote and harsh for the Benedictine sisters. In 1884 five Sisters of Mercy came to take their place. One of them later recounted her first impressions in *The Indian Advocate*:[50]

> We finally arrived at Sacred Heart Mission, and how agreeably surprised we were. Instead of a small log cabin for a convent, a tent for a kitchen, the wide prairie for the garden and walks to which we had bid adieu, and the many little comforts inseparable to ordinary life, which we had left behind with good will,

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[49] Murphy, *Monastic Centers*, p. 19.
[50] *Indian Advocate*, July, 1889, p. 11, quoted in Murphy, *Monastic Centers*, p. 23.

never expecting to see them again for years, when lo! we suddenly came in full view of the convent with its surrounding groves and fields—the latter in waving grain; the monastery to the right—all presenting a grand surprise and delight to our longing eyes.

But the most complete description of the original mission is from the diary of a young Frenchman who freighted supplies for the settlement. In his entry for May 16, 1884:[51]

In front of us, not quite half a mile distant, at the foot of the west slope of the hill on a little knoll, is the monastery of Sacred Heart Mission and the convent. The sudden view of these edifices in such a retired spot is striking. The monastery is a frame building of some two hundred feet in length, . . . to which an addition is presently made to be used as a school. The building is two stories high with two little square towers at about the middle of its length and distant of each other about twenty or twenty-five feet; between the two towers . . . is a gallery; below this the porch preceding the main entrance to the monastery, while above, on the roof, is a metallic statue from Paris, France, of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. At about three hundred feet south is the convent and school for girls. North of the monastery are the stables, and, on a row from east to west, the employees' house, the blacksmith shop, the tool house, the carpenter shop and the bakery; . . .

. . . Toward the south and the east that view can reach twenty and thirty miles over prairie and forests. . . .

. . . We go down by a wide avenue bordered on each side by two rows of catalpas. . . . In front of the monastery, boys . . . are busy with various games . . . while in front of the convent little girls are also at play on the green lawn. . . . there is quite a little orchard and vineyard, and about one hundred acres in culture. At the time I am writing this, fields, garden, orchard, and vineyard promise bounteous crops.

Frail Father Robot's request to be relieved as Prefect Apostolic was granted in 1887. The vigor of the mission by that time is apparent in the mission statistics for 1887–1888:[52]

Priests:	13	Day Schools:	8
Churches and Chapels:	15	Stations:	28
College:	1	Indian Tribes:	30
Industrial Schools:	2	Baptisms:	220
Female Academy:	1	Catholic Population:	3,800
		Convents:	4

There were as well six priests at the mission and seven others at Lehigh, Krebs, McAlester, Pawhuska, and Purcell. The college, so called, was a

[51] Lanchet, op. cit., pp. 48–49.
[52] *Annals*, p. 20.

preparatory school for boys with priestly ambitions. The industrial schools were vocational grammar schools for Indian boys.

Reports of Indian agents through the 1880s and 1890s describe Sacred Heart as "furnished with nearly everything to make it comfortable both indoors and out, and a good corps of teachers,"[53] in need of no repairs, with commodious buildings and "ample and pleasant play grounds."[54] One report quotes the chairman of the Potawatomi business committee:[55]

> This Mission is a great benefit to our People in many ways. It furnishes many with work who could not otherwise make a living. And they feed a great many who are poor and destitute. In fact if it was not for this institution the full bloods could not live here, they would have to go away. It keeps these people together. We could not do without them.

The ever-growing number of white settlers, miners, and cattlemen in the Territory meant an increasing body of students needing schools and of adults needing churches. The swelling population necessitated a bishop to oversee Catholic affairs instead of a Prefect Apostolic. When Bishop Theophile Meerschaert established his residence in Guthrie, in 1891, the supervision of such affairs was no longer the concern of the Benedictine Prefect. The mission fathers, however, appear to have stayed as busy as before; an unidentified newspaper article in the Barde Collection, probably published in November, 1897, gives an interesting summary of their accomplishments:[56]

> The Sacred Heart Mission, founded near the South Canadian, by eight Catholic missionaries twenty-one years ago, is one of the most beneficent and praise deserving religious institutions in Oklahoma. Mostly with their own hands they broke up 200 acres of land and fenced a whole section. The diligent fathers planted vines and fruit trees, which bear abundantly. They manufactured 600 gallons of wine from Sacred Mission [*sic*] raised grapes this year. They raised 1,900 bushels of oats; 1,200 of sweet-potatoes, and large quantities of other varieties of products of their own well-tilled soil. The brothers number now 40, and regular attendance at their different schools number over 300. A large number of pupils are Indians. . . . The institution has done more for the civilization of the territory Indians than any other religious-educational concern in Oklahoma.

[53] Jacob V. Carter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 25, 1883, Letter Press Copybook, Vol. IX, p. 375, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society (hereafter cited as IA, OHS).

[54] Report on Mission Schools of Sac and Fox Agency, December 30, 1889, Letter Press Copybook, Vol. XV, p. 97, IA, OHS.

[55] (Alex B.) Peltier, quoted in report by Samuel L. Patrick, February 25, 1891, Letter Press Copybook, Vol. XVI, pp. 8–9, IA, OHS.

[56] Number 2309, Barde Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Library. Datelines November 5 and 6 on reverse of clipping.

In 1900 the *Annals* note a Catholic population of 17,804 (3,030 of whom were Indians), 30 churches with resident priests, 34 missions with churches, 25 parochial schools, and 2,413 pupils.[57]

Then eighteen days into the next year, Brother John Laracy wrote to Lee Patrick, the Indian agent:[58]

> I have to convey to you the sad news which I suppose you have heard before this that the mission was burned to the ground last Tuesday night. Fire was discovered in the kitchen on the south side of the mission buildings about 11 P.M. and all attempts to check proved unavailing. In a short time the church and convent took fire and were a heap of ruins. I believe $100.00 would not cover the loss. Insurance $21,000.

The Indian Advocate reported that even the mission bells were destroyed in the intense heat of the fire.[59] The metal statue of the Sacred Heart surely met a similar fate.

Rebuilding began at once; although other schools were available to them, some of the Potawatomi apparently would send their children only to Sacred Heart. The original agreement with Father Robot, which stipulated a Catholic school for the Potawatomi, was apparently still observed. The Indian agent reported to the territorial governor: "The Pottawatomies have no school maintained especially for them by the Government . . . there has been maintained at Sacred Heart a Catholic Mission School which has cared for upwards of 60 Pottawatomie children; this Institution was burned last winter and I am glad to note that steps are being taken for its rebuilding."[60]

Sacred Heart College Catalogue for 1896–97 had assured the parents of prospective students: "Sacred Heart Mission is situated in a healthy locality, far enough removed from all the distracting influences of a city, yet not too remote to secure its conveniences and accommodations; the student at Sacred Heart enjoys that seclusion which is so necessary for the prosecution of his studies."[61]

This assurance notwithstanding, after the fire the Benedictines began to plan for the building of a college in a place convenient to the railroad. They would resume the college at the mission for a while—it was 1913 before they laid the cornerstone for St. Gregory's College in Shawnee—but almost at

[57] *Annals*, p. 22.

[58] Letter, January 18, 1901, Sacred Heart Mission, Sac and Fox Agency, Schools File, IA, OHS.

[59] *Indian Advocate*, March, 1901, p. 79, quoted in Murphy, *Monastic Centers*, p. 38.

[60] Lee Patrick to William Jenkins, August 15, 1901, Letter Press Copybook, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 239–240, IA, OHS.

[61] Indian Documents, Vol. XXXII, p. 35, Oklahoma Historical Society Library.

once their attention appears diverted from the mission. Benedictines had always been scholars as well as missionaries. The Sacred Heart Benedictines were no different. Doubtless their erudition had been inefficiently utilized at the mission. St. Gregory's would give them exciting new opportunities.

The railroad had forced the Potawatomi into Oklahoma, and their coming here had brought the Benedictines to build the mission. Now, ironically, the railroad, or rather the absence of it, would lead to the extinction of Sacred Heart.

After 1909 priests from the mission were scattered at various duties: "Sacred Heart Mission . . . lost its old-time vigor; the construction of new buildings and improvements virtually came to an end."[62] A few priests remained, continuing the monastic routine and still welcoming guests who ventured there. The mission maintained a boarding school for boys until 1926,[63] and St. Mary's continued as a girls' boarding school until about 1945.[64] In his foreword to the *Annals* Father Urban de Hasque observed, "Not an entry was made for the years 1916, 1917, and 1920. . . . The years 1922, 1923, 1924, and 1925 were represented by blank pages, suggestive of the Abbey's blank existence during subsequent years and its decadence to a mere Benedictine rural mission post and parish."

Apparently no clear written record exists of what happened to the mission buildings. In the Winter, 1956–57, issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, a caption under a photograph of the rebuilt monastery explains, "This building . . . is still standing on the site of the Mission."[65] In the Autumn, 1958, issue of the same publication, a survey of historical sites notes, "Sacred Heart Mission, . . . site occupied by large brick building, 1901 (recently razed)."[66] And an unidentified clipping datelined Shawnee, November 14, no year, mentions that an Oklahoma City construction company is dismantling St. Mary's.[67]

Today the land on which the mission stood still belongs to the Benedictines. On it one can still see three small cemeteries, the bakery, and the log cabin. These, and the dry grass blowing in the relentless wind.

[62] Murphy, *Monastic Centers*, p. 44.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[65] XXXIV, opposite p. 416.
[66] XXXVI, p. 308.
[67] Sac and Fox Agency-Schools, St. Mary's located at Sacred Heart Mission, IA, OHS.

THE FRONTIER OF NORTHWEST TEXAS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

*By Michael L. Tate**

On February 18, 1861 General D. E. Twiggs surrendered all military posts and property in the Department of Texas to the Confederate state's newly appointed Committee of Public Safety. Shortly thereafter, the majority of loyal federal troops began their march to the coast where they boarded ships bound for the North. Others were retained as prisoners of war, however, when they proved tardy in vacating their posts.[1] Removal of the soldiers from the frontier naturally brought cries from irate citizens for replacement forces. The Secession Convention immediately appointed Colonel John S. "Rip" Ford to organize a defense group on the Rio Grande frontier and assigned Colonel Henry E. McCulloch, commander of a militia unit in the northwestern counties, to coordinate that region's overall military operations.[2] The latter promptly reported that "unless something is done to arm the citizens or place a sufficient force to protect them against the marauding Indians, the frontier must be broken up even worse than it is now."[3] McCulloch eagerly accepted his new commission and began enlisting recruits.

The Texas Secession Convention authorized a combined command of up to 2,000 mounted volunteers under Ford and McCulloch and specified that this system was to remain in effect until President Jefferson Davis could

* The article by Michael L. Tate, published here concerns Indian and military affairs during the Civil War, relating to Indian Territory and, particularly Texas in the Great Plains region. Mr. Tate has published studies on the same subject in the *Great Plains Journal* (XI, 1972). His present article in *The Chronicles* was prepared in completing his graduate seminar work for the doctorate in western history under Dr. W. Eugene Hollon in the University of Toledo, at Toledo, Ohio.—Ed.

1 D. E. Twiggs to Adj. Gen. Office February 19, 1861 in The War of the Rebellion: *A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, edited by Robert N. Scott *et al.* (Washington: Government Printing Office), Series I, Vol. I, Chapter VII, pp. 503–504. [Hereafter cited as OR—*Official Records*].

2 Original orders from the Secession Convention established three military districts with Ben McCulloch commanding the central frontier region, but this district was soon merged with Henry McCulloch's northern department. W. C. Holden, "Frontier Defense in Texas During the Civil War," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, IV (1928), p. 16.

3 Col. H. E. McCulloch to J. C. Robertson, Chairman of the Committee of Public Safety February 26, 1861, in *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas*, 1861, edited by E. W. Winkler. (Austin: The State Library, 1912), p. 373.

Colonel John S. "Rip" Ford

provide a permanent force.[4] Members of the Secession Committee subsequently asked Confederate Secretary of War Leroy P. Walker to make frontier defense a primary aim of the new government. They pointed out that if such military aid were not forthcoming, Texas citizens would lose faith in the Confederacy just as they had lost confidence in the federal army. Governor Edward Clark wrote President Davis that Sam Houston's followers would reestablish an independent republic if the Confederate government did not soon provide troops.[5] Reiterating the point of Washington's failure to protect the frontier, Governer Clark and others pointed out that should the Confederacy make similar idle promises, Texas would never whole-heartedly support the Southern cause.[6]

Although the Confederate government sympathized with the Texans' pleas, prosecution of an imminent war against the North relegated frontier defense to a subordinate position. Secretary of War Walker first informed the Texas Legislature that it should provide a plan for state defense, subject to his approval. The legislature responded in March 1861 with a bill that raised an additional regiment of 1,000 mounted riflemen for one year enlistments. Volunteers would provide their own clothing, horses, and weapons, and receive regular pay from the Confederacy. But Walker found the plan unsuitable because of the difficulty in paying for such a large force. Amending the legislature's action, he declared that the Confederacy would fund the new regiment only if it were converted to a less expensive infantry regiment. His program would leave the state-paid cavalry force of Ford and McCulloch intact and provide the state with an additional 1,000 infantrymen almost totally free of charge.[7]

But Texas legislators insisted that foot soldiers stationed at fixed posts were useless against the mounted Indian raiders, and they called for highly

[4] Resolution of the Secession Convention March 16, 1861, in Winkler, *Journal of the Secession Convention*, pp. 180–181.

[5] John Hemphill and W. S. Oldham to Leroy P. Walker March 30, 1861, in *OR* Series I, Vol. I, Chapter VII, pp. 260–618. Governor Edward Clark to Jefferson Davis April 4, 1861, in *OR* Series I, Vol. I, Chapter VII, p. 621. Texas utilized its own ranger forces in situations where regulars could not or would not act and this led to a hostility between the two types of commands which sometimes resulted in their working against each other. See Mike Tate, "Frontier Defense on the Comanche Ranges of Northwest Texas, 1846–1860," *Great Plains Journal,* Vol. XI (Fall, 1972).

[6] Winkler, *Journal of the Secession Convention.* p. 62, 64 and 123. The academic battle still rages about the role of the frontier population in secession voting. See Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Frontier and Secession" in *Studies in Southern History and Politics* (New York: Columbia University, 1914), p. 66; Floyd F. Ewing, Jr., "Origins of Unionist Sentiment on the West Texas Frontier," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, Vol. XXXII (1956), 26–29.

[7] John Hemphill and W. S. Oldham to Leroy P. Walker March 30, 1861, in *OR* Series I, Vol. I, Chapter VII, p. 619. Leroy P. Walker to John Hemphill April 11, 1861 in *OR* Series I, Vol. I, Chapter VII, p. 622.

mobile squads able to patrol large areas between temporary camps. Periodic expeditions against the Indian strongholds beyond the line of settlements also appeared necessary.[8] Walker's plan was finally approved but never fully implemented, since most Texans placed their faith in the already existing cavalry regiments. On May 24, 1861 the Adjutant General of Texas ordered McCulloch's First Regiment of Texas Mounted Riflemen and a battery of artillery to assume permanent positions on the northwest frontier. In addition to occupying the abandoned federal posts of Camp Cooper, Camp Colorado, Fort Chadbourne, and Fort Mason, they established a camp near the Red River. This organization provided the main strength for defense in that section of the state for the next twelve months.[9]

Despite the presence of the cavalry regiment, Indian raids increased during the spring and summer of 1861. In Comanche County the residents huddled together for mutual protection in three small settlements. Much of their livestock had been stolen, and farming proved impossible because of the Indian menace. Only the arrival of five wagons loaded with flour and escorted by forty men from Bell County prevented the county's abandonment.[10] A Jacksboro newspaper reported in September that Palo Pinto County had lost nearly one hundred horses to Indian warriors in the previous two weeks and a raiding party even killed one man within sight of the town of Palo Pinto. The newspaper remarked further that the incident was characteristic of conditions throughout the area and that "the road is lined with movers . . . who have at last determined to quit the country and seek protection in the older states."[11]

Meanwhile, McCulloch's cavalry regiment conducted patrols along the northwestern frontier. On November 1 Captain J. B. "Buck" Barry's company attacked a Comanche camp on the Peosi River just below the Indian Territory and killed ten warriors. The results were not overwhelming, but the year's first successful engagement represented a psychological victory for the frontiersmen.[12] At the southern end of the defense line a similar fight proved less satisfactory. Mounted troops from Fort Inge lost three

[8] John Hemphill and W. S. Oldham to Leroy P. Walker March 30, 1861, in *OR* Series I, Vol. I, Chapter VII, pp. 618–619. The greatest single complaint of Texans against the federal government before the Civil War concerned the continued use of foot soldiers rather than cavalry units for frontier. See the noted traveler Frederick Law Olmstead, *A Journey Through Texas or a Saddle Trip on the Southwestern Frontier* (New York: Dix, Edwards and Co., 1857), p. 182.

[9] General Orders Number Eight issued at San Antonio May 24, 1861, in *OR* Series I, Vol. I, Chapter VII, p. 574.

[10] B. B. Lightfoot, "From Frontier to Farmland: Highlights of Comanche County," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, Vol. XXXII (1956), p. 31.

[11] Quoted from *The White Man* September 13, 1861, in Rupert N. Richardson, *The Frontier of Northwest Texas 1846–1876* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1963), p. 235.

men and retreated after a brief foray against a party of Lipan Apaches. The soldiers held an upper hand in the battle, but their guns would not fire because the inferior percussion caps had gotten wet. The incident served as a fitting prelude to the supply problem which plagued defense forces throughout the Civil War.[13]

The election of Governor Francis R. Lubbock in November further insured the state's commitment to a forceful frontier defense program. Lubbock reversed former governor Sam Houston's tolerant policy toward Indians and demanded that the legislature provide adequate funds for protection of the northwestern region. The newly-elected executive sponsored defense bills and battled continually with the Confederate government to maintain troops in Texas.[14] While most citizens supported Lubbock's policy, a few acted independently to solve the raiding problem. Dallas women even held an elegant supper to raise money for guns that could be used against the Indians.[15] Such civilian methods of promoting frontier defense were common throughout the state during the year, and Lubbock used their examples to justify his demands for increased action.

Hoping that treaties would solve the Indian problem and reduce the need for frontier protection, Jefferson Davis appointed Albert Pike as Confederate Indian Commissioner in May 1861. Pike proved an able negotiator as he eventually won the partial allegiance of the Five Civilized Tribes in eastern Indian Territory. Confederate Major E. Kirby Smith considered Pike's negotiations an unprecedented Southern gain since they seemed to assure a strong buffer force against Yankee attacks from Kansas. More importantly, they reduced the area which Texas troops would have to patrol.[16]

The First Regiment of Texas Mounted Riflemen quickly occupied posts north of Red River and set up agencies for its Indian allies. Wilder bands, including the Comanches and Kiowas, also signed similar treaties with the Confederacy, but violations by both sides continued.[17] While depredations

[12] Report of Col. H. E. McCulloch November 30, 1861, in *OR* Series I, Vol. IV, Chapter XI, p. 35.

[13] Report of Sgt. W. Barrett October 16, 1861, in *OR* Series I, Vol. IV, Chapter XI, p. 34.

[14] Francis R. Lubbock, *Six Decades in Texas: Memoirs of Francis R. Lubbock*, edited by C. W. Raines. (Austin: Ben C. Jones and Co., 1900), pp. 335–338.

[15] J. Evetts Haley, *Fort Concho and the Texas Frontier* (San Angelo: San Angelo Standard Times, 1952), p. 101.

[16] Maj. E. Kirby Smith to Leroy P. Walker April 20, 1861, in *OR* Series I, Vol. I, Chapter VII, p. 628. The various treaties with the "civilized tribes" are listed separately in *OR* Series IV, Vol. I: pp. 445–466 for Choctaws, Creeks, and Chickasaws; pp. 513–527 for Seminoles; pp. 636–666 for Osages and Quapaws; and pp. 669–687 for Cherokees.

[17] Col. Earl Van Dorn to Col. H. E. McCulloch May 25, 1861, in *OR* Series I, Vol. I, Chapter VII, 576. "Treaty Concluded at the Wichita Agency" in *OR* Series IV, Vol. I, pp. 542–554.

decreased somewhat over the following eighteen months, northwest Texas still remained unsafe. Like federal treaty attempts before the Civil War, Confederate efforts failed to produce lasting peace between the races.

Indian problems posed similar difficulties for Union troops in Kansas and New Mexico Territory. Washington had initially employed a forceful policy which proved partially successful against the marauding Comanches and Kiowas of this area. On January 2, 1861 Lieutenant Colonel George B. Crittenden surprised a large camp near the Cimarron River in present-day southwestern Kansas, where his soldiers killed 10 warriors, destroyed 175 lodges and captured 40 horses. After their defeat the Indians split into smaller bands and temporarily ended their harassment of the Cimarron Trail.[18] Texas suffered some indirect repercussions from the campaign in the following months as the small bands increasingly turned their attentions toward the relatively unprotected northwestern frontier.

By April, the Commander of the Department of New Mexico, Colonel W. W. Loring, reversed the militant policy and called for a peace council with the Comanches. When the parley was held on the Pecos River the following month, six prominent chiefs promised to halt all depredations in Union controlled areas, allow construction of a fort on the Canadian River, and confer with no one except their military officers or Indian agents. The soldiers agreed to launch no campaigns during a ninety day armistice and indicated that the respite might be extended if the Indians proved their good faith.[19] Yet Union relations with the tribesmen proved less successful than did those of the Confederacy primarily because the former dealt with the fierce Comanches, Kiowas and Apaches rather than with the more peaceful tribes farther east. Loring's successor, Lieutenant Colonel Edward R. S. Canby, testified to the weakness of treaties when he reported in June that "the Comanches are openly at war with us."[20]

Realizing that treaties provided only a partial solution to the problems, the Texas Legislature passed a new frontier defense act on December 21, 1861. This measure established the Frontier Regiment as a replacement for the unwieldly and expensive Regiment of Texas Mounted Riflemen. The

[18] Robert M. Utley, *Fort Union* (Washington: National Park Historical Handbook Series, 1962), 21–22. Leo E. Oliva, *Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), pp. 109–110; and Martin H. Hall, *Sibley's New Mexico Campaign* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1960), pp. 19–20.

[19] Col. W. W. Loring to Col. E. D. Townsend May 19, 1861, in *OR* Series I, Vol. I, Chapter VII, 604. Dabney H. Maury to Capt. Robert A. Wainwright May 5, 1861, in *OR* Series I, Vol. I, Chapter VII, 602–603. Captain Wainwright conducted negotiations with the Comanches because Colonel Loring was unable to attend. Wainwright's reports are extremely revealing about troubles with the Indians, but the officer overestimated the beneficial results of this treaty-making.

[20] Lt. Col. Edward R. S. Canby to the Assis. Adj. Gen. June 23, 1861, in *OR* Series I, Vol. IV, Chapter XI, p. 44.

Frontier Regiment consisted of ten companies enlisted from frontier counties specified in the bill. Volunteers served minimum terms of one year and provided their own arms, horses and supplies. Though subject to rules and regulations of the Confederate army, the force continued under state directive and could not be removed beyond the state boundaries except by orders of the governor. Texas' control over the organization remained a point of contention between Governor Lubbock and Jefferson Davis who insisted upon the regiment's service outside of the state. Lubbock, however, stood adamant about keeping the troops solely for frontier defense. A subsequent act approved December 25, enhanced the original legislation by dividing Texas into thirty-three brigade districts, each commanded by a brigadier general. Moreover, it augmented the Frontier Regiment with defense forces from interior counties when additional men were needed for patrols.[21]

By March 1862 the new organization had established sixteen camps in a line extending from Archer County on the Red River to a point near Fort Duncan on the Rio Grande. Located about twenty-five miles apart and garrisoned by fifty or sixty men, each camp served as a permanent point from which patrols could be launched. The troops limited their operations to the areas immediately between the posts and neglected the regions farther west of the defense line. Though only nine companies were actually raised, they possessed an impressive combined strength of 1,089 men whose primary task was to patrol between the posts and report any Indian trails. Upon location of a trail, larger groups of soldiers could rendezvous and intercept the raiders before they could escape.[22]

In addition to the basic liability of being a defensive force which had to await reports of Indian depredations, the Frontier Regiment faced numerous other problems. Its commander, Colonel James Norris, failed to coordinate operations or maintain the respect of his men. Other officers sometimes experienced mutinies among their troops who preferred the flexible style of ranger organizations above any kind of discipline.[23] Obtaining adequate supplies also proved difficult as evidenced by Norris'

[21] Hans Peter Nelson Gammel, *The Laws of Texas: 1822–1897* (Austin: Gammel Book Company, 1898), V, 452–455. Despite the obvious need for more defense forces on the northwestern frontier throughout the war, Texas contributed large numbers of soldiers to the Confederate cause in other sections of the country. Stephen B. Oates, *Confederate Cavalry West of the River* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961), p. 28, tabulated that by the end of 1861 Texas had raised over 17,000 men for cavalry regiments, but of those only McCulloch's 1,000 men patrolled the crucial area between Fort Inge and the Red River.

[22] W. C. Holden, "Frontier Defense in Texas During the Civil War," pp. 19–21. Barbara N. Ledbetter, *Civil War Days in Young County, Texas* (Newcastle, Texas, 1965), pp. 11–13.

[23] J. Evetts Haley, *Charles Goodnight: Cowman and Plainsman* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1936), pp. 66–67.

statement that "a great part of the powder sent us would not kill a man ten steps from the muzzle loaded with all the powder that could be forced into the cylinder."[24] A letter from one sergeant reported inadequate rations, lack of clothing and no forage in his company.[25] Despite similar lists of grievances the new organization proved fairly successful for Indian raids declined noticeably during the following ten months.[26]

While conditions gradually improved in the northwestern counties, an incident occurred in Indian Territory which altered the course of events along the Texas frontier. Federal officials in Kansas encouraged their Indian allies to conduct raids into present-day Oklahoma and on October 23, 1862 a party of Osage, Delaware and Shawnee warriors attacked the Wichita Agency near Fort Cobb, where they destroyed the buildings and killed several agency personnel. The raid appeared relatively minor, yet the long range effects were devastating because the Comanches who had settled peacefully in the area no longer looked to the Southern troops for protection. Tribesmen felt further betrayed when the Confederacy failed to deliver all of the trade goods which Albert Pike had promised seventeen months earlier. Many of these Comanches subsequently joined the more warlike bands in Texas and increased depredations during the following spring. Thus the Confederacy indirectly augmented the frontier problem by its failure to protect and deal fairly with its allies.[27]

As Indian raids slowly increased, Texas modified the operation of its Frontier Regiment to better meet the crisis. Governor Lubbock terminated the unit's service in February 1863 and proposed a similar organization that would reduce the cost of frontier defense from $800,000 to $300,000 per year. Each of the twenty-five frontier counties was to provide a company consisting of a captain and twenty privates. The Confederacy would fund part of the cost and thereby reduce the state's expense. Though the legislature approved the act, Jefferson Davis vetoed it since Texas would again retain control over its own force.[28]

Despite Davis' veto, Texas modified the plan in March and established a second Frontier Regiment to replace the one whose term had expired. Vol-

[24] Holden, "Frontier Defense During the Civil War," p. 22.

[25] Richardson, *Frontier of Northwest Texas*. p. 239. For a detailed discussion of this expedition see Martin H. Hall, *Sibley's New Mexico Campaign*.

[26] Holden, "Frontier Defense During the Civil War," p. 21.

[27] Wilbur S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), 29–31. There is some dispute about the loyalty of these Penateka Comanches at the agency. Some chiefs such as Tosawi (Silver Brooch) and Asa-Havey tried ardently to maintain a friendship with the Confederacy while Buffalo Hump encouraged raids on the Texas settlements. Also, Oliver Loving to F. R. Lubbock in James M. Day, *Texas Indian Papers 1860–1916* (Austin: Texas State Library, 1961), IV, 67.

[28] Lubbock, *Six Decades*, pp. 470–475 and 483.

unteers would serve three year terms unless the Civil War ended sooner, at which time they would be mustered out of service.[29] Though most veterans of the old regiment joined the new one, Colonel Norris resigned and was replaced by Colonel J. E. McCord. The Frontier Regiment soon took on a different role as the new commander eased military regulations and developed a ranger-type organization. He discontinued the system of patrolling between the posts and congregrated the men in larger groups. McCord also ordered local patrols only when necessary and thus reserved his forces for scouting expeditions into the Indian strongholds further west. The new Frontier Regiment operated as an offensive striking force and reconnoitered as far away as the Llano Estacado during the next few months.[30]

While McCord's troops fought desperately to pacify the frontier, Comanche and Kiowa raids in the northwestern counties surpassed all previous levels. In March 1863 groups numbering as many as fifty warriors raided extensively in Montague and Cooke counties and even as far east as densely populated Grayson County.[31] Young County residents officially abandoned that region on April 10 and moved the court records to a safer area.[32] Weatherford also suffered frequent depredations during the spring and summer, including the capture of several horses and a young boy and girl within three miles of town.[33] Lack of ammunition further hindered the settlers' defense of their lives and property. Officers reported in August that the Frontier Regiment was understrength and incapable of meeting the crisis unless additional troops arrived soon. With Indians penetrating as far east as the Fort Worth area, members of the defense organization hesitated to leave their homes unprotected while they engaged in distant campaigns.[34] In September Governor Lubbock ordered all frontiersmen liable for service in the Frontier Regiment or they must face induction into the regular Confederate army.[35]

The state again attempted to improved conditions by the passage of another defense act in December 1863 which established a militia. Since Texas could no longer finance the Frontier Regiment, Lubbock released it to the Confederate service and established a unit that organized all eligible

[29] Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, V, p. 607.

[30] Richardson, *Frontier of Northwest Texas*, 241. Holden, "Frontier Defense During the Civil War," pp. 25–26.

[31] William C. Twitty to Gen. William Steele March 3, 1863, in *OR* Series I, Vol. XXII, Part II, Chapter XXXIV, p. 799.

[32] Haley, *Goodnight: Cowman and Plainsman*, p. 97.

[33] Richardson, *Frontier of Northwest Texas*, 241.

[34] Brig. Gen. Richard M. Gano and Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Terry to Maj. Gen. John B. Magruder August 12, 1863 in *OR* Series I, Vol. XXVI, Part II, Chapter XXXVIII, pp. 159–160.

[35] F. R. Lubbock to J. S. Ford September 12, 1863, in Day, *Texas Indian Papers*, IV, p. 77.

male citizens from the frontier counties into companies of twenty-five to sixty-five men. Since the new force served as a militia, formal organization was minimized and its members remained close to home. Rotation of assignments in each company allowed one squad to serve on routine patrols in the field at all times while the other three stood in reserve. Theoretically each militiaman devoted only about one week per month to actual military duties while he spent the other three weeks with family and business affairs.[36] Total strength soon reached 4,264 men with 1,066 on active duty each week. The militia cost less than its predecessor, but it was unable to conduct massive campaigns into the distant Indian sanctuaries. Once again the force on the frontier became a purely defensive organization.[37]

After Lubbock established the militia body, the Frontier Regiment gradually lost its importance although it continued in service. During February 1864 it was turned over to the regular Confederate army and renamed the Forty-Sixth Cavalry Regiment. Some of its members continued in frontier service until the end of the Civil War, while others joined brigades east of the Mississippi River. Those who remained in Texas spent most of their time tracking down deserters and arresting Union sympathizers instead of fighting Indians.[38]

Like previous defense groups, the militia found itself deficient in horses, rations, guns, and especially in powder. The Confederate War Department diverted these highly prized materials to Southern armies and left the frontiersmen to their own problems. Thus rather than try to protect the entire northwestern region, militia troops encouraged the settlers to congregate in small compounds. Accordingly numerous "forts" sprang up including Fort Picketville in Stephens County, Fort Murray in Young County, Blair's Fort in Eastland County, and Greer Ranch in Shackleford County. Largest of the settlements was Fort Davis located on the Clear Fork of the Brazos in Stephens County. It consisted of twenty houses built in a rectangle 325 feet by 300 feet and enclosed by closely set pickets.[39]

Life proved harsh for the 125 men, women and children in the cramped quarters at the fort in Stephens County because there often was little or no food and medicine. A two year drought which began in 1863 further aggravated the problem when it temporarily dried up the Brazos River. As the

[36] Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, V, pp. 677–679.

[37] Holden, "Frontier Defense During the Civil War," p. 28.

[38] Richardson, *Frontier of Northwest Texas*, pp. 242–243.

[39] Mrs. L. E. Farmer, "Fort Davis on the Clear Fork of the Brazos," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, XXXIII (1957), pp. 117–118; Marilynne Howsley, "Forting Up on the Texas Frontier During the Civil War," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, XVII (1941), pp. 71–76; Phin W. Reynolds, "Chapters from the Frontier Life of Phin W. Reynolds," edited by J. R. Webb. *West Texas Historical Year Book*, XXI (1945), pp. 115–116.

settlers watched their crops wither and the price of goods increase, many returned to the eastern or coastal areas of the state. This exodus further reduced the number of men in the militia and left frontier defense at its worst level ever.[40]

The Indians capitalized upon conditions in late 1864 and increased their depredations to the highest rate recorded to that date. During October a large raiding party of several hundred warriors ranged through Young County and the surrounding area. One group of approximately 200 Comanches under Chief Little Buffalo attacked a squad of militiamen near Fort Murray and killed five of its members. The survivors retreated back into the fort and allowed the Indians free access to all of the livestock in the county.[41] When they failed to overrun the stronghold, these warriors then joined another body of raiders. The combined force of 400 to 600 Indians killed twelve persons, captured six others and burned homes in the nearby settlement at Elm Creek. Though militiamen had previously suffered innumerable minor reversals, this series of defeats totally destroyed what little morale remained. The Comanches' freedom to attack over such a wide region and to escape without difficulty proved that the northwestern frontier could no longer be protected.[42]

Rather than bolster militia forces and carry out massive campaigns against the Indians, officers used their understrength companies for tracking down deserters. The Confederate government believed that the high number of A.W.O.L. troops on the Texas frontier damaged civilian morale and therefore it ordered severe punishment for the men who were apprehended. Pendleton Murrah, Lubbock's successor, honored the directive by issuing a proclamation on May 26, 1864, which ended all emigration into the state's unorganized counties. These areas which served as refuges for deserters and Union sympathizers would be broken up even at the expense of leaving much of the frontier open to Indian raids.[43] The militia responded im-

[40] Henry Belding, "Memoirs of Henry Belding," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, XXIX (1953), p. 85; Haley, *Goodnight: Cowman and Plainsman*, pp. 96–97.

[41] Carl Coke Rister, *Fort Griffin on the Texas Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), pp. 43–44.

[42] Carrie J. Crouch, *A History of Young County, Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1956), p. 38. Kenneth F. Neighbors, "Elm Creek Raid in Young County, 1864," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, XXXX (1964), pp. 83–89. The British traveler Arthur Fremantle was shocked by one member of the militia who told him that frontiersmen "were usually in the habit of scalping an Indian when they caught him, and that they never spared one." Arthur James Lyon Fremantle, *The Fremantle Diary*, edited by Walter Lord. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1954), p. 18; also John M. Elkins, *Life on the Texas Frontier* (Beaumont: Greer Print, 1908), p. 95.

[43] Proclamation of Gov. Pendleton Murrah May 26, 1864 in Day, *Texas Indian Papers*, IV. pp. 80–81.

mediately with large scale expeditions ranging from the Rio Grande border to the North Fork of the Brazos. In June Captain Henry S. Fossett reported that his command had discovered the recently vacated camp of nearly 500 deserters on the Concho River. Five months later another militia company encountered "fifty-four deserters and various renegades" west of Camp Colorado. During this period the frontier forces recorded more fights with deserters than with Comanche warriors who remained the real menace.[44]

While the Confederacy rechanneled the last vestiges of military strength into tracking down its own men, Union troops from New Mexico Territory carried out a successful campaign in the Texas Panhandle. On November 24, 1864 the California and New Mexico Volunteers under Colonel Kit Carson attacked two Comanche-Kiowa villages near the Canadian River. Carson decisively defeated the inhabitants with the aid of several mountain howitzers and he burned many of their 500 lodges. The battle was a crushing blow to the rising Comanche-Kiowa power because the Indians not only lost their possessions but also a prized refuge which soldiers had never before invaded. Fearing for the safety of their families, some warriors ended their forays against both the Texas and New Mexico settlements, and returned to their own camps.[45] Thus the Union ironically contributed as much as the Confederacy to the defense of the Texas frontier during the final months of the Civil War.

The last major operation by the Texas militia was the culmination of that state's poorly conceived frontier defense efforts. A group of about 1,400 Kickapoo Indians migrating peacefully from Kansas to northern Mexico passed through the western region of Texas. Militiamen found their trail and organized an expedition against them in January 1865. Captain Henry S. Fossett led one company of Confederate regulars westward below the Concho River and encountered the Indians on Dove Creek in present-day Tom Green County. Without identifying the tribesmen or discovering their purpose for being in the area, Fossett's command and a militia unit under Captain S. S. Totten recklessly attacked them before being driven back with high casualties.[46] Not only was the battle a severe defeat for the soldiers, it

[44] Thomas R. Havins, *Camp Colorado: A Decade of Frontier Defense* (Brownwood: Brown Press, 1964), 122. D. S. Howell, "Along the Texas Frontier During the Civil War," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, XIII (1937), p. 87.

[45] Report of Col. Christopher Carson December 4, 1864, in *OR* Series I, Vol. XLI, Part I, Chapter LIII, pp. 939–942; Rupert N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1933), pp. 286–287; Ray C. Colton, *The Civil War in the Western Territories*: Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), pp. 145–148.

[46] Arrell M. Gibson, *The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 203–207; William C. Pool, "The Battle of Dove Creek," *South-*

also enraged the Kickapoos and made them deadly enemies of all Texans. Later from their Mexican refuge in Coahuila and Nuevo Leon they would launch devastating raids against the Rio Grande settlements. Thus, in its unwarranted haste to kill all red men, the militia made the frontier problem worse than ever. This fiasco was the understandable result of tired, frustrated and intolerant frontiersmen responding to the ever increasing Indian problem, which had brought Anglo-American colonization of northwest Texas to a standstill.

Focus of Civil War studies upon the events which transpired east of the Mississippi River overlooks the unmitigated hardship and suffering which settlers of northwest Texas faced during those four gruelling years. Left without regular troops to protect the frontier from nomadic warriors, Texans first expected that the Confederacy would provide an adequate policy for frontier defense. But Jefferson Davis' government faced such pressing economic and military difficulties throughout the war that it could never devote ample consideration to the western Indian problem.

Faced with a volatile situation on the frontier, state governors and legislators inaugurated several defense programs which functioned independently of the Confederate War Department. Texas Mounted Rifles, the Frontier Regiment, a militia system, and other informal fighting groups were organized during different time periods. Each suffered the same weaknesses as its predecessors—lack of horses, supplies, weapons, and men. By 1865, the northwestern forces could not even maintain a successful defensive position as Comanche and Kiowa attacks reached a fevered intensity. And during the following two years, the line of settlement fell back almost a hundred miles before federal troops resumed positions in frontier counties.

The dismal record of Texas relations with Southern Plains tribes during the Civil War served as a fitting prelude to the following decade of bloodshed and terror perpetrated by both sides. White men's greed and unfair dealings with the Indians had precipitated most of the major crises, and it is little wonder that the Comanches and other western tribes used the chaotic years of the War Between the States to strike back at their hated enemies.[47]

western Historical Quarterly, LIII (April, 1950), pp. 367–385; J. Marvin Hunter, "The Battle of Dove Creek," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, X (1934), p. 74.

[47] Because this article deals with frontier warfare only from the view point of white men, one should turn to several other sources for the Comanche perspective. W. W. Newcomb, Jr., *The Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961); and Ernest Wallace and E. A. Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952); Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970).

SEMINOLE–UNITED STATES FINANCIAL RELATIONS, 1823–1866

*By Wayne B. Lollar**

During the period from 1823 to 1866 most of the financial relationships between the United States and the Seminole Indian Nation were based on six treaties. Each successive treaty changed or extended certain aspects of the previous treaty. The Seminole Reconstruction Treaty of 1866 was the most important since it attempted to provide a final settlement of all Seminole claims, damages, losses, annuities and other financial matters preceding and including the Civil War.[1]

Financial relationships between the United States and the Seminoles before their partial removal to Indian Territory were often frustrating. Slaves, for example, were sometimes taken from the Seminoles by force without regard for the property rights of the owners. Since slaves were legal property with economic advantages, the Seminoles felt they were entitled to the same protection of the law as the southern slave owners in Georgia and elsewhere. Thus, when Carlton Welborne and his men kidnapped twenty slaves from the Seminole chief Econchatte Micco on March 1, 1836, Micco rightfully felt that the law was on his side. However, Micco never recovered his slaves nor was he provided compensation by the United States for their loss. After the partial removal of the Seminoles to Indian Territory, their problems continued with their Creek kinsmen who made prior claims to land in Indian Territory.[2]

In considering the first of the treaties, the Treaty of Camp Moultrie of September 18, 1823, the Seminoles understood that the treaty gave them peaceful possession of their Florida holdings for twenty years. In spite of this misconception, no one seemed to adequately explain the accurate meaning of the treaty to them. This treaty restricted them to a boundary of fifteen miles from Florida's Gulf Coast and twenty-five miles from the Atlantic

* The author is a graduate student at Oklahoma State University. The paper was prepared in a graduate seminar of Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, professor of history at Oklahoma State University.

[1] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), pp. 324–369; Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (5 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), Vol. II, pp. 910–915.

[2] Foreman, *Indian Removal . . . op. cit.*, pp. 324–325, 377.

seaboard. As partial compensation for this forbearance, the government agreed that it would distribute farming implements and livestock with a value of at least $6,000 and an annual annuity of $5,000 for twenty years, or through the year 1844. This treaty also provided that the Seminoles would receive $1,000 per year for twenty years for the support of a school, an equal amount for the support of a blacksmith and gunsmith, and free rations of corn, meat, and salt for twelve months.[3]

During the nine years between the Treaty of Camp Moultrie and the Treaty of Payne's Landing of May 9, 1832, agitation for Seminole removal to the West continued. Finally, with the ratification of the Treaty of Payne's Landing, the United States agreed to pay the Seminoles $15,400 for their real estate improvements in Florida Territory, with the special stipulation that payment would be made after the Seminole removal to Indian Territory. The United States further agreed to give each of the warriors, women, and children a blanket, and a homespun frock, and to extend the annuity for the support of a blacksmith for ten years beyond the expiration date mentioned in the Treaty of Camp Moultrie. Another provision of the 1832 treaty stipulated that the government would pay $3,000 per year for fifteen years as an addition to the Creek annuities, with the amount so divided per capita among the chiefs and warriors of the Seminole Indians in the same manner as division would be accomplished in the Creek federation. A reserve clause provided the payments would begin when the entire Seminole Nation had been removed to Indian Territory. The final part of the treaty required the United States to pay the Seminoles a fair price for their cattle which they would leave behind and to liquidate all claims against them, for slaves or other property, thefts, depredations, or other damages up to but not more than $7,000.[4]

When the contingents of the Seminoles moved to the West in 1832, they found that the Creeks occupied land which was supposed to be theirs. Therefore, the Seminoles refused to move any further west than Fort Gibson. Finally, this issue was partially settled on March 28, 1833, by the Treaty of Fort Gibson, by which territory was provided for the Seminoles, separate and distinct from Creek lands, between the North Fork of the Canadian River and Little River in the southern part of the original Creek grant. A major problem still existed because the United States had failed to compen-

[3] Edwin G. McReynolds, *The Seminoles* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), pp. 98–99; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 395–397.

[4] United States Senate, *Senate Executive Document Number 1*, 32d Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Aiboyd Hamilton, 1851), p. 157; United States Senate, *Senate Executive Document 88*, 25th Congress, 3rd Session (Washington: Blair & Rives, 1839), pp. 1–3; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 203–205.

sate the Creeks for land granted to the Seminoles, as provided in the treaty with the Creeks of February, 1833. The Creeks refused to surrender any land until the United States government provided them with land in kind elsewhere. The patient and persistent Commissioner of Indian Affairs, T. Hartley Crawford, appealed to J. R. Poinsett, the Secretary of War. Poinsett sent the communication to President Martin Van Buren, who in turn asked the United States Senate to coordinate efforts for adequate appropriations to carry out the provisions of the Treaty of Fort Gibson as to both the Creeks and the Seminoles.[5]

The Seminoles had been a problem in Indian Territory from the time of their arrival several years earlier because they were apprehensive of the Creeks. They had settled on land belonging to other tribes rather than be associated with the Creeks even after the Treaty of Fort Gibson. The Seminoles sought complete independence from the Creeks. They had experienced independence in Florida so why not have independence in Indian Territory? They did not intend to change their attitude to please the white man. The United States Indian agents in charge of the areas where the Seminoles squatted complained vigorously, but the Seminoles remained stubborn. After some twelve years of this state of affairs, the United States finally decided that the Seminoles would not be contented until they were a separate and distinct nation. In order to work toward this premise, the government sent the Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western District, William Armstrong, to negotiate with the tribes. As a result of this effort, the Creek-Seminole Treaty of July 18, 1845, gave the Seminoles the right to make their own town regulations, subject to the general control of the Creek Nation. They also were provided with independence in the handling of their financial affairs. These concessions were big steps on the road to complete independence for the Seminoles.[6]

Article six of the Creek-Seminole Treaty of 1845 was a restatement of article four of the Treaty of Payne's Landing. Thus, the $15,400 mentioned in the 1832 treaty again arose as a conditional payment contingent on the removal of the entire Seminole tribe from the Florida Everglades to Indian Territory. An additional annuity of $2000 per year for fifteen years was mentioned in the 1845 treaty which would have given the tribe a $5,000 annual annuity when all had removed to Indian Territory, making a total of $75,000 over a fifteen year period. As declared compensation for all property

[5] United States Senate, *Senate Document Number 88*, 25th Congress, 3rd Session, pp. 1–3; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 393–394.

[6] Lawrence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1927), pp. 37–38; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 550–552.

left in Florida, the Seminoles were promised $5,000 payable at $1,000 per year for five years after full removal had been accomplished.[7]

The Seminoles were never fully reconciled to the provisions of any treaty that placed them under partial control of the Creeks. Within three years after the Creek-Seminole Treaty of 1845 had been concluded, the Seminoles were located intact in the valley of the Deep Fork River south to the main Canadian River in what is now the western part of Okfuskee and Hughes counties and adjoining sections of Seminole County.[8]

No further treaties were signed between the United States and the Seminoles until the Treaty of Washington of August 7, 1856. This treaty gave the Seminoles independence from the Creeks, and thus finally Seminole ambition was realized. It ceded the Seminoles an area which closely followed the ninety-seventh meridian, the North Canadian River, "the parallel of thirty-six degrees and fifteen minutes, the one hundredth meridian, and the Canadian River." This treaty was more liberal and less conditional than the previous treaties. For example, article eight of this treaty provided that $90,000 would be paid to the Seminole Indians then in Indian Territory as full reimbursement for abandoning Florida improvements and as full payment for their removal to the West. It was not conditioned upon the removal of the entire Seminole Nation. Other Seminole monetary compensations included school money in the amount of $3,000 annually for ten years, $2,000 for agricultural assistance, $2,200 for the support of blacksmiths and blacksmith shops, to invest their $250,000 trust fund at five percent interest, to be paid to them annually as per capita annuity, with an additional $250,000 to be paid in the same way if the remainder of the Florida Seminoles were removed to Indian Territory.[9]

The Florida Seminoles were promised free removal to the West, with a year's supply of rations and the necessary clothing and bedding. An additional sum of not less than $20,000 would be spent for additional supplies when the movement had been completed, and $3,000 more would be available to buy ploughs.[10]

In some cases the government paid Seminole Indian chiefs for work done for the benefit of removal and for other services. For example, the Treaty of Washington of 1856 provided that Foc-te-lus-te Harjo, or Black Dirt, be

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Luther B. Hill, *A History of the State of Oklahoma* (Chicago: Lewis Printing Co., 1909), p. 35; Muriel Wright, *A Guide To Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), pp. 233–235.

[9] Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs*, pp. 100–101; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 760–763.

[10] *Ibid.*

paid $400 for leading allied Indians against unfriendly Seminoles during the Florida Seminole Wars. Many times secret awards or bribes were offered to influential Seminole chiefs for their personal leadership in removal to Indian Territory.[11]

Probably the most highly rewarded of the Seminole chiefs was Billy Bowlegs, who was alleged to have taken $100,000 in cash with him to Indian Territory. His warriors received $1,000 in cash, and each woman and child received $100. In 1862, Xavier Exma contended in his book *La Vie dans de Noveam Monde* that Billy Bowlegs was guaranteed $10,000 a year for life for his effort in assisting Seminole removal to Indian Territory. The admitted cost by the United States of moving the Seminoles was $70,352.14. However, Major Ethan Allen Hitchcock, who for a number of years served among the Seminoles, felt that the United States had spent at least twenty million dollars for the partial removal of the Seminoles to the West during the five year period ending in 1838.[12]

When the Billy Bowlegs group left Florida in 1858, Elias Rector, the Southern Superintendent of Indian Affairs, reported that scarcely more than 100 Seminoles were left in Florida. Reliable data procured by the Secretary of the Interior some eight years later in 1866, verified the total to be at least 500, with a possible maximum amount of 800 Florida Seminoles still in the Everglades. Rector later paid Bowlegs $200 for the names of influential Seminoles whom the government could trust to make a trip to Florida for the purpose of inducing the remaining Seminoles to move to Indian Territory. With the death of Bowlegs in 1859, while visiting the Creek Nation to select final settlement sites for his followers, the Seminoles took a gentler course in their dealings with the United States.[13]

The Civil War multiplied the financial problems of the Western Seminoles. One of their chiefs, John Jumper, assisted by a town chief, agreed to perpetual peace with the Confederate States of America. Albert B. Pike, the Confederate negotiator with the tribes of Indian Territory, though able to sway Jumper, was unable to convince Billy Bowlegs II, John Chupco, and the other chiefs, who finally decided to join the Creeks that remained loyal to the United States. Since the active forts of the United States in central and western Indian Territory had been occupied by forces from the Confederate state of Texas early in the war, and also because the former Seminole Indian agent, J. W. Washburne, told them that the United States would be unable

[11] *Ibid.*; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Billy Bowlegs," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII (1955), pp. 529–531.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 527–528; Foreman, *Indian Removal . . . op. cit.*, pp. 376–377.

[13] Foreman, "Billy Bowlegs," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII (1955), pp. 528–530.

to pay a single dollar of money owed them, many of the Seminoles joined the Confederacy. In spite of all the treaty promises made by the Confederacy to the Seminoles, nothing significant came to pass. During the war years, the Seminoles on both sides experienced hardships and privations in Kansas and in Indian Territory that defy description.[14]

The Seminole Reconstruction Treaty of March 21, 1866, was negotiated by Dennis N. Cooley, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Elijah Sells, the Superintendent of the Southern Indian Superintendency, and Ely C. Parker. The Seminoles were represented by their chiefs, John Chup-co (Long John), Cho-Cote Harjo, and John F. Brown. The financial provisions of this treaty provided for the military occupation of the Seminole Nation at the expense of the Seminoles; Negroes were to be granted tribal citizenship, and the United States was to pay the Seminoles $325,362 for 2,169,080 acres of land which had been guaranteed by the Treaty of Washington of 1856. The Seminoles were to occupy a tract of land granted to the government by the Creeks and pay the United States fifty cents per acre for 200,000 acres, or $100,000. The treaty also provided that the western boundary of the Creek Nation between the Canadian River and its North Fork would be the western boundary of the Seminoles. The eastern terminus would be the point at which the combined area south would make up 200,000 acres.[15]

The land sale remainder, or $225,362, was to be paid for specific uses, with the first payment of $30,000 to be used to enable the Seminoles to occupy, restore, and improve their farms, and for other purposes. The sum of $20,000 was to be paid to purchase agricultural equipment, seed, cows, and other stock; $15,000 was to be paid for the erection of a grist mill suitable to accommodate the entire nation; $70,000 was to remain in the United States Treasury at an annual interest rate of five percent; $50,000 of the above $70,000 was to be a permanent school fund with the interest paid annually and appropriated for school purposes, with the balance of $20,000 to remain as a permanent fund with interest paid annually for the support of the Seminole government. A total of $40,362 was to be appropriated and expended for subsistence with the underprivileged getting the better share. The remainder, or $50,000, was set aside to pay the property losses of those who remained loyal to the United States government during the Civil War.

[14] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1919), pp. 172–173; Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1915), pp. 84–85, 198–199. Billy Bowlegs III was an agricultural school graduate and a prosperous farmer who lived near Bowlegs, Oklahoma, some ten miles west of Wewoka, Oklahoma.

[15] Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 910–915.

These losses were to be determined by a three-man commission carrying out its investigations among the Seminoles.[16]

The United States also agreed to build the Seminoles suitable agency buildings at a cost not in excess of $10,000; in consideration, the Seminoles ceded the United States one section of land upon which agency buildings were to be erected. The land would revert to the Seminole Nation when no longer in use by the government, and the Seminoles agreed to pay a fair market value for the buildings when vacated.

Significantly, the Negroes also were included in the claims. If they had owned property at the time of the Civil War and if this property had been destroyed, involuntarily abandoned, or illegally taken, they were to be compensated, without regard to race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude. The only qualifying condition was that the Negro must have been a constituted part of the tribe either as a slave or freedman before the opening of the Civil War.

Article five of the Seminole Reconstruction Treaty of 1866 dealt with railroad specifications and conditions. This provision favored the Seminoles by providing for litigation if the railroads did not follow the protective restrictions closely. The Seminole Nation would sell the United States or any approved railroad company land for railroad use if the land was not owned or occupied by "a member or members of the Seminole Nation lying along the line of said contemplated railroad, not exceeding on each side thereof a belt or strip of land three miles in width at such price per acre as may be eventually agreed upon between said Seminole Nation and the party or parties building said road."[17]

Land sold to the government or any approved railroad company for railroad use was not unconditionally conveyed to the government or a railroad company, but was sold with specific restrictions that any land not used for the purpose for which it was sold would revert to the Seminoles and that any land sold for railway use would never be "reconveyed, leased, or rented to, or to be occupied by, any one not a citizen of the Seminole Nation, according to its laws and recognized usage." Additional provisions of this article provided that land title would not be authorized until a first-class railroad had been completed and accepted by the Secretary of the Interior.[18]

Article nine of the Seminole Reconstruction Treaty of 1866 provided that the United States would reassume all obligations of prior treaties that had not been satisfied before the Civil War between the Seminoles and the United States. The government also agreed to resume annuity payments

[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] *Ibid.*

beginning with the close of 1866. The payment of annuity money during the Civil War was recognized in the treaty as having been paid to the entire Seminole Nation when it was used for subsistence, clothing, and similar purposes during the war.

Article ten of the treaty provided that a quantity of land not in excess of 640 acres would be granted to any religious order which had previously erected, or would erect, with the consent of the Seminoles, buildings for missionary or educational purposes for the Seminoles. It further stipulated that this land would never be sold or disposed of without the consent of the Secretary of the Interior. Any approved sale or disposition was to have the proceeds kept for the support and maintenance of similar establishments for the benefit of the Seminole Nation, or for the use of other persons who might become members of the tribe by custom. Both the Seminoles and the United States government agreed that this treaty would be the final and only settlement of financial problems arising from the Civil War as well as from previous treaty obligations.

By the time the Thirty-Fifth Congress had convened in 1858, the final payments to the Seminoles had been accomplished as stipulated in the Treaty of Payne's Landing of 1832, as had the last of fifteen payments in goods in the amount of $2,000 as required by article six of the Creek-Seminole Treaty of 1845. As many of the payments as were due from the Treaty of 1856 were paid by the time the Thirty-Fifth Congress had convened in 1858, including travel pay for partial Seminole removal from Florida to Indian Territory in the amount of $120,000.[19]

Two major problems over the years were obvious in the United States and Seminole Nation negotiations for payment of funds. The first problem concerned whether or not the treaties were negotiated with the duly appointed or selected Seminole officials. There is ample evidence to indicate that the Seminole agents would select a number of chiefs who would be willing to negotiate a treaty with the United States for a desired result. Possibly the best example of a tribal faction of the Seminoles signing a treaty was the Appalachicola band in 1833. Thus, the remainder of the Seminoles questioned the validity of this treaty. Legalists might ask whether the United States possessed the authority to enter into a treaty with a segment less than a tribe since the specific language of section eight of the United States Constitution provides that Congress had power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes.[20]

[19] *United States Statutes-At-Large and Treaties* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1859), Vol. XI, pp. 175; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 910–915.

[20] Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 398–399.

The second problem was whether or not the United States government could properly pay money pro rata to members of an Indian tribe or whether the government was bound to pay the money to the recognized governing body of the Indian tribe. In spite of financial relations with foreign governments, in which money would be paid to the particular head of government or specific person or persons so designated by that government, the Commissioners of Indian Affairs took it upon themselves to provide a special per capita mode of payment. This system meant that the United States did not recognize the duly constituted Seminole government. In one case where a per capita payment was made to the Seminoles, the amount of $1.50 individually was paid by the agent to those tribal members who had to travel from fifty to one hundred miles in order to collect the payment.[21]

The effort of the United States government to destroy Seminole Indian land titles in Florida was doomed to failure from the beginning because of poor public relations between the Florida settlers and the Seminoles. Slaves who had escaped from white owners sometimes took refuge among the Seminoles who apparently treated them more humanely than did their former masters. However, the Seminoles had their own slaves who had never served other masters. Thus the seizure of slaves belonging to the Seminoles on the pretext that they were the property of the United States citizens probably did more damage to the United States-Seminole Nation relations than any other single factor in the 1830 to 1850 era.

Seminole treaties with the United States were sometimes purposefully misinterpreted by United States officials. The allusion that the Treaty of Camp Moultrie permitted twenty additional years for the Seminoles to stay in Florida was a case of this nature. If the Indian agents who dealt with the Seminoles were unscrupulous in this manner, then why should the Seminoles be expected to be any different? The initial policy of the United States was to make the Seminoles a part of the Creek Nation. It took the United States government a long time to understand that the Seminoles would not accept the Creeks as their peers. Finally, in 1856, in the Treaty of Washington, the Seminoles were recognized by the United States as a separate Indian Nation. Before the Reconstruction Treaty with the United States came into being in 1866, the Seminoles had won equal status with the other four Civilized Tribes. The Seminoles in Indian Territory sought a peaceful life in the ways of the white man; those in Florida continued to seek seclusion in the Everglades from the white man's civilization.

[21] *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 30th Congress (Washington: Blair & Rives, 1848), p. 774.

INTRUDERS AT CHILOCCO

By William W. Savage, Jr.

Of the many stockmen's organizations begun on the Southern Great Plains in the 1870's and 1880's, none was more concerned with its public image than the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association. Incorporated by a group of Kansas cattlemen headquartered in Caldwell, it operated in the six-million-acre Cherokee Outlet, a verdant belt of pasture lying between the Arkansas River and the One-hundredth Meridian in northwestern Indian Territory. In the spring of 1883, association directors obtained a five-year lease on the Outlet from the Cherokee Nation, bringing charges from would-be homesteaders and small stock raisers who wanted Indian Territory opened to settlement that bribery had secured the grazing concession. While David L. Payne and his boomers condemned the association as a monopoly of plutocrats and congressmen hinted at coming investigations of the lease arrangement, Outlet ranchers and Cherokees alike struggled to defend their rights.[1]

Under the circumstances, neither the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association nor its Indian lessors needed additional adverse publicity. Because the federal government—with its historical insistence on treating the West as potential farmland and its untiring supervision of everything having to do even remotely with Indian affairs—might intervene to terminate the Outlet lease, association members and Cherokees tried diligently to avoid any controversy that might attract further bureaucratic scrutiny. But trouble came in January, 1884, when the government opened an Indian school on the banks of Chilocco Creek in the Cherokee Outlet six miles south of Arkansas City, Kansas.

The origins of Chilocco School lay in the provisions of a treaty that the federal government signed with the Cherokee Nation in 1866. By its terms, Washington reserved the right to settle friendly tribes in the Outlet. A half-dozen tribes were quickly placed on the eastern edge of the Cherokee land. In 1882, spokesmen for the Department of the Interior assured Cherokee

[1] William W. Savage, Jr., "Barbed Wire and Bureaucracy: The Formation of the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association," *Journal of the West*, VII, No. 3 (July, 1968), pp. 405–414;——, "Leasing the Cherokee Outlet: An Analysis of Indian Reaction, 1884–1885," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XLVI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1968), pp. 285–292.

Principal Chief Dennis Wolfe Bushyhead that no more tribes would be removed to the Outlet, prompting him to urge the Cherokee National Council to lease the land beyond the Arkansas to cattlemen. But precedent had been established, and on May 17, 1882, Congress passed an Indian appropriation act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to construct a school on approximately 1,200 acres of land in the Cherokee Outlet.[2]

Two years later, when the buildings were completed, officials concluded that the allotted acreage was inadequate to sustain the expansive agricultural program planned for the school. They recommended enlarging the site. In a proclamation dated July 12, 1884, President Chester A. Arthur added 7,440 acres to the Chilocco lands,[3] taking for government use some fifteen sections of pasture subleased by the firm of Roberts and Windsor from the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association.

Roberts and Windsor retained an attorney, W. P. Hackney of Winfield, Kansas, and together they besieged Chief Bushyhead with requests for assistance. The naive Hackney sought to determine "upon what the President bases his authority" in order to challenge it.[4] His employers, however, pursued a more practical course. Arguing that the location of the new school boundaries left them without access to water on one corner of their range, Roberts and Windsor suggested that the lines be redrawn.[5] But the situation was already beyond Bushyhead's control. Discretion dictated that he not press the government on the question of the Chilocco lands. Association officers said nothing, and there matters rested for nearly one year. When problems next arose, school officials, not cattlemen, were the first to complain.

On March 26, 1885, Henry J. Minthorn, superintendent of Chilocco, wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price to protest a series of intrusions on school lands by a group of unidentified cowboys. Minthorn, a Quaker of Republican persuasion, had tendered his resignation from the school on March 4, perhaps anticipating a Democratic house cleaning after the inauguration of President Grover Cleveland, but he had not been notified of its acceptance. The spoils were already being divided in Wash-

[2] Charles J. Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904), Vol. I, p. 947; D. W. Bushyhead to the National Council, May 2, 1882. File: Cherokee—Strip (Tahlequah), 1882. Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City. The Origins and development of the school are discussed briefly but adequately in Larry L. Bradfield, "A History of Chilocco Indian School" (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of History, University of Oklahoma, 1963).

[3] Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs*, p. 493.

[4] W. P. Hackney to Hon. D. W. Bushyhead, July 28, 1884. File: Cherokee—Strip (Tahlequah), 1884, Indian Archives Division, O.H.S.

[5] Roberts and Windsor to Hon. D. W. Bushyhead, November 25, 1884, *ibid.*

ington, and Minthorn's letter reached J. D. C. Atkins, who had replaced Price as commissioner in the Indian Bureau. The superintendent wrote:[6]

There seems to be an impression gaining ground in this country that the present policy of the Govt. is to give this Territory up to the occupancy of cattlemen. Two herds of cattle have been located on the *School* land recently near the school house and right where we ought to have the range for our own cattle and in the vicinity of our hay stacks (which we had to move to prevent their being destroyed) and where they pass to and fro over our plowed ground. If these cattle are allowed to range where they now are we will be without sufficient pasture this summer, our stock will be exposed to contagion from diseased cattle and we will not be able to raise a crop. I have ordered them to leave and have driven their cattle away but it does no good. They seem very much at home, ride through our cattle frequently I suppose to see if we have anything they could claim, curse the Indian boys and girls and act out their peculiar traits of character generally. I mentioned the matter to the commanding officer of the military encampment near here but got no satisfaction from him. I think the settlers at Arkansas City (1200) have some just reason to complain when Govt. troops here to keep them from settling in the Territory and at the same time allow *cattle* men to come in and build a corral within a ½ mile of the military encampment and put in hundreds of cattle on lands belonging to this school where they will be thousands of dollars damage during the summer. From what I have seen of cattle men I should say they are the last class of men that should be admitted to this Territory.

Atkins sent Minthorn's letter to Secretary of the Interior L. Q. C. Lamar, remarking, with the zeal of a new appointee, that "justice and sound policy require that cattle herds shall be removed *without delay* from the vicinity of the tract set aside for the Chilocco school."[7] Lamar notified Bushyhead of the situation and requested him to "take early measures to prevent intrusion . . . upon the school lands" so that "there will be no further occasion for complaints of this character."[8]

Once again Chilocco became a problem for Bushyhead. On April 19, he ordered John W. Jordan, newly-commissioned Cherokee special agent for the Outlet,[9] to investigate the alleged intrusions. Before leaving for Chilocco, Jordan commented that he did not believe association members were the culprits. He told Bushyhead:[10]

from my own knowledge of that part of the Strip i am inclined to think the real

[6] H. J. Minthorn to Hon. H. Price, March 26, 1885. File: Cherokee—Strip (Tahlequah), 1885, Indian Archives, O.H.S.

[7] J. D. C. Atkins to the Secretary of the Interior, April 10, 1885, *ibid.*

[8] L. Q. C. Lamar to Hon. D. W. Bushyhead, April 11, 1885, *ibid.*

[9] See D. W. Bushyhead to Mr. John Jordan, February 1, 1885, *ibid.*

[10] J. W. Jordan to Hon. D. W. Bushyhead, April 30, 1885, *ibid.*

trouble if any is with [school officials] themselves or unlicensed herds of which there is several in that Section of Range already reported by me and forwarded to you. at my last meeting in Arkansas City i compromised several old bad cases of Herds intrudeing under old Range claims, by prevailing on them to buye in on licensed men. . . .

With Association Secretary John A. Blair, Jordan rode to Arkansas City in May. The two men investigated the Chilocco intrusions and concluded that no association members were involved. "The men that are there," Blair later told the Principal Chief, "are from the states with small bunches of cattle."[11] Jordan apparently had little sympathy for either the school or the problems Minthorn had described to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The outspoken superintendent may have antagonized him during the investigation. In any case, Jordan did not mention the Chilocco trouble in his annual report to Bushyhead.[12] His report for 1886, however, contained this note:[13]

Allow me to call attention to the Chilocco Indian Training school located on our land 5 miles south of Arkansas City with a Reservation of over 10 000 acres—8000 being under fence & adjoining land worth 50 dollars per acre. They have no right to locate Indians the second time at our expence and as a training school one or two sections is enough for pasture and farm.

But by then, Minthorn had left and intrusions by graziers on school land had ended.[14] The incident at Chilocco may appear to be only an isolated and therefore insignificant episode. Certainly it was peripheral to the larger problem that the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association faced in Kansas's burgeoning population of home-seekers.[15] But the affair was important for several reasons:

First, it revealed association cattlemen's concern with maintaining a favorable corporate image in the eyes of the federal government. The association's reluctance to argue the matter of the school's location and the willingness with which its representatives assisted Cherokee officials in investigating Minthorn's complaint indicated its determination to avoid conflict at a time when Congressional attention was just focusing on the knotty question of white leases of Indian land. The fact that cattlemen acknowledged the complaint at all was a strong indication of the damage it

[11] John A. Blair to Hon. D. W. Bushyhead, May [n.d.], 1885, *ibid.*

[12] See John W. Jordan to The Honorable The Principal Chief, November 6, 1885, *ibid.*

[13] J. W. Jordan to the Hon. Cherokee Chief D. W. Bushyhead, November 1, 1886. File: Cherokee—Strip (Tahlequah), 1886, Indian Archives, O.H.S.

[14] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1886* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1886), p. 464.

[15] William W. Savage, Jr., "The Rock Falls Raid: An Analysis of the Documentary Evidence," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIX, No. 1 (Spring, 1971), pp. 75–82.

could have done them. They knew that the laissez-faire philosophy characterizing government relations with business in the East did not extend to the land beyond the Arkansas.

Second, the incident reflected the heavy reliance that both the association and the federal government placed on the Cherokee Nation whenever problems arose that concerned the Outlet. Washington was quick to supervise insofar as formulating policy was concerned, but it was slow to act when policies required enforcement. Owing perhaps to the complexity of bureaucratic processes that in many cases impeded rather than facilitated government action, federal officials sought to confer upon Cherokees a limited police power. Ordinarily, requests for military assistance to remove intruders which originated in the Department of the Interior required approval of the Secretary of War. Once the War Department issued orders, action by military district and department commanders was required, followed at last by coordination of troops in the field by post commanders. As Minthorn learned, the procedure was time-consuming. It could be bypassed, however, if the Department of the Interior maintained direct channels of communication with the Cherokee government at Tahlequah. Special agents like John W. Jordan were certainly less effective than a detachment of cavalry, but they had the advantage of being immediately available. The matter of the intrusions at Chilocco was settled in two months, while similar occurrences involving David Payne, W. L. Couch, and the boomers, in which federal troops were used, required more time.[16]

If Washington depended on Cherokees for the sake of expediency, Outlet cattlemen relied on them for reasons of simple convenience. Despite the structure of their association, which provided both the money and manpower necessary to organize an adequate protective force, ranchers were hesitant to police their own ranges. The instability of their lease arrangement with Cherokees made them sensitive to government criticism. Federal agencies had established procedures, and cattlemen had no desire to incur their wrath by working at cross-purposes with them. The Cherokee Nation was not a part of the federal bureaucracy and could be more easily approached by the association. Moreover, Outlet ranchers, as businessmen during the peak years of the beef bonanza, were too involved with their entrepreneurial activities to divert men and equipment for range patrols. In fact, they had abandoned a similar practice years before because it proved too expensive.[17] Through their association, cattlemen paid Cherokees a substantial annual rental fee for Outlet range, and they frankly expected more for their money than grazing privileges.

[16] U.S., Congress, Sen., Exec., Doc. 50, 48th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. II, pp. 3–8.

[17] Savage, "Barbed Wire and Bureaucracy," p. 407.

Finally, the Chilocco episode provided Cherokees with an opportunity to test the machinery they had devised for solving Outlet problems. If cattlemen feared federal displeasure with the lease arrangement as a threat to their economic well-being, Cherokees viewed it as a real menace to their national sovereignty. They sought at once to derive revenue by leasing land to the association and to preserve, vis-a-vis the federal government, their "right of possession and Jurisdiction over the country."[18] Thus, they were only too glad to act on cattlemen's complaints and assist the Department of the Interior in investigating reports like Minthorn's—unless the interests of the association and the federal government were in conflict. That possibility was always to be considered, and when such situations arose, the government's interests took precedence. Cherokees accepted the government sanctioning of their police power and wisely recognized the limitations of that power. Hence, Chilocco School remained on the Outlet, and Roberts and Windsor lost a portion of their range. The machinery worked, although, as Jordan's comment in 1886 proved, not everyone understood its function.

Bushyhead, in this and other matters involving cattlemen and the federal government, was in effect a man in the middle. Discussing his responsibilities, he once wrote:[19]

> Empowered, as he is, to see the Constitution [of the Cherokee Nation] observed and the laws faithfully executed, it is the Chief's duty to extend the supervision of this [Executive] Dept. over every part of the Cherokee domain, as far as possible with the means at his command .... It is his duty to see that the law ... be faithfully executed, and, in accordance therewith, to prevent intrusions, and have intruders expelled ... and to see that the common property ... is protected against depredations by any party ....

On the one hand, he could appoint agents like Jordan to assist him and to act as liaison between his office and the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association. On the other hand, he had to mediate personally when problems arose, and, more importantly, he had to represent the best interests of his people when confronting those departments of government with whom ultimate control of the tribe's destiny rested. It was no easy task, but Bushyhead's handling of the Chilocco matter proved that he was equal to it. If the affair amounted to nothing in terms of subsequent events, the credit for making it so was largely his. In the beginning, certainly, it was potentially damaging to both Cherokee sovereignty and the association's tenancy, and seen in that light, its resolution was a significant achievement.

[18] Bushyhead to Jordan, February 1, 1885, *op. cit.* The wording is similar to that of Article XVI of the 1866 treaty.—Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 947.

[19] Bushyhead to Jordan, February 1, 1885, *cit.*

THE CERAMICS FACTORY AT OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

*By Robert E. Smith**

George Whiteside, Acting Dean of the College of Engineering at the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, bent over his desk and signed an order which would close the ceramics plant on the Stillwater, Oklahoma campus forever. The date was September 20, 1934 and Oklahoma was caught in the vise-like grip of the Great Depression. Indirectly the depression was one of the reasons why the ceramics plant had been established at Stillwater in 1929. However, the depression was also responsible for the untimely demise of the venture.[1]

The ceramics plant was the brain child of Henry Bennett, President of Oklahoma A and M, Shiller Scroggs, Head of the Administration Research Department and Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, and Leonard F. Sheerar, Assistant Professor of Chemical Engineering. Bennett and Scroggs planned the ceramics plant as a student self-help industry which would employ students.[2]

Although the depression provided the proper climate for self-help industries and Bennett and Scroggs gave the ceramics plant their support, the man who was directly responsible for the establishment of the ceramics factory was Leonard F. Sheerar. Sheerar came to Stillwater during the summer of 1928 to fill a vacancy on the staff of the Department of Chemistry and Chemical Engineering. Professor Charles L. Nickolls, Assistant Professor of Chemical Engineering, had taken a leave of absence to attend the Graduate College at the University of Michigan, and Sheerar took his place. Sheerar, a native of Wellsville, New York, was named Assistant Professor of Chemical Engineering. Before coming to Stillwater Sheerar was employed by the Robinson Clay Products Company, Dover, Ohio. He

* Robert E. Smith is a Ph.D. candidate in history and a research assistant in the School of Chemical Engineering of Oklahoma State University. The preparation of this article was aided by a grant from the School of Chemical Engineering of Oklahoma State University, and this assistance is deeply appreciated and gratefully acknowledged by the author.

1 *The Daily O'Collegian*, September 20, 1934, p. 3.

2 Interview with Leonard F. Sheerar, January 18, 1972; *The Daily O'Collegian*, October 3, 1929, p. 1.

Professor Leonard F. (Mike) Sheerar, faculty member of the College of Engineering, Oklahoma State University, 1928–1966, and one of the founders of the ceramic factory (*Leonard F. Sheerar Collection*)

held a B. S. Degree from Alfred University and a M. S. Degree from Ohio State University. Sheerar was a specialist in ceramics engineering.[3]

Upon reaching Stillwater, Sheerar introduced classes in ceramics at Oklahoma A and M. Within a few months he was able to convince officials of the Engineering Experiment Station at Oklahoma A and M and the Oklahoma Geological Survey of Norman, Oklahoma that there was a need for a survey of the clays and shales in Oklahoma. In cooperation with John S. Redfield of the Oklahoma Geological Survey, Sheerar began the survey in the fall of 1928. Redfield and his assistants collected samples of clays and shales from all portions of Oklahoma and sent them to Sheerar. Sheerar and his students tested the samples in the basement of the Music and Arts Building at Oklahoma A and M. The findings of the survey indicated that there were important deposits of clays and shales in many parts of the state. The preliminary reports of the survey convinced Sheerar that a ceramics industry was feasible in Oklahoma and that it would be possible to produce ceramics products at Oklahoma A and M.[4]

W. J. Martin, Chief Engineer of the Northeast Oklahoma Railroad, (also known as the Miami Mineral Belt Railroad) heard about the survey of the clays and shales in Oklahoma. He came to Stillwater in 1929 to ask Sheerar to help him solve a problem confronting the railroad. The Northeast Oklahoma Railroad was a short line of 11.09 miles and operated within Ottawa County, Oklahoma. The operation of the railroad was centered around the management of zinc mines owned by the railroad company. When the zinc ore was processed, a waste material or chat was piled near the processing plant. At that time there was no known use for the chat. Martin approached Sheerar and asked him whether he would be willing to experiment with the chat and determine if it was possible to convert the waste material into sand lime brick. Martin offered to finance the venture from company funds and Sheerar agreed to undertake the task. The money granted to the Department of Chemical Engineering by the Northeast Oklahoma Railroad was the first industrial grant offered to the Department. Sheerar hired Wallace F. Benson, a graduate assistant, to aid in the implementation of the experiments. Sheerar and Benson found that it was possible to make sand lime bricks from chat. Although a few were produced in an improvised ceramics laboratory at Oklahoma A and M, the Northeast Okla-

[3] Interview with Sheerar, July 12, 1971; Student Record of Leonard Francis Sheerar, Alfred University, Alfred, New York; C. Val Clute, Director of Alumni Programs, Alfred University, to the author, November 24, 1971.

[4] Interview with Sheerar, July 12, 1971; Leonard Francis Sheerar, "The Clays and Shales of Oklahoma," *Division of Engineering Publication, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College*, Vol. III, (September, 1932).

homa Railroad Company never produced any sand lime bricks for the commercial market. However, the significance of the experiments was that they proved that there were additional possibilities for the ceramics industry in Oklahoma.[5]

The survey of the clays and shales of Oklahoma and the experiments with sand lime brick indicated to Sheerar that there was a need for further exploration of the ceramics resources of Oklahoma and that there was a good possibility that an Oklahoma-based ceramics industry would prosper. In February, 1929 Sheerar gained permission to conduct a conference on ceramic chemistry at Oklahoma A and M. He mailed a number of brochures to businessmen whom he thought would be interested in attending the conference. The programs outlined the topics for discussion. The main theme of the conference was a discussion of the possibility of a successful ceramics industry in Oklahoma. On March 23, 1929 the two-day conclave opened in the Chemistry Building at Oklahoma A and M. Approximately twenty-five businessmen from Oklahoma and adjoining states were in attendance when Henry Bennett, President of Oklahoma A and M, delivered the welcoming address. Other speakers at the event were Phillip S. Donnell, Dean of the College of Engineering; Harry Jienke, Independence, Kansas; and R. L. Byram, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Sheerar pointed out that there was a good possibility for the future growth of an Oklahoma-based ceramics industry. The group indicated ways in which various ceramics firms could be induced to move their facilities to Oklahoma.[6]

A few of the businessmen attending the ceramics conference were florists and they indicated to Sheerar that there was a great need for manufacturing plants in Oklahoma which could supply the flowerpot requirements of Oklahoma florists. All flowerpots had to be shipped long distances to Oklahoma florists by rail and freight rates were so high that it made it difficult to sell floral merchandise on a competitive basis with substitute products. Sheerar relayed this information to Bennett and he in turn consulted Scroggs. The three men decided to see if it would be feasible to incorporate a flowerpot manufacturing facility into the student self-help industries program which was being developed at Oklahoma A and M. Scroggs, the

[5] Leonard Francis Sheerar, "Physical Properties of Common and Face Brick Manufactured in Oklahoma," *Division of Engineering Publication, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College*, Vol. II (July, 1931); Wallace F. Benson, "The Development of Wall and Floor Tile Bodies From Oklahoma Clays," unpublished masters thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1929; Interview with Sheerar, July 12, 1971; "Forty-Fifth Annual Report on the Statistics of Railways in the United States for the Year Ended December 31, 1931," *Interstate Commerce Commission Report*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), p. 244.

[6] *The Daily O'Collegian*, February 20, 1929, p. 1; March 21, 1929, p. 1.

director of the student self-help program, believed that it could be done and the three men decided to broaden the program and include a ceramics plant. Officials of the student self-help program were already administering a broom factory and a rug-making plant. Both facilities were operated by student labor and were designed to give employment to students who otherwise would not be able to complete their education at Oklahoma A and M.[7]

Bennett, Scroggs, and Sheerar decided to act on their idea during the fall semester of 1929. Rather than construct a new building, the three educators decided to convert an existing structure into a ceramics factory. The building chosen to house the ceramics plant was an old R.O.T.C. barracks which stood on the ground now occupied by the Student Union on the Oklahoma State University campus. The one-story building was thirty-five feet wide and seventy-five feet long. There was no paint on the building and it was not insulated. Sheerar and his students installed an old fifty-five gallon oil drum in the building and converted it into a heater. A natural gas burner was installed in a hole cut in the bottom of the oil drum. Large rocks were placed in the oil drum. The rocks held the heat generated by the gas burner. This primitive device was the only source of heat in the building. The kiln for the ceramics plant was constructed directly south of the building. It was made from brick and was ten feet high. The kiln used natural gas as fuel and could hold thousands of flowerpots at one time.[8]

The construction of the kiln and the remodeling of the old R.O.T.C. barracks were completed in November, 1929. Initially the equipment in the ceramics factory included machinery for crushing, grinding, and mixing clays, two potters wheels, and a dry press used in the manufacture of floor tiles. A complete series of standard flowerpots could be manufactured, but the equipment necessary to produce floor tiles on a commercial basis was not available.[9]

Sheerar was named plant manager in charge of the technical operation of the plant. The production superintendent of the ceramics factory was M. O. French. French came to Stillwater from Pittsburg, Kansas. While in Pittsburg, French assisted his father in the operation of the Pittsburg Pottery Company. The Pittsburg firm specialized in the manufacture of flowerpots and supplied them to local florists.[10]

Ten students were employed in the ceramics factory when the plant

[7] Interviews with Sheerar, July 12, 1971 and January 18, 1972.

[8] *The Daily O'Collegian*, October 3, 1929, p. 1; interview with Sheerar, January 18, 1972.

[9] *The Daily O'Collegian*, November 9, 1929, p. 1.

[10] Edward P. Lohmann to the author, January 21, 1972; *Payne County News*, January 24, 1930, p. 1.

opened for business in November, 1929. Within one year thirty students were utilized by the newest self-help industry at Oklahoma A and M. Students were paid twenty cents an hour. By the spring of 1930 the ceramics factory operated from 8 o'clock in the morning until 5 o'clock in the evening. The work week lasted from Monday through Friday. Unless special orders made rapid production necessary, the ceramics plant did not operate during the summer months.[11]

In 1929 and 1930 the clay used in the manufacture of flowerpots was obtained locally from land on the Oklahoma A and M campus. In 1931 Sheerar and French decided to use a clay of better quality which could not be obtained locally. An excellent grade of clay was located in a rural area near Ada, Oklahoma and this clay was transported to Stillwater by truck. Sheerar and French utilized clay obtained near Ada from 1931 until the plant ceased operation in 1934.[12]

At first the production capacity of the ceramics factory was 750 flowerpots each day. They were shaped on the primitive equipment available and placed in the kiln to harden. When the kiln was fired up for baking flowerpots the temperature in the interior ranged from 2000 to 2400 degrees fahrenheit. It took about six days of baking at this temperature to harden the flowerpots.[13]

A number of the students employed in the ceramics plant were familiar with commercial operations used in the ceramics industry. In February, 1929 Sheerar and seven of his students attended the National Convention of the American Ceramic Society in Chicago, Illinois. While they were in Chicago, the Oklahoma A and M contingent visited the Northwestern Terra Cotta Company and the Chicago Fire Brick Company. The group observed the techniques used in the operation of these companies and when the ceramics plant opened they attempted to use some of the commercial methods observed in Chicago.[14]

Unfortunately the equipment available was not adequate to meet production demands. Originally French and Sheerar planned to produce tiles for the floors and walls of the Infirmary which was under construction at Oklahoma A and M. Another long-range project was the manufacture of tiles for the fireplace in the Old Central Building. Sheerar was not able to purchase the equipment necessary for the production of tiles and the tile-

[11] *The Daily O'Collegian*, November 9, 1929, p. 1; April 6, 1930, p. 1; Interview with Sheerar, January 18, 1972.

[12] *The Daily O'Collegian*, October 3, 1929, p. 1; interview with Sheerar, January 18, 1972.

[13] *The Daily O'Collegian*, January 15, 1930, p. 1; interview with Sheerar, January 18, 1972.

[14] *The Daily O'Collegian*, January 20, 1929, p. 1; February 19, 1929, p. 1.

Edward P. Lohmann served as foreman of the ceramic factory. He was a graduate student in the Department of Chemistry and Chemical Engineering of Oklahoma State University

manufacturing section of the ceramics factory remained idle for two years.[15]

Although Sheerar was not able to secure the funds necessary to purchase modern tile-making equipment, he was able to buy new machinery which increased the flowerpot production capacity of the plant. By January, 1930 French was not able to fill the avalanche of orders for flowerpots which were pouring into the office of the plant from all portions of Oklahoma and adjoining states. Workers using the manual potters wheels were able to produce 750 flowerpots each day and the installation of additional potters wheels would not increase output enough to meet the demand. French and Sheerar decided to purchase a flowerpot stamping machine from the Andrew Baird Company of Detroit, Michigan. The $1,200 machine stamped the flowerpots from wet clay. The stamping machine operated on the same principle as a cookie cutter. The production capacity of the new machine was 12,000 flowerpots each day.[16]

Although the production capacity of the stamping machine was 12,000 flowerpots each day, the demand was never greater than 6,000 flowerpots per day. The flowerpots stamped on the new machine were smoother and had a better texture. The Baird Stamping Machine could produce flowerpots up to four inches in diameter. The work force in the ceramics plant continued to produce flowerpots up to twelve inches in diameter, but all flowerpots larger than four inches had to be manufactured on potters wheels. By April, 1930 Sheerar was able to announce that thirty students were employed in the ceramics plant.[17]

On August 15, 1930 Sheerar hired Edward P. Lohmann to be foreman of the ceramics plant. Lohmann had been working for the Malleable Iron Range Company of Beaver Dam, Wisconsin. He was a 1928 graduate of Iowa State College with a Bachelor of Science Degree in Ceramics Engineering. A graduate student at Oklahoma A and M College, Lohmann received a Master of Science Degree in Chemical Engineering in 1932.[18]

When Lohmann became foreman of the ceramics plant in 1930 the equipment in the plant was becoming more adequate to meet the demands of the flowerpot market. In addition to the stamping machine Sheerar and French had purchased a pugmill, a blunger or mixing machine, and a plate frame filter with a slip pump. A clay curing bin was constructed in one section of the ceramics factory.[19]

When the ceramics plant opened for the 1930–1931 academic year,

[15] *Ibid.*, October 3, 1929, p. 1; January 15, 1930, p. 1.
[16] *Ibid.*, January 15, 1930, p. 1.
[17] *Ibid.*, April 6, 1930, p. 1; interview with Otto M. Smith, March 1, 1972.
[18] *Payne County News*, August 15, 1930, p. 4; Lohmann to the author, January 21, 1972.
[19] Lohmann to the author, January 21, 1972.

Sheerar, French, and Lohmann were optimistic that the year would prove to be a profitable one. By September, 1930 French was receiving orders for flowerpots from florists in Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, Kansas, and Missouri. Local florists came to the ceramics plant to pick up their flowerpots, but florists located more than one hundred miles from Stillwater received their flowerpots by rail. The students working in the ceramics plant took the flowerpots by truck to the Santa Fe Railroad Station in Stillwater and there the flowerpots were loaded on boxcars bound for distant markets. There was a limit on how far the flowerpots could be shipped and still return a profit to the ceramics plant. Transportation costs limited the shipments to Southern Kansas, Northern Texas, Western Arkansas, Southwestern Missouri, and Oklahoma. Whenever the products of the ceramics plant came into competition with products of local industries in a distant market area the local manufacturer was able to undersell the Stillwater product.[20]

In an effort to expand the market range of the plant Sheerar and French decided to begin manufacturing different types of ceramics products. During the fall of 1930 the students working in the ceramics factory began producing ceramic frogs. The frogs were painted either green or black and were used for many purposes. The mouths of the ceramic frogs were open and this made them useful as ashtrays. They were also utilized as doorstops. A number of the frogs were used as ashtrays or inkwells in many of the administrative offices in Whitehurst Hall at Oklahoma A and M. Over 750 frogs were produced in the ceramics factory between 1930 and 1932. Another specialty product was the ceramic duck. The ducks were larger than the frogs and were painted green, blue, or black. The ceramic ducks were used as garden ornaments and over fifty ducks were produced in the ceramics factory in 1930 and 1931. Some of the ducks were sealed at the bottom and open at the top and were used as planters for vines or as vases. In addition to the frogs and ducks Sheerar, French, and Lohmann experimented with making bird baths. A few were manufactured in the ceramics factory but they were never produced on a large scale.[21]

Another product of the ceramics plant was quarry tile. Officials of the Hoke and Hoke Lumber Company of Stillwater told Sheerar and French that the Stillwater concern would buy all the quarry tiles produced in the ceramics plant. Quarry tile was similar to patio tile. The quarry tiles produced in the ceramics plant came in four inch by four inch or six inch by six inch sizes. However the production of quarry tiles never became a very important part of the operation of the ceramics plant. The market for

[20] Interview with Sheerar, January 18, 1972.

[21] *The Daily O'Collegian*, January 14, 1931, p. 1; interview with Sheerar, January 18, 1972.

The ceramics kiln was built at Oklahoma A&M College in 1929. All ceramics products manufactured in the ceramics factory were baked in this facility (*Oklahoma State Alumnus*)

ceramics products declined in 1931 and 1932 and the Hoke and Hoke Lumber Company could not sell quarry tiles to prospective customers and they cancelled the standing offer to purchase all the quarry tiles produced in the ceramics plant.[22]

Sheerar and French realized that they were going to have to sell more flowerpots if they were going to be able to keep the ceramics factory operating on a sound financial basis. During the fall of 1931 French began a personal campaign to interest prospective buyers in flowerpots produced in the Stillwater plant. In October, 1931 French and Donnell went to Wichita, Kansas to promote flowerpot sales. A preliminary contract was tentatively approved whereby a Wichita company agreed to purchase 1,000,000 flowerpots from the Oklahoma A and M plant each year. However, economic conditions did not improve in Wichita and the arrangement never materialized.[23]

[22] *The Daily O'Collegian*, January 15, 1930, p. 1; interview with Sheerar, January 18, 1972.
[23] *The Daily O'Collegian*, October 8, 1931, p. 1.

OKLAHOMA
AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL
COLLEGE
STILLWATER, OKLA.

COLLEGE POTTERY

PRICE LIST

JANUARY
1932

STUDENT INDUSTRIES
DIVISION OF ENGINEERING

STANDARD RED POTS

Size	Weight per 100	Price per 100
2 inch	11 lbs.	.65
2¼ inch	15 lbs.	.75
2½ inch	21 lbs.	.85
3 inch	40 lbs.	1.00
4 inch	75 lbs.	2.00
4½ inch	125 lbs.	2.75
5 inch	175 lbs.	3.50
5½ inch	200 lbs.	4.25
6 inch	250 lbs.	5.00
7 inch	300 lbs.	7.50
8 inch	400 lbs.	10.00
9 inch	550 lbs.	15.00
10 inch	750 lbs.	25.00
12 inch	1300 lbs.	40.00
2 inch Rose pots		.65
2½ inch Rose pots		.85

These prices are net delivered to your greenhouse. A discount of 10% from these prices is allowed those desiring to call at the plant for their pots with their own transportation.

Our pots are made from Oklahoma clay and by boys of the A. and M. College who are working their way thru school.

You will find our stock smooth and with round bottoms. They are porous and at the same time exceptionally strong.

AZALEA OR 3/4 SIZE POTS

Size	Weight per 100	Price per 100
4 inch	50 lbs.	2.00
5 inch	130 lbs.	3.50
6 inch	150 lbs.	5.00
7 inch	250 lbs.	7.50
8 inch	300 lbs.	10.00
9 inch	450 lbs.	15.00
10 inch	600 lbs.	25.00
12 inch	1100 lbs.	40.00

These pots are of the same high quality as the standard size pots. They have good depth and a smooth finish.

FLOWER POT SAUCERS

Size	Weight per 100	Price per 100
4 inch	50 lbs.	1.50
5 inch	65 lbs.	2.00
6 inch	80 lbs.	2.50
7 inch	100 lbs.	4.00
8 inch	150 lbs.	4.50
9 inch	230 lbs.	6.00
10 inch	250 lbs.	7.50
12 inch	300 lbs.	10.00

All saucers burned extra hard so as to have very low perosity.

Order by mail or telegram or thru a personal visit. The latter is especially urged as we would like you to see both our plant and our stock.

Telephone Stillwater 1480—*Sta.* 222

A price list of products produced in the Ceramics Factory (*Edward P. Lohmann Collection*)

The ceramics factory closed for the summer vacation in 1932, but new orders arrived at the office which allowed the facility to reopen in September, 1932. The broom factory and the rug manufacturing plant had closed by 1932 and the ceramics plant was the only student self-help industry operating at Oklahoma A and M. The ceramics factory operated eight hours each day for five days a week. Twenty-five students were employed in the operation of the ceramics factory and they worked in four hour shifts arranged to conform to each student's academic schedule.[24]

O. M. French continued to promote sales during the fall semester of 1932. He traveled to commercial firms in Oklahoma, Kansas, Arkansas, Missouri, and Texas. Most of the advance orders French was able to obtain were for standard size flowerpots. During French's absence Lohmann was in charge of the ceramics factory.[25]

Pottery oil necessary for the successful manufacture of flowerpots did not

[24] *Ibid.*, September 16, 1932, pp. 3–4.
[25] *Ibid.*

arrive from Kansas City, Missouri on schedule and during the first week of November, 1932 Lohmann was forced to reduce the operating schedule of the ceramics plant. The oil arrived and within a week the ceramics factory was back in full operation. However a rumor that the ceramics plant was about to suspend operations was soon circulating on the Oklahoma A and M College campus. Advance orders which had accumulated during the summer months were sufficient for two-months operation, but French was having difficulty obtaining new orders. In denying the rumor, French announced, "We will close for the Christmas holidays from December 15 until January 1, in accordance with our annual custom, but the plant will be open as usual for the rest of the year." He added that business was as good as ever, although there had been a great deal of trouble in collecting accounts. French stated, "Even if accounts cannot be collected, we can make some arrangements to keep running."[26]

Despite French's assurances to the contrary, Sheerar was forced to order a temporary suspension of the operation of the ceramics factory on December 1, 1932. French and Sheerar planned to reopen the facility on February 1, 1933 and continue full-scale operations for the remainder of the spring semester. However, a lack of funds necessitated a postponement of the reopening date until March 1, 1933. Although the manufacturing section of the ceramics factory remained dormant from December 1932 to March 1933, a small labor force was retained in the ceramics plant to fill new orders from the supply of flowerpots on hand. French and Sheerar found jobs for all the former student employees in other positions while the ceramics factory remained closed and assured the work force that they would be rehired when the plant reopened in March. French labored tirelessly to find new outlets for flowerpots, but the geographical market area continued to contract. All orders received in the office of the ceramics plant during the remainder of the spring semester were from florists located in Oklahoma. Compounding the difficulties confronting French and Sheerar, they lost their plant foreman when Lohmann received an M. S. Degree and left Oklahoma A and M to accept a position in industry with a Milwaukee, Wisconsin firm.[27]

After the usual suspension of operations during the summer vacation, the ceramics plant opened for business on September 1, 1933. However the number of students employed in the facility was reduced from twenty-five to six or eight. Although the ceramics plant continued to operate for eight hours each day, five days a week, the work load of each student employee

[26] *Ibid.*, September 16, 1932, pp. 3–4, November 13, 1932, p. 1.
[27] *Ibid.*, January 26, 1933, p. 1; Lohmann to the author, January 21, 1972.

was lowered to a maximum of twenty-five hours each week. French continued to issue optimistic statements which expressed his faith in the future success of the ceramics plant. He noted that during the summer of 1933 many old customers had placed new orders for flowerpots with the Stillwater plant and additional purchasers were being added to the list of clients.[28]

The advance orders for flowerpots, which had accumulated during the summer months of 1933, were soon filled and within a short time it became evident that new orders were inadequate to keep the ceramics plant operating on a forty-hour week. The spring of 1934 saw the price of flowerpots dip to a new low and this fact contributed to steadily worsening financial conditions in the ceramics factory. The final blow came when it became evident that it was impossible to collect overdue accounts and without this revenue the flowerpot factory would not be able to continue operations. French and Sheerar decided that under these conditions it was fruitless to attempt to open the ceramics factory in the fall of 1934. On September 20, 1934, the ceramics factory, the last of the three student self-help industries which had operated on the Oklahoma A and M campus ceased operations.[29]

M. O. French accepted a position in industry during the fall of 1934 and Sheerar returned to his duties as a full-time Assistant Professor of Chemical Engineering at Oklahoma A and M. The building which housed the ceramics factory was converted into a chemical engineering laboratory in 1935 and it was used in this capacity until 1947. In 1947 the chemical engineering equipment was moved into a new laboratory located in a war surplus quonset-type building. The kiln remained idle from 1935 until 1949, when the kiln and the ceramics factory were demolished to make way for the construction of the Student Union Building.[30]

Although the lifetime of the ceramics factory was less than five years the venture was not a total failure. The flowerpot manufacturing facility did not return a profit, but it employed students who would not have been able to finance a college education without part-time employment. French and Sheerar were forced to compromise some of their original goals in order to compete successfully in a machine oriented market. Flowerpots shaped on potters wheels could not compete in quality or quantity with flowerpots shaped by a stamping machine. Moreover, once a stamping machine was purchased it increased the debt which had to be retired by revenue obtained from the sale of flowerpots and it made it possible to operate the plant with

[28] *The Daily O'Collegian*, September 16, 1933, p. 2.
[29] *Ibid.*, September 20, 1934, p. 3.
[30] Interview with Sheerar, January 18, 1972.

fewer student workers. While the stamping machine was more efficient, one of the original purposes of the ceramics factory was to employ as many students as possible and the use of the stamping machine held the number of useful workers to a minimum. Flowerpots manufactured in the ceramics factory were able to compete successfully with flowerpots produced by competitors, but French and Sheerar could not surmount the difficulties incurred in attempting to collect overdue accounts in a depression. The ceramics plant was founded during a period when state officials in Oklahoma were searching for new industries. In later years and in more prosperous times new Oklahoma-based concerns were able to profit by the example set by the ceramics factory at Oklahoma A and M.

TWO LETTERS FROM PINE RIDGE MISSION

*By Elizabeth H. Hunt**

These letters, postmarked respectively February 28, 1842 and August 26, 1844, Fort Towson, in the Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory, were both written by Electa May Kingsbury (Mrs. Cyrus Kingsbury) from Pine Ridge, near Fort Towson, to Mrs. Eliza Abert Wright, an old friend from the former Mayhew Mission in Mississippi, which had been established by Mr. Kingsbury in 1821. The first is addressed to her at Pickensville, Alabama; the second to her at Columbus, Mississippi, care of Charles Abert, Esquire.

Electa May was Cyrus Kingsbury's second wife, having married him at Mayhew in 1824. They came out to Oklahoma with the Hotchkins and Alfred Wrights at least by 1835, though apparently from his autobiography Cyrus spent some time with the Osage before establishing Pine Ridge Mission in 1835. In an article on the "Diary of Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury," Dr. W. B. Morrison described the location of Pine Ridge Mission thus:[1] "Kingsbury's home, and the headquarters of the mission, was established at Pine Ridge, near old Fort Towson, a few miles from Doaksville, long the Choctaw capital." In another article by Dr. Morrison, he wrote that Doaksville sprang up a mile west of the Fort, and Pine Ridge was two miles west of the Fort. He says further, "the presence of that prince of early missionaries, Dr. Cyrus Kingsbury, almost under the shadow of the Fort from 1835 to the close of its history (1854), may have had something to do with its unusual moral record."[2]

* Elizabeth Hale Hunt (Mrs. J. W.) of Oklahoma City has contributed these two rare letters postmarked at Fort Towson in 1844, as owner of the original letters written by Electa May Kingsbury, wife of the great missionary, Cyrus Kingsbury of Pine Ridge Mission to her friend, Mrs. Eliza Abert Wright in Mississippi. Eliza Abert Wright was the aunt of James William Abert, U.S. Topographical Engineers, who was in command of the famous U.S. exploring expedition into Western Oklahoma in 1845. It was his father John James Abert, U.S. Engineers and one time head of the U.S. Military academy at West Point, who signed the U.S. patent to the Choctaws for their western country, now southern Oklahoma. The original of this Choctaw patent is one of the rarest and most beautiful documents in the Oklahoma Historical Society, and bears the signatures, besides that of James J. Abert, of Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, and President John Tyler. Mrs. Hunt is a former librarian and a great-niece of Elizabeth Abert.—Ed.

[1] W. B. Morrison, "Diary of Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury,"—*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, No. 2 (June, 1925).

[2] "Fort Towson," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII (June, 1930), pp. 226–232.

Eliza Abert was born in Shepherdstown, Virginia (now in West Virginia) in 1794. She came to Columbus, Mississippi in 1823 with her sister and brother-in-law, Juliet (Abert) and John Raser, a Quaker merchant. They were followed in 1826 by a brother, Charles Abert, and his wife Jane Burgess. In 1824 Eliza had married Columbus' first doctor, Bartley Cox Barry, but he lived less than a year thereafter, and they had no children.

Later she married David Wright, a missionary to the Choctaws, who had come to Mississippi from New England. He had brought his wife, the former Lucinda Washburn, and they had one child, Laura Emily, born in 1824 at Mayhew Mission. Lucinda died in 1826, and in 1827 David married the widow Eliza Abert Barry, who thus became Laura's much-beloved step-mother.

When the Choctaws were removed from Mississippi in 1832 the Kingsburys, Alfred Wrights, and Byingtons came with them, or soon after, to what is now Oklahoma. Mayhew Mission was closed down. David Wright remained in Mississippi as pastor of the Presbyterian Church he had helped found in Columbus. He and Eliza had only one child who lived beyond infancy, James William Abert Wright, known as "Willie," born in 1834. They "raised" not only Laura and Willie but Mary Eliza Raser, daughter of Juliet and John Raser who both died when she was a baby. David died in Columbus in 1840 and is buried there. Then Eliza taught for a while, chiefly music, in a school conducted by their friends the Reverend and Mrs. Gladney, in Pickensville, Alabama, which explains why one of these letters is addressed to her there. By 1844, though, she was back in Columbus living with various relatives. Laura had been sent at the age of thirteen to Washburn relatives in New England to be educated.

Eliza spent her last years at Belmont, Lowndes County, Mississippi, the home of another sister, Louisa Pinckney Abert Neilson (Mrs. William Walker Neilson), and died there in 1868. It was in this old house that these letters were found and preserved by the late Miss Sarah Dandridge Neilson. They, among many other family letters, were bequeathed to her niece Elizabeth Hale Hunt of Oklahoma City. Eliza, by the way, was a sister of John James Abert (1788–1863) who was the first head of the United States Topographical Survey, and aunt of James William Abert (1820–1897) who was in command of the U.S. Army exploring expedition in Oklahoma in 1845. The letters are as follows, with paragraphing for clearness:

[*Letter from Electa May Kingsbury (Mrs. Cyrus). Addressed to Mrs. Eliza Wright, Pickensville, Alabama. Postmarked "Fort Towson, Ark, Feb. 23." Noted on cover, in Eliza's writing, "Mrs. Kingsbury, rec'd March 1842."*]

Pine Ridge Febr. 1842

My dear sister Wright

Although I have just left my school and have many things to which I must see this evening yet I am determined to neglect no longer to answer your kind and affectionate letter which was received long since—but could you see how my time has been occupied the twelve month past—I know you would not blame me for not writing you before this.

Mr. Kingsbury left us yesterday to go to Br. Byington's 50 miles east of this place[3] for a young Lady whom we hope to reside in our family & take charge of the school. with the help I have in the kitchen, I find my task too hard—I was glad to hear you was engaged in teaching as I think you will not confine your instruction entirely to music—O how I should rejoice to see and converse with you—what changes has taken place among our friends in C— —and that dear family whose goodness I so largely shared, where are they?—those two hospitable dwellings opposite each other where our family enjoyed so many pleasant hours—who occupies them? O how true that the places that knew us will soon know us no more. Some dear precious families are still left, I trust.

No one takes the trouble to write me from that place.—Do be so good as to write as soon as you get this. I want to know all about you and the dear son—and where is Laura[4] and Mary Eliza[5] now—I hope they are preparing for great usefulness. O shall I ever see any one of those much loved friends again.

We have great cause for gratitude to God for his goodness in blessing the labours of his servants—the year past has been we trust the beginning of days with many of this people.

25th. My dear sister, this has been by me 10 days. I have not had time to finish it and fear you cannot read what I have written. Mr. K. returned this week with Miss Arms[6] she appears well—has been at the same school with Laura and gives her a very good character where is dear Mary Eliza now—Miss Clough[7] I think I wrote you married Mr. Wall and lives very comfortable. Miss Burnham[8] living by herself as she used to do at Ihchubbaha[9] Br. and sister Wright[10] are in usual health and doing good. Miss Ker[11] a single lady from S. C. who lives there as

[3] At Eagletown.

[4] Laura Emily Wright, Eliza's step-daughter. She was to be graduated from Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in a few months.

[5] Mary Eliza Raser, Eliza's niece.

[6] Miss Harriet Arms.—Ethel McMillan, "Women Teachers in Oklahoma 1820–1860," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (Spring 1949), p. 25. Hereafter referred to as "Women Teachers."

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 19. Miss Eunice Clough, married Noah Wall in 1838.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 18. Miss Anna Burnham, who had also taught at Mayhew Mission in Mississippi and at Wheelock, with the Alfred Wrights.

[9] "Ihchubbaha" is not listed in George Shirk's *Oklahoma Place Names*, nor in any list we have found of Choctaw missions in Oklahoma or Mississippi.

[10] Alfred and Harriet Wright, Wheelock Mission.

[11] Miss Sarah Ker.—Ethel McMillan, "Women Teachers," p. 30.

teacher is not well unable to continue her school. Mr. Olmstead[12] and wife who are teachers live 5 miles from them—Br. & sister Byington 30 miles from Mr. W.[13]—they are now in health—Lucy has gone to Marietta[14] they have only one child with them. Col. Folsom[15] lives 1 mile from us—has recently buried a very promising son 28 years old—the Colonel married a young wife and has one young child—the people in this neighborhood have built a meeting house which is comfortable Mr. K. preaches in it & at the Fort about half the time.

We have but a few professors of religion now at the Fort—the companies are often changed.

I often think of your dear sister Abert[16]—sister Barry,[17] sister Hand and their families—and long to hear from them all it would do me good to get a letter from some of them—dear sister Craven was very kind in writing even when she was quite unwell. How is Mr. Craven—O may the Lord give him peace and a right mind.

We have enjoyed good health the year past. Not one Sabbath has Mr. K. been laid aside from his labour—but our days may be few and perhaps are almost finished. O may we be found ready. My only sister died last June in Hartford, Conn. I hope we may all profit by our trials and if we are what we profess to be, they will prove blessings in disguise. Remember me affectionately to the dear family with whom you reside. Does religion prosper around you? and christians awake to their duty and feel that they have much to do for the salvation of souls? If so, may the Lord bless you in all your labour of love. There is much to be done in this world of sin and sorrow; and have we not daily and hourly evidence within and without that the heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked.

Your son must excuse my not answering his very welcome letter at this time. I do hope to have leisure to write you a more intelligle (*sic*) letter as soon as I can hear from you. It is quite a change for you after having charge of a family so long now to be with only the care of your little son—but it is just like this world. Do tell me about Mr. and Mrs. Lewis I hear nothing from them of late.—Do you ever hear anything of Gen. Mead—Judge Perkins and family—Mr. Kingsbury is very much occupied this morning or he would write a little in this—he desires a kind remembrance to sister who he still loves.

When you see Columbus friends do beg some of them to write me—I want them still to remember me and pray that I may be more faithful & at last may we meet and praise God in Heaven.

Your sister as ever,
E. M. Kingsbury

[12] Jared and Julia Olmstead.—See "Our First Schools in the Choctaw Nation," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, no. 3, (Fall 1928), p. 385.

[13] Alfred Wright, presumably.

[14] Lucy Byington, Cyrus Byington's daughter. They were from Marietta, Ohio, and occasionally went back there.—Byington Letters, copies of manuscripts in Oklahoma Indian Archives, Vol. 12, p. 623.

[*Letter from Electa May Kingsbury (Mrs. Cyrus). Addressed to Mrs. E. A. Wright, care of Chas. Abert, Esqu., Columbus, Miss. Postmarked "Fort Towson, Ark., Aug. 26." Noted on cover, in Eliza's writing, "1844 Columbus, and Rec'd: Sep.er 11."*]

Pine Ridge Aug. 1844

My dear sister Wright—

It is now two weeks since our school closed & with that some of my numerous cares but I have not as yet written a letter to one friend. This P. M. being more than usual alone I determined on once more taking my pen, & I soon determined your long neglected letter should receive the first attention.—But alas I have so much I want to say I know not where to begin, what would I give to see you—why not take a trip this way I can assure you of a hearty welcome at Pine Ridge—as well as with many others. Sister Hotchkin[18] has just left here—her husband has gone to the east after more teachers—I wish we had your dear Laura[19] with us we are in want of another teacher—I suppose she is very pleasantly engaged with Miss Williams[20]—God is good truly in sparing some of our dear friends to us—we love to think of them, if we cannot see them. Dear sister Abert and many others in Columbus are still doing good & walking in that path which will grow brighter & brighter I trust well my dear sisters increase more & more in the work of the Lord; put on the whole armour of God & fight manfully for him who bled and *died* that guilty sinners might live.

I long to hear how the Lord is prospering you and your dear son Willey[21]—do let me hear as soon as possible from you—everything that concerns will interest your sister K., the same as ever. Our family has consisted of about 40 the last term 31 girls this you know is no small care.[22]—I very much want some woman to assist me learning the girls to work, I have wished for your skill in housekeeping.

Br. & sister Byington have recently a little son added to their family—this is very gratifying to them.—Sister Burnham is in comfortable health but has not

[15] Col. David Folsom, 1791–1847.

[16] Mrs. Charles Abert, Columbus, Mississippi, Eliza's sister-in-law.

[17] Probably either Mrs. Richard Barry or Mrs. William S. Barry. There were several Barrys in Columbus at that time, relatives of Eliza's first husband, Dr. Bartley Cox Barry.

[18] Philena Hotchkin (Mrs. Ebenezer). Ethel McMillan, "Women Teachers," p. 29.

[19] Laura Emily Wright, Eliza's step-daughter, now teaching in Columbus.

[20] Miss Emily Williams, a teacher in Columbus, Mississippi. Laura was teaching with her, Laura's first job since returning from Mount Holyoke. She is mentioned in two letters from Laura to Eliza, from Suffield, Connecticut to Pickensville, Alabama, Nov. 8, 1842; and from Columbus, Mississippi to Pickensville, Alabama, Sept. 9, 1843 (in Elizabeth H. Hunt's collection).

[21] James William Abert Wright, now ten years of age.

[22] Mrs. Kingsbury's "family" included girls at Chu-Wa-La Female Seminary, according to N. Sayre Harris' "Journal of a Tour in the Indian Territory," 1844. Reprinted with annotations and edited by Carolyn Foreman, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 2 (September 1932), p. 221.

engaged in a school this year—it is thought she is too feeble for such employment she has been keeping house for Mr. Copeland[23] this summer. I hardly know where she will reside now.

Br. & sister Wright are in usual health.—The *attention* of this people is very much called to school & they are making great exertions for the rising generation. —if the Gospel may also be estimated according to its value they will surely be a prosperous people but here there is great danger—In some parts of the nation there is at present more seriousness than usual and at a late meeting 14 (?) were added to the church. Mr. Kingsbury has now gone West on a preaching tour 90 miles—I expect when he returns he may bring with him the little son sister Wall left for me to charge of—he is now in a situation to be trained for wickedness—and when we reflect on the missionary labor that dear sister performed before her marriage we cannot feel contented to let the little orphan live where he is now—I feel it to be quite a charge to take him—but O how precious the sweet promise "as thy day is so shall thy strength be"—but duty does not call us to take more on us than we can bear—and sometimes I think we may err in this—

Our son John[24] is now with us—I know not what he will conclude to do—Cyrus[25] is till in Ohio attending to the study of medicine—our dear Harriet[26] has gone a visit to the Cherokee Nation her health was not good when she left but she writes that she is gaining. We hope she will be able to commence school again in Oct.

The care of children & youth is a great charge I feel very inadequate for the duties devolving on me—can you tell me how to learn children to govern themselves and what is the best mode of discipline—we have had under our care children from 7 to 10 years of age—many of them orphans—I think your dear W— is a great comfort to you truly. Do you ever see Mr. & Mrs. Lewis? We hear very seldom from them. Do the people in C—[27] think as much as ever about their earthly inheritance—the more we have of this world the greater our obligation to do for the good of others—temporal & spiritual—when much is given much will be required. Wh[missing] then should we covet more talents to impart[ ] Th[missing] country is now quite as healthy as any part of the south. There is a Mr. Walton about here from Mi— who says he is acquainted with some of our friends in C— I hope to see him and make some more inquiries myself.

Is Mr. & Mrs. Prentis at Columbus I was with them a day or two but know not who (*sic*) they and that dear son of sister Abert's I was truly rejoiced to see—I

[23] Rev. Charles C. Copeland, who served as a missionary in this field from 1842 until his death in 1869. See Natalie Morrison Denison, "Missions and Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., Among the Choctaws, 1866–1907," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXLV, p. 429.

[24] John P. Kingsbury, Cyrus' son. Byington Letters, Vol. 1, p. 10.

[25] Cyrus Kingsbury, Jr. Byington Letters, Vol. 1, p. 16.

[26] Presumably Miss Harriet Arms.—See footnote 4, above.

[27] Columbus, Mississippi.

did hope my dear Laura would have written me before this & told me all about the friends in C— So request her to do so now.

Have they a good minister who is ready at all times to feed them with the bread of life. I do long to hear all about you and all dear friends and the cause of Christ in that part of the world. I hope christians are awake and are putting forth their efforts to advance that cause which ought ever to lie near our hearts. Pray for us my dear sister and do let me know where you are & what you are doing—Please remember me very affectionately to all friends—Is Capt. Nelson[28] still in C— I hope that dear sister is doing much good.

If other duties did not call my attention every nook and corner of this sheet should be filled—but I must stop *somewhere*—and may the God be with you and bless you & yours— Write soon to your sister

ELECTA

[*On back of cover:*]
How is Mr. Barrys family I can almost imagine myself with them weeping & rejoicing together—Sister Hand also—yes [illegible] others . . . well let us pray that we may all be true friends [. . . .] Randolph Shaffer & son . . . .

Liked Moseleys funeral sermon

[28] Should be Captain *Neilson*, husband of Eliza's sister Louisa P. Abert.

LOST AMONG THE CHOCTAWS DURING A TOUR IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY, 1845

*By Rev. William Graham, A.M.**

At the time of which I write—the year 1845—Christian civilization had but imperfectly influenced the Choctaw Indians. In localities remote from the United States Agency, and from the mission schools, primitive Indian customs still prevailed. Those who were least inclined to adopt Anglo-Saxon habits, and who were most tenacious in retaining their own, were naturally drawn to these less cultured regions. Like the pioneer settler, who despises the trappings of fashion and the annoyances of culture, and who pulls up stakes and penetrates further into the wilderness when he is encroached upon by the advance of civilization, so many of these Indians, long accustomed to the unrestrained freedom of the woods, seek to get beyond the trammels of civilized institutions. Besides a natural preference for the usages of their ancestors, they have a lurking suspicion of the white man. There is much ground for this suspicion. They were reluctant to leave their homes in Mississippi, and those who would not be bribed by annuities from the Government were forced away from the graves of their fathers. They were not slow to detect the cause for their removal, as they believe, when they saw their new country. Interested parties had assured them that the lands offered them by their great father at Washington abounded in game, and were superior in quality to their former homes. But how false were these representations! The soil is thin and unproductive, the timber light and stunted, and the game had been hunted out by the roving tribes of the West. Fierce and warlike tribes scour the plains between them and the buffalo-range—tribes, too, of whose marauding incursions they are in continual dread. Evidently they have been wronged, and they know and feel it. Hence they are slow to believe even that the self-sacrificing missionary is sincere, and many of them spurn with disdain the proposition to exchange their cherished primitive customs for those of their oppressors. They were the

* Rev. William Graham was a Methodist missionary serving at Fort Coffee Academy for Choctaw boys in 1845 when he made a tour of the Red River country in the interests of Methodist missions among the Choctaws. The account of his tour appeared under the title of "Lost Among the Choctaws" in "Frontier Sketches," published in *The Ladies Repository*, a monthly devoted to literature and religion in 1863 (Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock), edited by Rev. D. W. Clark, D. D. The reprint of "Lost Among the Choctaws" in *The Chronicles* is through the courtesy of Mr. O. B. Campbell of Vinita, Oklahoma, taken from the rare copy of *The Ladies Repository* in his collection of Oklahoma historical items.

aboriginal occupants of a country every way superior to their present homes, and they feel that they were dispossessed for the accommodation of their white intruders. Is it to be wondered at, therefore, that they should suspect some sinister aim in every overture made to them, or that they should occasionally delight in acts of cruelty and blood against the white man? They have as high an appreciation of honor, justice, and right as any people, and are just as sensitive to wrong and deceit. Moreover, individual acts of imposition upon them, perpetrated by such graceless vagabonds as always frequent the frontier, continually confirm them in their prejudices. Could they be protected from the swindles and licentiousness of lawless traders and libertines, there would be some hope of their more perfect civilization. Any one who is familiar with the continual wrongs which they suffer will be apt to sympathize with them, and will find much in their situation to extenuate their faults. So far as I could learn, however, not a single instance of perfidy or fraud had ever been practiced upon them by the Christian missionary.

One of the wildest regions of the Choctaw country, and where primitive Indian customs are but little changed, lies in the southeastern part of the Territory, in the angle between Red River and the military road leading from Little Rock to Fort Towson.[1] In one of my adventurous excursions I had occasion to pass through this district, on my way to Eastern Texas. Having reached a point on the Fort Towson road, the question for decision was whether I would make a circuit of two days' travel by way of the Fort, or risk crossing the angle of country which would enable me to reach the Texas line in one day. The latter course was decided upon. The night was comfortably passed at the house of a friendly half-breed, living on the military road. He lived in good style and was in easy circumstances, being the owner of a well-improved farm and some twenty slaves. His wife was a matronly woman, cleanly and tidy, and every thing about the house exhibited a neatness and order which might have shamed the housekeepers of her Arkansas neighbors. I was still more pleased with two young daughters, just reaching womanhood. They had been educated at one of the mission schools by a pious Massachusetts lady, who, should her eye fall on this sketch, will recognize them as the Misses P. They were neatly but plainly attired, easy and graceful in their manners, and industrious in their habits. A peculiar Indian shyness gave a bewitching effect to their excellent quali-

[1]The journey followed an early trail through Southwestern Arkansas crossing the state line east of Eagletown on the Mountain Fork (present McCurtain County, Oklahoma), into the southeastern part of the Choctaw Nation.

[2] This was the home of Peter P. Pitchlynn, a noted Choctaw who was elected and served as principal chief of the Choctaw Nation in 1864–66.

ties. Intelligent, refined, modest, and religious! What gems of the forest! Nor were these young ladies wanting in personal beauty. There is indeed an unaccountable charm in the copper-colored tint, glossy black hair, and keen, sparkling eye of these half-breeds. Their forms are well-developed and symmetrical. You very rarely find an imperfect or ill-developed form among them, either male or female. Corpulency is almost unknown among them, and is never extreme, being the result of old age rather than of abnormal development. These fine physical developments of the person are doubtless owing to their simple diet, and the pure air and sunshine to which their habits expose them. Certainly these symmetrical figures and sound health do not result from physical exercise; for in ordinary life their movements are leisurely and stately, and never rapid or violent. You never find them care-worn or agitated. Their toilet is made with a view to gracefulness rather than gorgeousness, and to suit the symmetry of the person rather than to transform it into unnatural shapes. They seem not to dress with a view to captivate others, but to please themselves; not to excite admiration, but to conform to nature; not to appear what they are not, but what they are. Of colors they prefer the brilliant, but the deep and rich rather than the flimsy and gaudy. Deliberateness characterizes them in every thing; they are never hasty. Naturally they have no fondness for work, and not being covetous they never overtax their strength, or disfigure their forms, or destroy their erectness by excessive menial toil. Their wants [of the Choctaws] are few and simple, being natural rather than artificial, and are easily met without the drudgery of overtasking labor. Yet they can hardly be accounted indolent; but in labor they prefer the athletic and manly rather than the menial—the graceful rather than the violent. They possess a high degree of taste, and excel in the ornamental and artistic rather than the utilitarian. Any one who will examine their pipes and bows, manufactured by them without any tool except the knife, and the ornamented apparel, beaded purses, and trinkets produced by the females, can not fail to see the proofs of taste, ingenuity, and mechanical skill. There is a witchery in the better type of Indian life which wins on a person, and no careful observer can be at a loss to discover the secret cause of their tenacious preferences for their native mode of living.

Having a long and uncertain day's travel before me, the considerate family where I staid overnight had my breakfast and horse ready by sunrise, though it was in the month of August. We had family worship both evening and morning, and my kind host felt quite incensed that a missionary should offer him compensation for a night's lodging. This early start gave me an advantage, and for the first three or four hours all went well with me on my solitary journey. An abandoned "trail"—a bridle-path—indicated the

direction I was to travel, but it was so faint and overgrown with grass that it was with difficulty I kept it. My host had urged me to lose no time, but to push hard on my journey, as I would find neither accommodations nor safety till after crossing Red River into Texas. About nine o'clock a small Indian village was passed. The wigwams were built of poles cut with the tomahawk, and covered with bark from the trees. In the rear were several small cornpatches, hedged in by brush fences, and ponies were grazing about in the woods. In the shade under the trees men and women sat upon blankets on the ground, and children of various ages sported about. Their fires had smoldered down and every thing indicated repose. The men had on fringed buckskin leggins and moccasins, turbans on their heads, and the blankets on which they sat were carelessly drawn over them without any other garments. The women wore nothing except the moccasin and a string of large beads about their necks, and had the corners of their blankets loosely drawn over them as they sat on the ground. The children rejoiced in a state of nature, which allowed them ample play for their limbs in their athletic sports. They exhibited no surprise as I passed them, and did not change their positions, giving me that entire inattention which was most satisfactory.

Soon after passing this village with its rude occupants I entered what had once been a pine forest. It had been visited, however, some years previous by a dreadful hurricane, whose devastations left scarcely a tree of considerable size erect. My horse was a half-breed mustang of excellent quality, who leaped over the prostrate trunks of the fallen trees like a dog; still my progress was slow and difficult for several miles. It began to be very sultry, the hot August sun pouring his rays down in a most oppressive degree. In the maze of fallen trees every vestige of my trail was lost, and when the region of the hurricane was passed it was impossible to determine my course with any accuracy. The sun was now too near his meridian height to afford me any guidance, and, being without a compass, I was left to select my course by the most uncertain conjecture. Winding about in the woods in pursuit of a trail, I became bewildered, and the unpleasant conviction seized me that I was *lost!* It was now about noon. I was without provisions, and no water had been passed all day, it being a time of general drought. This was taking it altogether, no very pleasant situation. The grazing was good in the open woods, but how could I lose time in such a region, not knowing where I was or what distance remained to be traveled before my destination should be reached! A man that is lost is impatient of delay and strangely inconsiderate. My first impulse was to retrace my steps, and this would have been a fortunate conclusion; but one hates to travel a whole day and land where he started in the morning.

Infatuated by the hope of finding my course, I pushed on. Soon to my right and in front the forests rung with yells of Indians, the exact purport of which I could not make out. Presently I was descried, and a squad of three savage-looking fellows hastened to me and ordered me to halt, which of course I did. They were mounted on ponies and equipped. Their faces were hideously painted, their turbans surmonted with gayly-colored feathers, and pipe, tomahawk, and knife hung from their belts. Altogether, they looked unpleasantly fierce and formidable to a lone traveler, unarmed and lost besides. They jabbered somewhat heatedly among themselves, and appeared to be slightly intoxicated. Knowing something of the Indian character, I was resolved to betray no marks of fear. So I tried to show my coolness by whistling a tune; but the attempt was a failure, which, it is but charitable to conclude, was owing to the dryness of my lips, having drank no water since morning. I succeeded better, however, in showing my indifference for the red-skins and contempt of danger by adjusting the rigging of my horse and scolding him soundly for not standing more quietly. Meantime the jabberings of my guard increased in vehemence till they seemed to get into a quarrel, when one of them raised the whoop and away they went, galloping one after another through the woods in fine style. In my heart I uttered a silent good-by, and put spur to my steed.

By this time I could hear shouts in almost every direction around me. Those Indian yells in a forest are terrible to a lone traveler. They try one's nerves much more thoroughly than the midnight shriek of a panther. Evidently this was a day of frolic with the red men—a day set apart for fêtes and riot, a day appointed to celebrate some time-honored feast, a ball-play or grand war-dance with a "big drunk." A little further on I encountered another party of four, mounted, painted, and accoutered like my previous visitors. One of the number was quite intoxicated, and very vociferous, addressing his remarks to me with an occasional oath in bad English. He demanded of me where I was going, which I made out to tell him by the aid of signs and the limited vocabulary of Choctaw at my command. He pointed to the trail which they were traveling, and said it would lead to Red River, urging me to fall in before them. I hesitated to expose my back in that way, and a long parley ensued—at least it appeared long to me. Harsher language and more threatening demonstrations prevented me from presuming any longer on their patience, and I started on, they following in single file, their spokesman bringing up the rear. It was a fantastic cavalcade. We proceeded but a short distance in this manner, but it was long enough to bring back vividly to my mind the scenes of my whole life, very much, I suppose, as it is said a drowning man's whole life returns to him in a second of time. I had a complete panoramic view of a career rather unpleasantly full of

peccadillos in a few moments of time, and conjured up all kinds of tragical sequels for it. I am a *captive!* That was the thought. No one can exactly comprehend what that conviction means unless he has himself been the subject of it. On we went, and I could see the savages behind me with feathered crests, painted eyelashes, and beaded leggins without looking back. Such imagery in such circumstances is not easily dispelled from the mind. But the trail was manifestly misleading me. Just then a fortunate thought occurred to me, and the marvel was that it did not occur sooner. It was the stringent law in force in the territory for the protection of missionaries. Immediately I turned out of the trail, and we all came to a halt and another parley. I told them that I was a missionary from Fort Coffee on my way to Clarksville, in Texas. My wordy friend ejaculated his surprise in a long-drawn "ah!" and pointed me in a direction nearly opposite to that we had been traveling, and then loped off with his companions, leaving me once more to myself.

I now turned on a "bee line" in the direction pointed by the rascally redskin, and never checked a brisk canter till the last sound of savage yell had died away on the air. Onward I dashed, over trees and through tangled brushwood till the foam stood on my poor horse. About two o'clock in the afternoon Mountain Fork of Little River was crossed. It was nearly dry, but proved a most timely relief in slaking the thirst of horse and rider. A deep gloomy gorge led to an elevated level above the precipitous, rocky bluffs which fringed the southern side of the river. Here was located another Indian village, consisting of one long row of wigwams. A large number of women and children were in the village, and seemed to be very shy, but not a man was to be seen. The remaining part of the afternoon wore away in wearisome travel without seeing a human being or passing any water. The heat was intense and prostrating, and it is a wonder that my overtasked horse did not sink in the sweltering sun.

Evening came on and brought with it new troubles. About sundown I was brought to in an open glade by a single Indian of impure blood. He was riding a very ill-conditioned horse, was meanly clad, and was armed with rifle, pistol, tomahawk, and knife. He was by all odds the meanest-looking customer I had seen all day, and the very personification of savageness. He drew a flask of whisky from his belt and offered me a drink. My refusal seemed to displease him, and after an oath, a threat, and a flourish he turned the bottle up to his own lips. While he was imbibing I suddenly put spur to my horse and made the best of my way down the glade, believing that Plato, jaded as he was, could outrun the rawboned animal of the vagabond I left behind. Turning around a clump of trees I was soon lost to view in the forest. It was now getting dark, but I had reached Red River Bottom.

It is easily distinguished by the red color of the sand deposited by the overflows, and the highwater marks on the trees, which look as though they had been painted. The coloring is not from this locality, the lands here being black; but the water is colored by the immense mulatto-colored clay beds through which the river passes on the plains above. From this circumstance it is called Red River. The bottom is about three miles wide to the river where I struck it, but it was at the time entirely dry. Here I met a sober, honest, pure-blooded Choctaw, with a rifle on his shoulder and a pig strapped on his back with linn bark, the fruit of his day's hunting. For the consideration of a *skulla*—a dime— he conducted me to a trail which he said would lead me to the river. And so it did. But I was none the better for being there. It was a precipitous bluff, and impossible to descend. Above and below were swamps thickly covered with undergrowth and matted with vines, so that no horse could penetrate them. On the Texas side nothing could be seen but a line of swamps and forest. The water in the river reflected the stars and tantalized my burning thirst; the thickets around were the lurking-places of panthers, and the air was thickened with swarms of voracious musketoes. Without the means of kindling a fire, it was plain that I could not spend the night there.

My course was retraced to the upland in the hope that something would "turn up." On this retrograde my horse, that had so marvelously held out all day, gave unmistakable signs of yielding. On the upland I found my situation but little better than it had been on the river, and in wandering about a trail was discovered leading toward the river further to the right through dense cane-brakes. The reeds stood thick on the ground, and the path was narrow, barely admitting a single rider. The night had become chilly, and the heavy dews on the cane saturated my garments from head to foot. Such are the extremes of this climate. Presently my horse took fright at a man lying in the path. I could not get around him for the denseness of the cane, nor had I any disposition to examine into the case. For if the man were dead I might get into trouble at being found with him, if he were asleep it would not be safe to wake him, and if he were intoxicated I would not know what to do with him. I therefore sought to shun him. Several efforts to make my horse leap over him were unsuccessful. At last the exasperated animal made a spring into the cane, which yielded at the top but entangled his feet at the bottom. After desperate struggling and sundry scratches and bruises the trail was regained beyond the prostrate red man. Once more before reaching the river I fell in with an Indian on horseback. The usual parley ensued. He was carrying an empty jug. That jug was the most encouraging object I had seen since morning; its owner was in quest of whisky, and it must, therefore, be on its way to the borders of *civilization!*

whisky being a contraband article in the Territory. I therefore followed the jug. A few miles of leisurely Indian gallop brought us to the river, on the Texas side of which was a grocery, the point at which my friend with the empty jug was aiming. For a small consideration a friendly Choctaw swam my horse over and another paddled me across in a dug-out.

On my return trip I fared but little better, being taken sick in the wilderness and nearly losing my life. For three days I was unconscious, but the timely assistance of Dr. M., of Fort Smith, by the Divine blessing, enabled me to recover. My overtasked horse never got over the effects of the journey; he dwindled away and afterward died. Never have I seen more affection exhibited by an irrational brute. He recognized me, and would distinguish me from others to the last, walking to me and lying his head on my shoulder as if imploring help. The thought that I was recovering, and that this companion of my perils and fatigues must die, was a most painful trial. Poor Plato! he has gone to his rest.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS ISSUES BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In response to the growing interest in the American Revolution stimulated by the approaching Bicentennial, the Library of Congress has published a 93-page bibliography entitled *Periodical Literature on the American Revolution: Historical Research and Changing Interpretations, 1895–1970, a Selective Bibliography*, compiled by Ronald M. Gephart, a member of the staff of the American Revolution Bicentennial program who is at present assigned to the General Reference and Bibliography Division. (Copies are for sale at $1 a copy by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.)

For historians, the periodical provides a much needed medium in which to test new hypotheses or to announce in brief form the fruits of extended research. As a result, historical journals have served a unique function in the 20th century as the chief marketplace for the exchange of information, ideas, interpretations, and criticism. This selective bibliography, with 1,122 entries arranged by subject and period, is designed to give students, teachers, scholars, and librarians a convenient and representative guide to essays and periodical literature on the Revolutionary era that have appeared during the past 75 years in historical journals, festschriften, and collections of lectures or essays. Annotations are provided only where clarification seemed necessary or where additional information, such as reprint numbers, increase the usefulness of the citations. A section entitled "Anthologies and Collections" is included to acquaint the reader with currently available paperbacks that reprint some of the more important articles and essays. There is a separate list of titles and Library of Congress call numbers of all periodicals represented in the bibliography, as well as an author and a brief subject index. Portraits of George III and George Washington are on the cover.

Considerations of trends in historical writing strongly affected the selection and arrangement of entries in the bibliography. A review of changing interpretations of the American Revolution reflected in the writings of leading historians over the past 200 years is presented in an introductory essay by Mr. Gephart.

This is the third of the Library's publications for the Bicentennial of the American Revolution: the first, *The American Revolution: A Selected Reading List* was issued in 1968, and the second, a facsimile of Paul Revere's engraving of the Boston Massacre, appeared in 1970.

Washington, D. C. Library of Congress

KANSAS MAP COLLECTION OF INTEREST TO STUDENTS OF OKLAHOMA STATE AND INDIAN HISTORY

Wichita State University Library has acquired the Robert W. Baughman collection of Kansas maps. Baughman's interest in Kansas maps developed from a collection of early western maps that had accumulated in his family. For over forty years, he traveled extensively, visiting libraries and bookshops in search of maps to add to his collection. However, his collecting interests were not limited to Kansas maps. He was also an avid stamp collector and he served as philatelic advisor to President John F. Kennedy.

The Baughman collection is the finest private collection of Kansas maps ever assembled. It contains gold-field, Indian reserve, territorial, statehood, township, county, and railroad maps, which cover the territorial period through the 1920s, when county name changes and boundary lines were finally settled.

Baughman loved and cherished his map collection and sought to share his interest with his fellow Kansans. He did this through his book *Kansas in Maps*, published by the Kansas State Historical Society in 1961, as a contribution to the Kansas centennial. Many of the maps in the Baughman collection are reproduced in this volume.

MEMORIALS TO DECEASED MEMBERS OF OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: MRS. HENRY MINNETT

Norma E. Minnett was born in Indian Territory on March 14, 1906, the daughter of Ben F. Collins, of Chickasaw descent, and Annie R. Thornton, formerly from Kentucky. She attended schools in Ninnekah before her marriage on June 14, 1927, to Henry Minnett. She was a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society and an active civic worker, being a charter member of Altrusa International and a member of the D.A.R. Mrs. Minnett died on February 12, 1972. In addition to her husband, Mrs. Minnett is survived by four children; Dr. John B. Minnett, Chickasha; Mita M. Ehn, Pasadena, California; Mrs. D. L. Justis (Gail), Lynchburg, Virginia; Mrs. A. J. Sewell (Jule), Dallas, Texas, and two sisters, Mrs. Charles Hamilton of Oklahoma City and Mrs. F. A. McGhan, Denver, Colorado.

The Chickasaws. By Arrell M. Gibson. (Vol. 109 in *The Civilization of the American Indian Series*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1971. Ills. Maps. Biblio. Pp. xv, 312. $8.95.)

This volume completes the tribal histories of the Five Civilized Tribes in *The Civilization of the American Indian Series* and ranks with the earlier works in reliability and literary skill. Although phases of the history of the Chickasaws have been chronicled in a number of places, Professor Gibson does an admirable job of condensing three and one-half centuries into less than three hundred pages.

From pre-European America until well into the eighteenth century, the Chickasaws were distinguished by a martial spirit and a Spartan code of behavior. The unconquerable Chickasaw on his famed horse became a stumbling block to French conquest of the Indian homelands in upper Mississippi and western Tennessee. Their alliance with the British frustrated French imperial dreams, but brought the Chickasaws to the threshold of dissolution in the years after 1763. Changes from within and without remolded the traditional way of life. The shift from full-blood clan associations to mixed-blood dominance revealed both the emerging and eroding forces of the white man. Rum and brandy were debilitating agents brought by white traders seeking precious pelts. With the signing of the Treaty of Hopewell in 1786, the Chickasaws acknowledged a new force on their borders. Henceforth, land-hungry Americans loomed as an unrelenting juggernaut poised at the Chickasaw heartland.

The Chickasaws' greatest internal problem was their inability to develop an articulate and able leadership. The most notable leaders, the Colberts, seemed to be more interested in personal aggrandizement and were quite willing to negotiate the perimeter of the once vast Chickasaw homeland. The Chickasaws' leadership exploited many opportunities to make money, even on the "Trail of Tears." Gibson suggests that since the Chickasaws were the last of the Southern tribes to be removed, they could be credited with fervency to maintain the sacred domain or at least not to lose the lucrative plantations of the mixed-blood leadership. Other reasons seem more plausible. Their meager lands and small numbers made them an easy

prey once their bolder brothers had been pushed aside. Nor did Mississippians seem so intent as their neighbors in Georgia and Alabama. This is not to say that Americans were guiltless, but Chickasaw social and political decay was a significant factor in the removal process of the tribe.

Chickasaw disintegration was not abetted by removal to Indian territory. Fragmentation actually may have increased, especially as the leadership dissolved and the traditional means of advancement failed. Furthermore, the Chickasaws tended to be absorbed into the Choctaw governmental structure during the first years in the new territory, and it was not until 1845 that they achieved any degree of self-determination. Unfortunately, at the very time the tribe was achieving political independence and social cohesion, they were drawn into the Civil War, and their notable advancements were deferred. Like the other nations of Indian territory, the Chickasaws were not permitted to resume the pleasant life of pre-war days as railroads and settlers pressed the periphery of Chickasaw lands. Political partisanship over these issues and demands from the Federal government further eroded Chickasaw chances of establishing an independent course. The final decade before statehood saw the quickening pace of disintegration and the final dismemberment of an autonomous Chickasaw Nation.

The Chickasaws is an excellent work, suitable for novice, student, or scholar. The prose is rich, the insights studied. Professor Gibson does not descend to the critical attitude of the typically overworked Indian-white relationship, but reveals a depth of analysis and research thus reaching sound and moderate conclusions.

—Gary E. Moulton
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Wiley Post, His Winnie Mae, and the World's First Pressure Suit. By Stanley R. Mohler and Bobby H. Johnson. (Smithsonian Institution Press. Smithsonian Annals of Flight, Number 8, City of Washington, 1971. $1.50.)

Several years research by the authors, Stanley R. Mohler, M.D., and Bobby H. Johnson, Ph.D., have resulted in a much needed account of Post's life as well as technical accounts of his flights.

When Wiley Post first saw a plane at a county fair in Lawton, Oklahoma, he predicted that he would become a flyer and that someday there would be "The Wiley Post Institute for Aeronautical Research." His mechanical education consisted of a 7-month course at the Sweeney Auto School in

Kansas City, and a period of training with the Radio School of the Army Training Corps at Norman, Oklahoma, during WWI.

Post was working in the recently discovered oil fields around Wewoka when barnstorming was the rage, and, in 1924, Post jumped for the first time for the Texas Topnotch Fliers. He jumped "as though he had done it all his life" according to Burrell Tibbs, the owner of the group, and he made 99 jumps in the next two years. In 1926, Post lost his eye in an oil field accident but this did not seem to handicap him.

Winnie Mae Fain tells of Post's persistence in camping outside her father's office in Chickasha, Oklahoma, in order to land the job of company pilot for her father, F. C. Hall, and Powell Briscoe. This was the start of Post's flying career and his association with the famous Lockheed Vega, the Winnie Mae, (the first of three such Vegas owned by Mr. Hall named for his daughter). Briscoe recalls Post as a fearless flyer: "When other people were scared, Wiley just grinned."

Although Post was hired simply to pilot the two oil men on their business trips, he became involved in their sponsorship of local endurance flights, though Briscoe soon retired from sponsoring these flights. In the non-stop Air Derby between Los Angeles and Chicago, Post came in first and won the $7,500 prize. Hall then decided to sponsor a flight around the world and Post began to modify the Winnie Mae and arranged for Harold Gatty, the well-known Australian navigator, to go with him.

Post spent long hours training himself to keep his mind blank in hopes that such self-induced relaxation would combat fatigue. He also practiced what he would have to do most—sit. The first documented reference to flight fatigue or time zone fatigue is found in Post's book, *Around the World in Eight Days.*

This world speed flight was a great success and Post and Gatty became celebrities overnight. Despite the success of this trip, Post decided on another flight, faster than before and alone. This dream was fulfilled in the summer of 1933 with the backing of a number of people from Oklahoma City. Later, Post's experiments in stratospheric flying were to be as stunning although not as well publicized. His stratospheric flight from Burbank to Cleveland was the "most startling development in aviation since Lindbergh spanned the Atlantic," according to the *New York Times Magazine.* He had discovered and flown the jet stream which he had predicted would be there and he had worn the first practical pressure suit which he had helped to develop. Finally, when in 1935, the Winnie Mae was retired and bought for the Smithsonian Institution, Wiley Post had proven the feasibility of stratospheric flying. He had done so against all odds including sabotage.

The final chapter in Post's life concerns another flight, not a race or an

experiment, but a pleasure trip with a friend in Post's own plane. The tragic outcome of the accident at Point Barrow which took the lives of Wiley Post and Will Rogers is known to all. The shock of the news was felt around the world. Aviators such as Ernst Udet of Germany expressed their admiration: "I consider Post the greatest flier of all time. He was a real pioneer. He ranked first both as regards positive accomplishments and fruitfulness of new ideas . . . He stuck to his ideas only to find them proven correct in the course of time. I do not believe the layman has an inkling of our dead American comrade's unparalleled accomplishments."

The Smithsonian Institution has done well to select Wiley Post as the subject of their most recent *Annals of Flight* for he represents the best in the American tradition of courage, hope, and tenacity.

—Patricia Lester
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Wea Creek to El Dorado: OIL in Kansas, 1860–1920. By Francis W. Schruben. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1972. x + 176 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. $8.00.)

Wea Creek to El Dorado traces Kansas oil production from the probings which led to drilling the first profitable wells in 1889 near Paola to discovery of oil at El Dorado and Augusta just prior to American involvement in World War I. Schruben included not only drilling discoveries but leasing, transportation of crude oil by rail and pipeline, refining, and marketing operations. Subsidiaries of Standard Oil furnished the main impetus in development of the northern or Kansas portion of the Mid-Continent field before 1905.

Increasing production of a higher quality oil south of the state line in Indian Territory coupled with price and rate discrimination by Standard Oil and the Santa Fe Railroad depressed the industry in Kansas. Independent producers attempted to stimulate growth and prosperity through legislative action. Laws passed in 1905 by a friendly legislature proved ineffectual; they provided for a state-owned refinery, classified oil pipelines as common carriers, set maximum rates for oil tank cars, and eliminated discriminatory pricing of kerosene. The reform legislators, termed socialists by opponents, saw their work nullified in many instances through court action.

Public support for the reforms was characterized by Schruben as "Populistic" rather than Progressive. Although his approach is primarily an

anecdotal narrative, this one effort at interpretation does not follow naturally from his research. That is, the propensity to see Populism in the 1905 reform movement obscured, for Schruben, the striking similarity between events in Kansas and those which led other historians—for example, Samuel P. Hays or Robert H. Wiebe—to arrive at a more penetrating interpretation of Progressive reform. Perhaps the greatest weakness of *Wea Creek to El Dorado* is this failure to relate the abortive reform efforts to one of the major schools of interpretation of Progressivism.

This volume is rich in documentation, but may have neglected some significant sources. For example, William Allen White, editor of the *Emporia Gazette* and quite articulate on Populism and Progressivism, surprisingly had no comments of interest to Schruben. There are no reference maps—one showing the exact location of Wea Creek would be helpful—in an otherwise well illustrated and scholarly account. This book, the only published special study of the development of the oil industry in Kansas to 1920, should prove useful to students of local history and to historians of the Progressive movement, as well as being of interest to the general public, especially in Kansas and Oklahoma.

—Gail E. Balman
Central State University

BOOKS RECEIVED: EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

Iroquois Silver Brooches (As-Ne-As-Ga) In The Rochester Museum. By Elizabeth H. Van Horn. (Rochester Museum and Science Center, Rochester, N.Y., 1971.)

The Rochester Museum is a regional museum with a sizeable amount of Iroquois ethnological materials. This museum also has a Museum Training Program (supported by the New York State Council on the Arts) which enabled the author to do extensive research on the specialized subject of Iroquois artcraft, specifically silver brooches for this book.

Edgar Rye, North Central Texas Cartoonist and Journalist. By Charles E. Linck, Jr. (East Texas State University, 1972. $4.00.)

The author, who conducts a graduate course, "Bibliography and Methods of Literary Study," at East Texas State University, began his research of Edgar Rye because of his interest in "creative" work on regional Texas studies. His grant from "Organized Research" at East Texas has resulted

in the publication of this paperback tracing the life, career, and works of Edgar Rye, early day itinerate journalist, who specialized in cartoons of local humor.

The Historian's Handbook: A Descriptive Guide to Reference Works. By Helen J. Poulton. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1972. $4.95.)

In the Foreword to this book, Wilbur S. Shepperson points up the fact that most students of history are hampered in their research efforts by their inability to use the library. The author has advanced degrees in both history and library science. The opening chapter presents the organization of a library and is an assistance to the research student. The remainder of the book surveys a wide variety of the major reference works in all fields of history.

The Night Country: Reflections of a Bone Hunting Man. By Loren Eiseley. (Charles Scribner Sons, New York, 1972.)

One of the more unusual and interesting books recently published is Loren Eiseley's *The Night Country*. Mr. Eiseley, a professor of Archaeology at the University of Philadelphia, has put down his thoughts on his work, his experiences in the field, and his view of life in a series of chapters which are each a separate unit. This is a beautifully written book.

The White Response to Black Emancipation. By Sig Synnestvedt. (The Macmillan Company, New York, Collier-Macmillan Limited, London, 1972. $3.95.)

There are myriads of books published today regarding the blacks' participation in American life. This recent book might well be read first since it presents a brief outline or history from its first chapter, "Slavery and Reconstruction," to its last, "Equal Rights Revolution of the 1950's and 1960's."

Backcountry Camping. By Bill Riviere. (Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1972. $3.95.)

Backcountry Camping contains practical advice on every aspect of camping in the wilderness: what type and quality of equipment to take; how to paddle a canoe; how to enjoy a good night's sleep in the backwoods; where, when, and how to build a fire; what to cook and how to cook it; how to recognize important plants and animals; how to cope with common

emergencies; cold-weather camping; where to find the wilderness and how to preserve it. If one is a camper or would like to be one, this is the book.

Civil War Naval Chronology, 1861–1865. Compiled by Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, Building 220, Washington Navy Yard, Washington, D. C. 20390. (1971).

This volume contains a comprehensive article, "The Civil War At Sea," by Admiral E. M. Eller USN (Ret.) and Commodore Dudley W. Knox which serves as an introductory essay and points up the fact that few Americans have comprehended the extent of influence for victory naval operations played during the Civil War. With nationwide observances of the Civil War Centennial, the Naval History Division published *Civil War Naval Chronology, 1861–1865*, between the years 1961 and 1965 in five paperback parts each covering one year of the conflict, Part VI containing a cumulative index, several excellent eyewitness accounts, and other significant articles of interest. These six paperbacks have now been incorporated into the one volume (1971) which enhances the unity and usability of the text. It also contains hundreds of photographs and etchings.

★ NECROLOGIES

JOE WHITE McBRIDE, SR.,–1972

Joe White McBride, Sr., is remembered by those who knew him as one of Oklahoma's great citizens. His death on January 20, 1972, at the age of sixty-nine, closed a life beneficial to all Oklahomans.

Born in Arkansas, the son of a Methodist preacher, Joe came to Oklahoma in 1909. He graduated from the University of Oklahoma in 1928. While a student at the University of Oklahoma, he set some kind of a record in the astonishing number of nine jobs he held at one time to support himself while going to school. At the same time he was active in several campus organizations.

His first job after graduation with a degree in business administration was on the Oklahoma News in Oklahoma City. He next worked on newspapers at Clinton, Elk City, and Hobart. In 1935, he formed a newspaper publishing partnership with James C. Nance, now of Purcell. At one time, the Nance-McBride organization included 23 daily and weekly newspapers. In this partnership, McBride and Nance helped many young newspapermen to become owners. They sold their newspapers one-by-one to those they had hired to manage them. This was one of the ways in which they contributed greatly to helping make it possible for young men to become editors and publishers.

Joe was president of the Oklahoma Press Association in 1951–52. It was during this period that I first knew him well and worked for him as acting manager of the Association. Thus drawn into daily contact with Joe, I was able to learn many of the methods and discipline which had made him successful and which he had passed on to several dozen other newspapermen throughout Oklahoma.

One of Joe's abilities was that of an organizer. He stressed that by being organized an ordinary person could do extraordinary things and much more than with a haphazard daily work schedule. Some of us former "students" called it the "McBride Daily Do List." Everyone who ever worked long with Joe adopted it. Once they made it work, they discovered the exhilaration of greater accomplishment. In thinking over Joe's many qualities, attributes, and traits, one thing is to be admired above all. That is, in working with others, he never dictated nor commanded, but encouraged the individual to analyze problems, think creatively of solutions, select the best, and get on with it so we could move on to other challenges. Joe made a science of mastering one's time. It showed in his own extracurricular participation outside the newspaper business. He served on the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma for almost twenty-two years. For a brief period he was acting president of the University, between Joseph Brandt and the appointment of Dr. George L. Cross. He was a life-long member

Joe White McBride, Sr.

Gertrude Jean Bracht

of the Methodist church. He was an active member of many Boards and committees in the various communities where he published newspapers. He was an avid fisherman, coin collector, and historian.

Joe was not a joiner, although he was a member of more organizations than probably any ten active citizens. He did not just join and carry a membership card: Joe was ultra-active in every organization he touched. Besides his deep involvement in improving the services and scope of the Oklahoma Press Association, he was treasurer of the Oklahoma Newspaper Foundation. He was also deeply involved as a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society's Board and the Oklahoma Hall of Fame. He was one of the organizers of the Indian Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians at Anadarko, and long-time Chairman of it's Advisory Board. He served the Oklahoma Medical Research Foundation and in several other health organizations. He was a participating Mason and held offices in the Scottish Rite Lodge, the India Temple Shrine, and the Royal Jesters. At different times he was elected president of chambers of commerce in three cities where he resided and published newspapers. He was active in Rotary Clubs, having served as president of two clubs, and as district governor in 1946–47. This is far from a complete list of the many activities and organizations to which Joe devoted his time and spirit.

We are here today to honor a man who had many facets to his life. Each of us who knew him, knew him in a different way. But each of us knew Joe as an optimist, as a teacher, as a man who willingly put his shoulder to the wheel. He put his personal effort into improving Oklahoma and many of its communities. Joe McBride truly enriched the lives of those who came in contact with him. Joe McBride exemplified what we wish for as the ideal citizen.

In spite of his many activities as editor, publisher, and active citizen, Joe remained close with his family. His survivors include his wife, Clella, of Oklahoma City, and two sons: Joe, Jr., editor and publisher of *The Anadarko Daily News*; and Dr. David Lamarr McBride, an Oklahoma City physician. He is also survived by his mother, Mrs. J. T. McBride, who lives at Walters, and 4 sisters, 2 brothers, and 4 granddaughters.

Joe McBride could never have been quite what he was without Clella Lamarr. It takes a special kind of woman to help and to encourage a man such as Joe. As students at the University of Oklahoma, Clella once told me, she could look out the windows of one of her classes and know it was 10 after 10 o'clock because she could see Joe walking down the sidewalk. Clella is the one who shared his counsel. He has told me that without Clella he would not have gotten the satisfaction from life he did. You could not find any more satisfying and enjoyable hours than could be spent with Joe and Clella. Joe's sons, encouraged and instructed by his example and love, are making useful contributions to today's world.

Last February at its 84th annual meeting, the Oklahoma Press Association unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, the newspaper profession has lost an outstanding leader, colleague and

friend, who served as president of the Oklahoma Press Association, treasurer of the Oklahoma Newspaper Foundation, and on countless committees with honor and distinction; and

Whereas, Joe W. McBride, Sr., represented the reality of the American dream, achieving success by integrity, dedication, hard work, diligence, fair play, compassion and understanding, not only in the newspaper profession, but in government and education as a long-time member of the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma, as a civic and religious leader, and perhaps most important of all, as a husband father, he was an inspiration to all whose lives he touched.

There can be no finer epitaph for any of us—no greater accomplishment—than to say that we did everything we could for our God, our country, and our fellow man. And this can be said of Joe White McBride, Sr.

—Ben Blackstock

GERTRUDE JEAN BRACHT, 1895–1972

Gertrude Jean Bracht, the daughter of well known pioneers, Emil Bracht and Cordelia Shelton Bracht, passed away in Oklahoma City, January 30, 1972. Emil Bracht, a native of Kentucky, came to Oklahoma in 1889, and settled in Oklahoma City. He later married Cordelia Shelton, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. William A. Shelton, who had also come in 1889 and settled at the new town of Frisco.

Gertrude Jean was born on December 9, 1895, in an upstairs apartment on West Main Street, next door to what is known as the Hales Building in Oklahoma City. She spent her entire life, with the exception of three years, in the state and on the land she loved so well. A quiet, studious child, she attended Lincoln School and Central High School; and Wolf Hall, an Episcopal School in Denver, Colorado.

Private study in art, architecture and drafting laid the ground for her work with the Oklahoma State Highway Department, which she joined in 1923. She remained with the Department for fourteen years, holding the unique and important position of official map maker and designer of the official maps showing the state highway system in Oklahoma. For some time Miss Bracht was the only feminine draftsman in the Department, a field then not usually invaded by a girl.

She designed the official State Highway Department seal. She designed and executed the first official state highway map, a 7 foot by 12 foot creation complete with all data of highway construction—names of all towns, cities, rivers and streams, plus a cross-mileage chart. Fine reproductions of this large map were mounted behind glass and lighted within frames. These were placed in every large town, chamber of commerce or hotel in the state. It was the responsibility of Miss Bracht to keep the highway map current, changing the designation of the red roads to white, as the state's system of highways gradually began to improve.

Her talent with a pen and her skill in the many types of lettering did not go unnoticed for many an award, diploma, and official document attest to her expertise in this field. An architectural drawing in charcoal of the State Capitol when the original design was under completion won the plaudits of leading

architects, one being the son of '89er and civic leader, David W. Gibbs, an architect from Toledo, Ohio, he himself the designer of the State Capitol of Wyoming.

Although the "women's lib" movement was not known as such at that time, Miss Bracht attracted the notice of the press from coast to coast when she was appointed the State's first beautification engineer for highways. Cartoons appeared in many papers showing lampposts with frilly shades, highway markers in Old English script, and "sashes for long waisted trees," attesting to the novelty of the feminine approach to engineering.

She loved the rural life for as a child on her parents' small farm adjoining Oklahoma City on the northeast, her happiest hours were spent out-of-doors with the dogs and horses and imported Jersey cattle that her father, Emil Bracht, promoted with improved breeding and scientific dairying in the state. After her retirement in 1937, her time was spent on a small suburban farm where she engaged in experimental farming, nature study, and further study of all forms of art.

A true product of all that is good in our western heritage, Gertrude Bracht exemplified the traits of character which have made Oklahoma stand out as a great state. Her love of nature and her appreciation of the manifestation of God's work amounted almost to religion with her. Her love of the soil, the nobility of work, the contribution of her talents to benefit her state, and her honesty like the clean sweet wind that "comes sweepin' down the plain," has placed her among those of whom Oklahoma may well be proud.

—Irene Bracht Beals

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: April 27, 1972

The Eightieth Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened at 10:00 a.m. in the Historical Building Auditorium on April 27, 1972. The session culminated with a luncheon in the Persian Room of the Skirvin Tower featuring Will Rogers, Jr.

President George H. Shirk called the meeting to order and introduced Gen. E. Moses Frye, Oklahoma State University, who gave the invocation.

Mr. Ben Blackstock was asked by Mr. Shirk to give a tribute to Board Member Joe W. McBride, who died during the past year. Mr. Blackstock, Director of the Oklahoma Press Association, was in a unique position to know Mr. McBride and his efforts in behalf of Oklahomans and the newspaper profession. He spoke of Mr. McBride's ability as an organizer and his compassion and understanding.

The new Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Dr. V. R. Easterling, was introduced to the members by President Shirk. Dr. Easterling introduced the Board members and the members of the staff who were present.

Dr. Easterling called attention to the refurbishing of the Historical Building and the need for additional space. He expressed the hope that the National Historic Preservation Act of 1965 would help the Society to carry on the work of preserving Oklahoma's history.

The Oklahoma Historical Society became the beneficiary of Urban Renewal a few years ago when the May Brothers, men's clothing store, was 'urbanized.' Mr. Shirk told the audience of the generosity of Mr. Milton May in offering the store's showcases for use in the Museum. Mr. Shirk then presented Mr. May the Society's Certificate of Commendation for this gift.

Mr. May asked consent to express his feelings toward this country and Oklahoma. He told of the immigration of his grandfather and father to this country from Russia and their arrival in Oklahoma in 1907. Eventually, the family opened stores in Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Muskogee, and Bartlesville. The store in Bartlesville is the only one still in business.

Miss Genevieve Seger and Dr. LeRoy Fischer requested that the remarks by Mr. May be made a part of the minutes. This request was moved by Sen. Denzil Garrison and seconded by H. Milt Phillips. The motion passed.

Mr. Phillips then moved that the actions and decisions of the Board of Directors during the past year be approved, ratified, and confirmed. This motion was seconded by Mrs. George Bowman and was passed.

The meeting then adjourned and the Board members proceeded to the Board Room for a brief meeting prior to the 12:00 luncheon in the Persian Room.

V. R. EASTERLING,
Executive Director

GEORGE H. SHIRK,
President

REMARKS OF MILTON B. MAY (At the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society, April 27, 1972)

Mrs. May and I are pleased at the recognition and Certificate of Commendation the people of Oklahoma, through the Oklahoma Historical Society, have seen fit to give us. I would like to take this opportunity if I may to say how I personally feel and my family have always felt about our having been a part of the history of Oklahoma.

It was in 1908 that May Brothers opened their first store in Tulsa, then a community of 15,000—the first 50-foot retail men's store in the state. In 1909 the second store was opened in Bartlesville, where that store occupying the original building still remains a vital part of the retail activity of that community. It is now 63 years since that opening in a town of 6,000. The youngest of the original five brothers, Jake May, still is very active in the business life of Bartlesville. His son Mike shares this activity with him. There is no doubt historically it is the state's oldest retail establishment still doing business under one family ownership.

Oklahoma City was the third store in 1916, a city then of 60,000 people. This store was discontinued after 54 years. Muskogee followed in 1922. We were truly the pioneer merchants of Oklahoma.

It was prior to the period of statehood in 1889 that the Madansky family chose to leave their native Russia to seek their fortunes in this new land of America. My father, Ben May, the eldest of the five brothers, and his father, H. M. May, in 1896 opened their first retail store in Fairfield, Illinois. Ben was twenty-one. Twelve years later Ben, now thirty-three, with his father and younger brothers, chose to leave Illinois and tie their fortunes to the new State of Oklahoma. Many of you have seen the motion picture, "Fiddler on the Roof," a pictorial history of the persecution and oppression that existed in Russia against the minority groups at the turn of the twentieth century. It was this very persecution that encouraged this young family to leave all their belongings behind and place their hopes in America.

Ben May wanted to be American in every sense of the word. No longer did he wish his name to remind him of the heel of Russian aristocracy. In 1919 after World War I he eliminated those letters from the name that made it foreign and retained the letters M-A-Y, which he felt would be truly American for all his posterity.

The years, as you know, and America were good to him. His business flour-

ished and he gave unselfishly of his time and means to any cause he felt was worthy. At his death in 1960, age 88, he was the oldest living Scouter in the United States, having been active in all areas of the Boy Scouts of America. He was awarded Scouting's highest tribute in 1936 when he was given the Silver Beaver Award. Other activities were as the oldest living member of the Kiwanis Club, 32 degree Mason, Men's Dinner Club, and President of Temple B'Nai Israel. He was truly a civic leader of Oklahoma.

This part of Oklahoma's history has passed; we feel that the former merchandise cases once used in our Oklahoma City store have found a worthy home in the Oklahoma Historical Society Museum. A portrait of Ben May, the pioneer merchant of Oklahoma, that now hangs in the halls of the Society, is a living memorial to the May family.

In receiving this Commendation the May family has been honored. It is we who are indebted to you for allowing these artifacts to forever be a part of the historical records of Oklahoma. Thank you.

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: April 27, 1972

The meeting was called to order by President George H. Shirk at 11:00 a.m., having been preceeded by the Society's Eightieth Annual Meeting held at 10:00 a.m.

President Shirk announced that as there was so little time between the Annual Meeting and the luncheon which was to be held at 12 noon in the Persian Room, committee reports would not be given for the past quarter.

The roll was called by Dr. V. R. Easterling. All members were present with the exceptions of Joe Curtis, Bob Foresman, and John E. Kirkpatrick. These members had asked to be excused and Mr. Milt Phillips made a motion, seconded by Dr. A. M. Gibson, that they be so excused. The motion passed.

Dr. Easterling extended an invitation to the members to browse through the Museum to observe the changes taking place. New exhibits are being developed and the entire building is being repainted. A collection of the paintings of Fred Olds is on display in the West Gallery.

Mr. Shirk advised the members that the reprint of the Historical Society Constitution would be mailed to each of the members and he requested the members to read it through before the July Board Meeting.

The April, 1972, issue of the *American Bar Association Journal* contained an article which was felt to be an exaggeration of the customs of the Seminole Tribe. Mr. McIntosh was asked to write a letter to the Association expressing the displeasure of the Board.

The principal item before the Board was the matter of the selection of a new

member to fill the vacancy left by the late Joe McBride. It was moved by Mr. Phillips that the vote be delayed until the July meeting. Mr. McIntosh seconded the motion and all agreed. Dr. Easterling was asked to prepare a dossier on all the nominations. It was also agreed that no additional nominations would be accepted.

Mr. McIntosh requested that the Historic Sites Committee meeting be held at 9:00 a.m. prior to the July Board Meeting, Dr. Easterling to notify the committee members of the meeting. At that time a report will be made on the location of Wigwam-Neosho.

The meeting then adjourned to the Luncheon-Meeting in the Skirvin Tower with Will Rogers, Jr., as the principal speaker.

V. R. EASTERLING,
Executive Director

GEORGE H. SHIRK,
President

Gift List for First Quarter, 1972

LIBRARY:

Land Ownership Maps—A Checklist of 19th Century U.S. County Maps in Library of Congress, compiled by Richard W. Stephenson, 1967.
Donor: Daniel G. Webber, Okarche, Oklahoma.

The Charles Thomas Mathis Family compiled by Robert Butler Mathis, 1968.
Donor: Compiler, of Killeen, Texas.

Oklahoma Collection of Alvin Rucker consisting of clippings, notebooks and some pictures and photographs.
Donor: Tom Rucker, Oklahoma City.

Panhandle Pioneers, Vol. 3, compiled and edited by Texhoma Genealogical and Historical Society, Texhoma, Oklahoma, 1972.
Donor: Mrs. Mary McBryde, Oklahoma City.

Miracle in Mississippi—Laurence C. Jones of Piney Woods by Leslie Harper Purcell, 1956.
The Little Mixer by Lillian Nicholson Shearon, 1922.
The Enchanted Canyon by Honore Willsie, 1921.
Sight Without Glasses by Dr. Harold M. Peppard, 1936.
The Ways of a Business Woman by Marion L. Norris, 1924.
How To Do Business by Seymour Eaton, 1900.
The Book of Good Manners by Frederick H. Martens, 1923.
The Nature Library of Birds by Neltje Blanchan, 1917.
The Story of a Thousand Year Pine by Enos A. Mills, 1909.
Collection of Poems in Scrapbook.
"The Man Who Talks With The Flowers."
How to Attract the Birds by Robert Lemmons.
Collection of small pamphlets, brochures and booklets of United States.

Collection of pamphlets and brochures regarding garden herbs.
Donor: Miss Helen Biggers, Oklahoma City.

The Boydstun-Boydston Family by Gladys Boydstun Domonoske, 1971.
Donor: The Author, Davis, California.

Congressional Directory: 88th Congress, 2nd Session, Jan. 1964.
Donor: The Robert L. Atkins, Oklahoma City.

A Brief History of Roger Mills by Nat M. Taylor.
Donor: George N. Desper, Oklahoma City.

The Chisholm Trail by Sam P. Ridings, 1936.
The Oklahoma Spirit of '17—Biographical Volume, compiled by We. Welch, J. S. Aldridge and L. V. Aldridge, Historical Publishing Co., 1920.
Donor: Mr. L. H. Whalen, Phoenix, Arizona.

Frontier West, April 1971, Aug. 1971, Oct. 1971, Dec. 1971; Feb. 1972, April 1972.
Real West Annual, Summer No. 8; 1965, 1966, 1970.
Real West, April 1972 containing "Clarence W. Turner, Oklahoma Pioneer" by Lee Hover.
True Frontier, Oct. 1967.
The West, Jan. 1972.
Amerindian & Pioneer Historical Review, Fall-Winter, 1971.
The Westerners, Vol. 13, # 3, 1966.
Donor: Mrs. Marion Thede, Oklahoma City.

"The Cowan Genealogy" compiled by Ellis A. Cowan, 1970.
Donor: Compiler, Canton, Oklahoma.

U.S. Family Distribution, 1619–1880, Hough & Huff by Granville W. Hough, 1971.
Donor: Clark Hibbard, Oklahoma City.

Dictionary of the Cherokee Indian Language compiled by J. T. Alexander, 1971.
Donor: Waldo E. "Dode" McIntosh, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

The Boydstun-Boydston Family by Gladys Boydstun Domonoske.
Donor: Q. B. Boydstun, Fort Gibson, Oklahoma.

George Bowman and His Descendants compiled by Anna Harman Bowman.
Donor: Mrs. George (Edna H.) Bowman, Kingfisher, Okla.

Fry's Traveler's Guide and Descriptive Journal of the Great North-Western Territories of the United States of America by Frederich Fry. 1971 reprint autographed by Dr. A. M. Gibson, 1972.
Donor: Dr. A. M. Gibson, Norman & E. B. Dean, Okla. City.

Journal of the West, Vol. X, No. 4, Oct. 1971 containing: "Irving's Eden: Oklahoma, 1832" by Julee Short, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Donor: Author, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Our First Fifty Years—A Short History of the Kappa Alpha Order in Oklahoma, by R. Vinson Lackey, 1955.
Donor: Milton Ream, Norman, Okla.

Milburn Cemetery Inscriptions—Milburn (Carlisle Co.), Kentucky by Mrs. Eula Richardson Hasskarl, 1971.
1850 Census of Ballard County, Kentucky, compiled by Mrs. Eula Richardson Hasskarl, 1971.
The Boswells of Shelby County, Kentucky by Eula Richardson Hasskarl, 1970.
Donor: Mrs. Hasskarl, Ada, Oklahoma.

"The Shorter Catechism"—1 overleaf with proof texts, printed in Cherokee, 1892. Compiled & translated by Rev. A. N. Chamberlin.
Donor: O. B. Campbell, Vinita, Okla.

Map of Commonwealth of Penn., Dept. of Internal Affairs—Genealogical Map of the Counties.
Donor: Mrs. Betty Goodwin, Midwest City.

Ancestors and Descendants of Phineas and Polly (Gage) Dunsmoor—Who Came to Washington Co., in 1822. Compiled by great-grand-daughter, Nellie Ataline Gard, 1971.
Donor: Nellie Gard of Marietta, Ohio.

The Craftsman, March & July 1907.
4th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, J. W. Powell, 1882–1883.
Donor: Maxine L. Kinton, Mansfield, Ohio.

Collection of Congressional Documents regarding Oklahoma and Indian Territory. 15 issues.
Donor: Hon. Fred R. Harris, Washington, D.C. and Oklahoma.

The Backtracker, Vol. 1, No. 1, Jan. 1972 of N. W. Arkansas Genealogical Society.
Donor: Mrs. Wanda Florer, Rogers, Ark., thru' Patty Eubanks, Okla. City.

Boston Common—Scenes From Four Centuries by N. A. DeWolfe Howe, 1921.
Park Street Church—Commemorative Exercises at the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Organization Feb. 26–March 3, 1909, Boston, Mass.
Worthies and Workers of the Rock River Conference—Both Ministers and Laymen, by Rev. A. D. Field, 1896.
Telephone Directory—Nov. 1933, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Telephone Directory—Feb. 1961, Elliott, Iowa.
Tailers/Taylors—Lost & Found, Vol. 1, nos. 1, 3, 4 Nov. 1967–Aug. 1968; Vol. 2, 1968; and 1969.
Bakers' Dozen Nov. 1967–1968, and Nov. 1968.
Sesquicentennial Scrapbook—Indians Yearly Meeting of Religious Society of Friends. Genealogical Section of *Hartford Times and Surname Index, 1956 thru' 1967*. Compiled by Earl G. Darby of Manhattan, Kansas.
Donor: Dorothy DeWitt Wilkinson, Oklahoma City for Oklahoma Genealogical Society.

Echoes, Vol. 16 & Vol. 17, 1970–1971.
The Researcher, Nos. 33, 34, & 36 1971; Nos. 37, 38 of 1972.
North Texas Pioneer, Vol. 6, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
The Family Tree, Vol. 14, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
Ohio—The Cross Road of Our Nation, Vol. 12, Nos. 1–4, 1971.

Tree Talks, Vol. 11, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
The Colorado Genealogist, Vol. 32, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
Rhode Island History, Vol. 30, Nos. 1–4, 1970–1971.
Orange County California Genealogical Society, Vol. 8, Nos. 1–4, 1971; Vol. 7, No. 1, 1970.
Ash Tree Echo, Vol. 6, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
Redwood Researcher, Vol. 3, Nos. 2, 3, 1970–1971; Vol. 4, Nos. 1–2, 1970–71.
Georgia Pioneers, Vol. 8, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
The Idaho Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 14, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
Flint Genealogical Quarterly, Vol. 13, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
The Descender, Vol. 4, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
"*Michigana*," Vol. 16, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
The Echoer, Vol. 4, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 1970–71.
Symons-Simons Family Newsletter, Vol. 1, Nos. 1 & 2, 1970; Vol. 2, 1–4, 1971.
The Georgia Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 7, No. 2, Summer 1971.
Gleanings—From the Heart of the Cornbelt, Vol. 5, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
Gens Nostra, Nos. 1–12, 1971.
The Ontario Register—Index, Vol. 3, 1970.
The Madison County Genealogist, Vol. 2, Winter 1970; *Index* to Vol. 2, 1970.
The Maryland and Delaware Genealogist, Vol. 12, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
Oklahoma Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 16, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
Tulsa Annals, Vol. 6, Nos. 1–3, 1971.
Pre-1858 English Probate Jurisdictions—Surrey—Jan. 1971, Series A, No. 41.
Pre-1858 English Probate Jurisdictions—Herefordshire—Jan. 1971, Series A, No. 42.
Pre-1858 English Probate Jurisdictions—Leicestershire—Series A, No. 43.
Pre-1858 English Probate Jurisdictions—Shropshire—Series A, No. 44.
Guide to Genealogical Sources in the Netherlands—Zeeland—June 1971, Series C, No. 5.
Guide to Genealogical Sources in the Netherlands—Groningen—June 1971, Series C, No. 6.
Guide to Genealogical Sources in the Netherlands—Friesland—June 1971, Series C, No. 7.
Guide to Genealogical Sources in the Netherlands—Overijssel—June 1971, Series C, No. 8.
Guide to Genealogical Sources in the Netherlands—North Holland—June 1971, Series C, No. 10.
Guide to Genealogical Sources in the Netherlands—Limburg—1971, Series C, No. 12.
Guide to Genealogical Sources in the Netherlands—North Brabant—1971, Series C, No. 13.
Church Records of Sweden, 1971, Series D., No. 15. Above twelve publications of The Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Some Descendants of William Clark of Sabine County, Texas, John Clark of Okla. City.
The Treesearcher, Vol. 13, 1–4, 1971.
Stirpes, Vol. 11, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
Hawkeye Heritage, Vol. 6, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
Index Ash Tree Echo, 1971.
St. Louis Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 4, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
Illinois State Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 3, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
Footprints, Vol. 14, Nos. 1–4, 1971.

North Texas Pioneer, Vol. 6, 1971, *Index*.
The Louisiana Genealogical Register, Vol. 18, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
Kern-Gen, Vol. 8, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
The Genealogical Society Quarterly, Nos. 1–3, Vol. 7, 1971.
"Ansearching" News, Vol. 18, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City.
George Bowman and His Descendants, compiled by Anna Harman Bowman, Oklahoma City.
Donor: Compiler, Oklahoma City.

Hang Onto the Willows by Ernestine Gravley, 1968.
Donor: Author, Shawnee, Oklahoma.

"History of the Long Family" by Sharon K. Calhoun, 1972.
Donor: Author, Oklahoma City.

Lincoln County, Tennessee Pioneers, Vol. 1, No. 6, Dec. 1971.
Donor: Clark Hibbard, Okla. City.

"The Centenarian" by Ouida Hunter Harkreader.
Donor: Author, Riverdale, Ill.

Glenn Dale Carter—Mary Kathryn Scheidt Family Tree Christmas Card, Dec. 1971.
Donor: Mrs. Glenn Carter, Shawnee.

"Dudney Family Tree" by W. C. Dudney, Texarkana.
Your Family Tree—back issues for years 1953, 1954, 1957, 1958.
Donor: Mrs. Malcolm Biggerstaff, Hearne, Texas.

The Ross Family by Nobbie Lula Kathryn Ross-Dale of Guymon.
Donor: Greg George, Oklahoma City.

The Early History of Ada by J. Hugh Biles, 1954.
Galveston—The Horrors of a Stricken City by Murat Halstead, 1900.
The Tragedy of the Lusitania by Capt. Frederick D. Ellis, 1915.
Story of the Wreck of the Titanic, Marshall Everett, ed., 1912.
Complete Story of the San Francisco Horror by Rt. Rev. Samuel Fallows, 1906.
Facts and Fakes About Cuba by George Bronson Rea, 1897.
Panama and the Great Canal by Ralph E. Avery, 1913.
Donor: Mr. & Mrs. W. J. Bryan Beaty, Oklahoma City.

Map: Indian Territory, 1898, Dept. of the Interior, U.S. Geological Survey, Chas. D. Walcott, Dir., & Chas. H. Fitch, topographer.
Donor: Mrs. Beulah Scates, Ada.

Copies of Originals of Patents of April 22, 1899; Samuel Wilbur was First Patent and Anton Classen was Third Patent.
Copy of Cemetery Deed, March 30, 1891.
Donor: Cecil Parham, Okla. County Clerk, Okla. City.

Newspaper historical edition: "History of Shawnee" (Okla.) of the *Shawnee Morning News and Evening Star*, Wed., April 29, 1931.
Donor: Mrs. R. E. Christian, Shawnee.

English-Choctaw Dictionary—A reprint of *A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language* by Cyrus Byington, edited by John R. Swanton, 1972.
Donor: David Gardner for Oklahoma City Council of Choctaws, Inc.

"Aspy and Allied Families."
Donor: Mr. & Mrs. Ben F. Aspy, III, Okmulgee.

"Civil War Reminiscences" by Warner Lewis, Montgomery City, Mo., Nov. 19, 1907 from *Missouri Historical Review.*
"Civil War Expedition into Indian Territory" under the command of Col. Charles Harrison by Warner Lewis.
Fort Reno, Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. H. Merle Woods, El Reno, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Educational Directory 1929–1930, Bulletin No. 108-F.
A History and Photographic Record of the 54th U.S. Field Artillery, Battery D., 1918–1919.
The Sooner Annual, 1920.
Donor: E. A. Cowan, Canton.

The James Caraway Hines Family, edited by Juanita Ryan and Nelle McLane, 1972.
Donor: Juanita Ryan, Lindsay, Okla.

"Railroaded For Life—Thomas J. Mooney Imprisoned for Life on Framed-Up Evidence."
Goodspeed's Local History Catalogue No. 435.
Program of Forty-Third Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Oklahoma City, April 1950.
Donor: Joe H. Crosby, Oklahoma City.

"Who's Your Hoosier Ancestor"? by Willard Heiss from *The Indianapolis Times*, 1963–1965.
Guide to Genealogical and Historical Research in Pennsylvania by Floyd G. Hoenstine, 1966.
Cousin Huntin'—back numbers, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966 & 1967.
Tree Talks—back numbers, 1965, 1966.
Surname Index—Decatur Genealogical Society, Oct. 1968.
Car-Del Scribe—back numbers.
Donor: Mrs. S. F. Wildman, Oklahoma City.

Advance Reports for the Thirty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Convention of the Diocese of Oklahoma of the Protestant Episcopal Church, May 1972, St. Christopher's Church, Midwest City.
Donor: Sec. of Convention, Okla. City.

Roster of Members of the Legislature State of Oregon 1860–1949.
Pioneer Families of the Oregon Territory 1850.
Donor: Mrs. Bernard S. Boyle, Oklahoma City.

Readings—Selected by Walter de la Mare and Thomas Quale, 1927.
Introduction to Modern English and American Literature by W. Somerset Maugham, 1943.

Familiar Quotations by John Bartlett, Revised 1941 edition.
The Story of Mankind by Hendrick Van Loon, 1921.
Stories of the Great Operas and Their Composers by Ernest Newman, 1930.
The American Pronouncing Dictionary of Troublesome Words ed. by Frank O. Colby, 1950.
Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases by John Lewis Roget and Samuel Romilly Roget, 1941 edition.
Seeing More Things by John Mason Brown, 1948.
Donor: Mrs. Charles A. Vose, Oklahoma City.

Life Among the Choctaw Indians and Sketches of the Southwest by Henry C. Benson, Reprint 1970 of 1860 edition.
Donor: In Memory of Charles G. Anderson, Jr., 1906–1971 by Dr. and Mrs. Mark Everett, Oklahoma City.

The Blue Book—Leaders of the English Speaking World, 1971–1972.
Historic Preservation in Nebraska, 1971.
Names—Journal of the American Name Society, Vol. 19, No. 4, 1971.
Proceedings—National Clinic on Technical Education 1971.
The Journal of Technology—A Publication of the Oklahoma Technical Soc., Fall 1971, Vol. 10, No. 2.
Quarterly—Supplement to the Oklahoma Bar Journal, Dec. 1971.
The Oklahoma Philatelist: 1969–1970, 1970–1971 and Feb. 1972.
Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center 12th Annual Wrangler Awards Competition.
Newcomen Society Publications:
Making History By Responding to its Forces by Russell W. McFall.
Getting the Message Across—The Story of Western Union International, Inc. by Edward A. Gallagher.
Peter Paul, Inc.—Quality Candy Since 1919, by Lloyd W. Elston.
Marsh & McLennan—A Century of Insurance Service 1871–1971, by Wm. F. Souder, Jr.
New York University—The Urban University Coming of Age by Jas. M. Hester.
The Lloyd Noland Story—Health and Medicine in Jefferson County, Alabama by E. Bryce Robinson, M. D.
Dedication, Imagination, and a Touch of Genius—The Story of Blood Services by Paul M. Roca.
Faith in Men—The Story of Armco Steel Corporation by C. William Verity, Jr.
Brigham Young University—A University of Destiny by Ernest L. Wilkinson.
"Nothing Better in the Market"—Brown-Foreman's Century of Quality 1870–1970 by Wm. F. Lucas.
Pioneer-Pacesetter-Innovator—The Story of the Medical College of Pennsylvania.
Creative-Responsive-Pragmatic—75 Years of Professional Practice, Albert Kahn & Associates, Architects—Engineers, by Sol King.
The First Hundred Years Are the Hardest—The Story of University of Akron, Norman P. Auburn.
Roster 1971–1972—The Oklahoma Hospitality Club of Oklahoma City.
Oklahoma Chapter American Institute of Architects Membership Roster, 1972.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

PHOTOGRAPH SECTION:

Photograph of former Oklahoma Governor Lee Cruce and family; the W. A. Ledbetter family and the Dustin family at Colorado Springs, Colorado ca 1899.
Donor: E. P. Ledbetter, Jr., Oklahoma City.

Daguerreotype of Anna Eliza Shans Egbert, teacher in Creek Nation 1886–1894; born 1830, died 1895.
Donor: Miss Zella Moorman, Perkins, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, 1902–1903.
Basketball game, Class of '03 vs classes '02 and '01 in spring of 1901, Okla. A. & M. College.
1903 Biology Class in Library Bldg. at Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater.
Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Orlando, Florida.

George H. Shirk and Earl Sneed, Oklahoma City.
Old Central at Oklahoma State University at Stillwater—2 different shots.
Oklahoma's Astronaut Thomas P. Stafford.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Six color prints and three color negatives of the Dedication of Marker at 4th and Oak in Ada, Oklahoma of first home, store and post office of Jefferson (Jeff) Reed.
Donor: Mrs. Eula R. Hasskarl, Ada, Oklahoma.

Collection of Oklahoma Negatives—total of 185.
Donor: Fred Huston, Oklahoma City.

Remains of stone abuttments of old iron bridge near site of Edwards' Trading Post in Hughes County, Oklahoma.
Marker at site of Edwards' Trading Post in Hughes County, Oklahoma.
Donor: D. W. Humphrey, Holdenville.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION

"Medicine in the Union Armies," by Virginia R. Allen, reprint from *The Journal of* the Oklahoma Medical Association, Nov. 1971.
"Health of Slaves on Southern Plantations," by Virginia R. Allen, reprint from *The Journal* of the Oklahoma Medical Association, Oct. 1971.
Donor: Virginia R. Allen, Oklahoma City, Okla.

John Billum and other natives of Chitna, Alaska vs. U.S., Docket No. 187: Order on Motion to dismiss claim.
Natives of Tatitlek Village Alaska v. U.S., Docket No. 200: Order granting motion to dismiss claim.
Natives of Palmer, Alaska v. U.S., Docket No. 370: Order granting motion to dismiss claim.
Native village of Gambell, Alaska v. U.S., Docket No. 284: Order granting motion to dismiss claim.
Aleut Tribe v. U.S., Docket Nos. 352, 369: Opinion on motion to dismiss; Order granting motion to dismiss claim.
Bay Mills Community v. U.S., Docket Nos. 18E and 58: Order denying in part plaintiff's motion to amend decision of Commission; Amended final award.

Caddo Tribe, et al v. U.S., Docket No. 226: Opinion; Order granting motion to intervent; Opinion; Order denying motion to intervene; Order denying motion of Kickapoos to intervene; Order denying motion of Delawares to intervene.
Cherokee Nation, et al vs. U.S., Docket Nos. 173A & 123: Opinion; Additional findings of fact; Final Award.
Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian community v. U.S., Docket No. 228: Opinion; Findings of fact; Interlocutory order.
Nez Perce Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 175: Findings of fact on award of attorneys' fee; Order allowing attorneys' fee.
Ponca Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 322: Order denying motion for rehearing to amend findings and final award.
Pueblo of San Ildefonso, of Santo Domingo and of Santa Clara vs. U.S., Docket Nos. 354–356: Order.
Ottawa Tribe, et al v. U.S., Docket No. 305: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Northern Paiute Nation v. U.S., Docket No. 87a: Opinion; Order; Order allowing attorneys' fees.
Potawatomi Indians v. U.S., Dockets 71, 128, 146, 216, 217, 306, 308–311, 338; Docket 15 C-E, I-R; Docket No. 29 A-E, G, I-P: Opinion of Commission; Findings of Fact.
Potawatomi Tribe v. U.S., Dockets 29 D, E. J. K: Order denying defendant's motion to dismiss the petitions in Dockets 29D & 29E, etc.
Seminole Nation v. U.S., Docket No. 247: Opinion; Findings of fact; Final order of dismissal.
Sioux Nation, et al v. U.S., Docket Nos. 74, 332-C: Opinion; Order denying motion for rehearing.
Sioux Nation, et al v. U.S., Docket No. 74: Opinion; Order granting leave to amend petition.
Skagit Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 294: Order granting attorneys' reimbursable expenses.
Donor: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D.C.

MUSEUMS:
(*Historical Building*)

Forty-six star United States flag.
Donor: Mrs. Webster Smith, Sun City Center, Florida.

Christening gowns and other items of clothing, used by members of donor's family.
Donor: Mrs. Ladonia Childers, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Collection of Celadon pieces, found in the Philippine Islands, Province of Batangas, by donor.
Donor: Danny Inocencio, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Early 19th century wall clock.
Donor: Mrs. Elzie Butler Harman, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Early 19th century military hat; Henry Clay campaign banner.
Donor: Mrs. Pearl Sharpless, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Advertising cuts for Charles Tompkins' Wild West Show.
Donor: H. Merle Woods, El Reno, Oklahoma.

Medical cart; books; medicine bottle; all used in the office of Dr. Everett E. Phillips, early Oklahoma City physician and donor's father; documents; photographs.
Donor: Mrs. Louise Phillips Grogan, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Cherokee Strip Cowpunchers Association Roster, 1930; Zack T. Miller letterhead; and box of the original stars used to designate deceased members of the Cherokee Strip Cow Punchers Association on the hide roster on display in the Museum, painted by Roger Glenn Taylor, donor's brother.
Donor: Don Taylor, Perry, Oklahoma.

Items of clothing.
Donor: Mrs. Tommy McDonald, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Documents pertaining to the Discovery Well of the Oklahoma City oil field; padlock from the well, and plaque reading "Oklahoma City No. 1 Discovery Well"; all presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society in public ceremonies at a Chamber of Commerce luncheon and dedication ceremonies at the well site, December 9, 1971.
Donor: Cities Service Oil Company, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, through Mr. Harvey Bynum.

Badge, "Oklahoma Livestock Convention, . . . 1907"; badge, "Woodward, The Queen City of Oklahoma . . ."
Donor: Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois, through Joseph B. Zywicki, Museum Curator.

Basket; trade token; political material; advertising material.
Donor: R. W. Jones, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

World War I photographs and souvenirs.
Donor: Jefferson Seay Ewing, Dallas, Texas.

Strand of barbed wire, a piece of the "strip wire" used to mark the boundary between Oklahoma Territory and the Cherokee Outlet, located on the boundary of present day Logan and Garfield Counties.
Donor: Ivan W. Olmstead, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Additional items for the Wiley Post Collection, including articles of clothing; charcoal sketch; telescope; trophies; eye patch; and suitcase with initials "WHP" found at the scene of the crash.
Donor: Mrs. Mae Post, Ralls, Texas.

Articles of clothing; personal items; all from the family of donor.
Donor: Mrs. Frank Schmoyer, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Wooden plane, made by father of donors, John Just Hallett, *ca.* 1890.
Donor: Claude Hallett and A. W. Hallett, Duncan, Oklahoma.

Drill press.
Donor: Mrs. Monte Thompson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. (In memory of Monte Thompson)

Barrel watercooler.
Donor: Mrs. Geraldine Foster and Marion Foster, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. (In memory of Monte Thompson)

Automobile license plate.
Donor: Robert D. Conroy, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Hitching bolt and ring, installed in the 300 block of West Main Street, Oklahoma City, in 1892, and salvaged by donor in 1934, when walk and curb were rebuilt.
Donor: Lee M. Bush, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Coins, souvenirs.
Donor: Joe L. Todd, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Portrait of Charles F. Colcord, painted in 1935.
Donor: Mrs. Harriet Colcord White, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Harriet Bates Cronican, Albuquerque, New Mexico; and William Colcord Bates, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Souvenir tie clasp; print.
Donor: Dr. and Mrs. LeRoy H. Fischer, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Photograph for the collection of photographs of Oklahoma judges.
Donor: The Honorable Madeline Mills Matthews, Eufaula, Oklahoma.

Facsimilies of the seals of each of the Five Civilized Tribes.
Donor: Miss Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Early 20th century movie projector with accessories; 1915 poster.
Donor: W. S. Hales, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Remnants of champagne bottle used at christening of USS NAIFEH; photograph of Lt. (jg) Alfred Naifeh in uniform; photographs of the USS NAIFEH.
Donor: Robert N. Naifeh, Norman, Oklahoma.

19th century linen pieces.
Donor: Mrs. James G. Mitchell, McAlester, Oklahoma.

45-star United States flag.
Donor: Mrs. Nancy Cowan, Bethany, Oklahoma.

Two Confederate battle flags.
Donor: United Daughters of the Confederacy, Tulsa Chapter #1761, through Mrs. E. F. Rosewitz, President.

World War II documents.
Donor: Stephen McCartney, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Late 19th century syringe.
Donor: Eugene L. Mellinger, Midwest City, Oklahoma.

Collection of Indian art, paintings and sketches.
Donor: Mrs. Dorothy A. Weber, Arlington, Va.

Three early Woody Big Bow watercolors.
Seller: Woody Big Bow, Yukon, Oklahoma.

Carpet tack hammer.
Donor: Miss Mildred Toaz, Hartshorne, Oklahoma.

Articles of clothing, late 19th century and early 20th century.
Donor: Mrs. Yvonne Parker, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

(*Oil Museum*)

Driller's log, kept by W. H. H. Keltner, great-grandfather of donor, who was the driller on the well drilled at Boggy Depot, completed July 23, 1888.
Donor: Mrs. H. W. Embree, Ada, Oklahoma.

(*Sod House*)

Saddle; spurs; tools; all used by Christopher D. (Bud) Spurgeon on his claim six miles northeast of the Sod House site, following the 1893 land opening.
Donor: James Spurgeon, Princeville, Illinois.

Crosscut saw; hay hook.
Donor: The Reverend Asa Wickens, Elk City, Oklahoma.

Stone survey marker, quarter section cornerstone, installed in 1873 in Indian Territory, present day Major County area.
Donor: Fred Walenta, Fairview, Oklahoma.

(*Oklahoma Territorial Museum*)

Territorial Legislature Blue Book, 1899.
Donor: Mrs. Fairbanks Tryon, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Copy of early government survey map, Guthrie area.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Jack Roberts, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Atlas, "Cram's Unrivaled Family Atlas," 1885.
Donor: Alice M. Armstrong, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Collection of photographs, documents, family items; all from Bronson-Cavolt family.
Donor: Mrs. William C. Bronson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Clothing, documents; all from the belongings of Blanche Beland, Guthrie.
Donor: Warren Bickford, Blackwell, Oklahoma.

Photographs; documents; souvenirs.
Donor: F. B. Lillie, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Indian Territory map.
Donor: R. O. Crouch, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

(*Conser Home*)

Wardrobe closet; canvas covered trunk.
Seller: Graham's Antiques, North Waldron, Arkansas.

Dining room chairs, oak with hand woven cane bottoms.
Seller: Graham's Antiques, North Waldron, Arkansas.

Woven rugs.
Seller: Rice Furniture & Appliance, Waldron, Arkansas.

Player piano.
Donor: Eastern Oklahoma Historical Society, through Mr. Roy Chessmore, Secretary-Treasurer, Poteau, Oklahoma.

(*Thomas-Foreman Home*)

Copy of *Sequoyah*, Grant Foreman, first edition; copy of *Muskogee, The Biography of an Oklahoma Town*, Grant Foreman, second edition.
Donor: Dr. Lawrence E. Nelson, Redlands, California.

(*Chickasaw Council House*)

Granite rock, possibly a fire making rock, found near Bromide, Oklahoma.
Donor: Carl E. Reubin, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Pottery sherds, arrow points, drills, knife, ax; all found near Milburn, Oklahoma.
Donor: Aaron (Red) Gill, Milburn, Oklahoma.

Stone artifacts, found in the old Chickasaw Nation, near Tishomingo, Mississippi, at site of a favorite camping ground.
Donor: The Reverend E. M. Sharp, Memphis, Tennessee.

Artifacts found at Wapanucka Academy site.
Donor: George Richmond, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Tools; personal items; photographs; souvenirs; part of dental drill used at Stonewall, I. T.
Donor: Mrs. Pearl Sharpless, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Iron salt kettle, used by Harkins family on Clear Boggy Creek, between Milburn and Ada, Oklahoma.
Donor: Robert Harkins, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Cast iron pashofa pot, owned by a Chickasaw woman, brought over the Trail of Tears.
Donor: Geraldine Sadler Clack, Dallas, Texas.

Table and bookcase, purchased by donor from the estate of P.D.H. Shearer, member of the faculty of Harley Institute.
Donor: J. C. Bennett, Jr., Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Table and top of roll top desk, from the original furnishings of the Chickasaw Capitol; ballot box, Wapanucka, I.T.; blotter, I.T.
Donor: Johnston County Commissioners, through J. W. Reed, Chairman, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Fleshing tool; hand rock for metate.
Donor: Joe Caskey, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Pin cushion; curling iron; powder box; baby shoes.
Donor: Louise Taylor Crews, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Copy of history of life of Samuel McKindrey White, grandfather of donor.
Donor: Harvel E. White, Wichita, Kansas.

Photograph; cast iron bridge marker.
Donor: Earl Rogers, Connerville, Oklahoma.

Copies of letters, Cherokee Town, 1883; family records; corn sheller; Winchester rifle, *ca.* 1880; photograph.
Donor: L. L. Shirley, Wynnewood, Oklahoma.

Photographs; library table from granite Courthouse.
Donor: S. Mary Bullard, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Medicine bottle; family photographs.
Donor: Ron Asbury, Newkirk, Oklahoma.

Stone from ruins of Wapanucka Academy; Harley Institute graduation program.
Donor: Mrs. Margaret Lokey, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Book, "The Chickasaw Nation"; notebook, with papers of Cyrus Harris; records of accounts of Cyrus Harris.
Donor: L. L. Shirley, Wynnewood, Oklahoma.

Plow; vice; bottle; needle.
Donor: H. B. Ross, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Filing cabinets from Chickasaw Capitol; history of schools in Johnston County.
Donor: Bud Davis, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Hand drawn map of Tishomingo of 1898.
Donor: W. E. Lucas, Dallas, Texas.

Collection of photographs.
Donor: Mrs. C. Underwood, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Centennial edition of yearbook for Bloomfield Academy; Holy Bible, 1882.
Donor: Mrs. Lucy Short, Davis, Oklahoma.

Copy of "The Early Years of Milburn," written by donor.
Donor: Ed Gill, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Two Bloomfield diplomas; copy of Bloomfield Academy commencement program, 1892.
Donor: Dr. Lester Johnson, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Club scrapbook, 1903–1953.
Donor: Tishomingo Daughters Study Club, through Ella Draper, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Papers of the first court case filed in Johnston County, Oklahoma, district court; other early court records.
Donor: The Honorable James Mathers, Associate District Judge, Johnston County, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Map of Oklahoma, 1839–1889.
Donor: Jack Reid, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Holy Bible, found in ruins of old house near Milburn.
Donor: Billy Linn Carter, Eunice, New Mexico.

Ledger books from the Capitol of the Chickasaws.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Harrison Tunnell, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Photograph of Chickasaw Legislature, *ca.* 1900; other photographs and documents.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Ernest W. Tate, Ardmore, Oklahoma.

Photographs; book, *Constitution and Laws of the Chickasaw Nation.*
Donor: Mrs. Lena Thomas, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Photographs of early Milburn and members of donor's family.
Donor: Miss Dixie Shaw, San Francisco, California.

Photographs; spectacles.
Donor: Mrs. E. M. Bennett, Bethany, Oklahoma.

Photographs of R. M. Harris and Lucy McCoy Harris.
Donor: Mrs. R. P. Lewis, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Two copies of photographs of Collins Institute.
Donor: Mrs. Guy Logsdon, Ada, Oklahoma.

Collection of photographs of early day Johnston County area.
Donor: Everett Stewart, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Photograph of Burney Institute, later known as Chickasaw Orphans' School; photograph of dormitory of Orphans' School.
Donor: Mrs. Alma Matthews, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Briar root pipe; steel hand-wrought stirrup, over 150 years old.
Donor: Albert Browning, Mill Creek, Oklahoma.

Hand woven horse hair horse bridle; Western saddle and bridle, used by cowboy who drove cattle over the Chisholm Trail; leather saddle bags used by an officer stationed at Fort Arbuckle, who was a friend of Cyrus Harris and his family; books, *Laws and Treaties of the Chickasaw Nation,* 1890 and 1899; bearskin lap robe used by Cyrus Harris (donor's great-grandfather); and Masonic document.
Donor: Harvel E. White, Wichita, Kansas.

Hand-made lace collar, *ca.* 1908; newspaper clippings and photographs from 1909 when a group of 30 girls from old Oklahoma and Indian Territories were selected to travel to New York (donor was one of these girls).
Donor: Bess W. Root, Phoenix, Arizona.

Poster and newspaper clipping mentioning Chickasaw athlete from Nashville Athletic Club, Boudinot Ream; Beaded purse, necklace, and decoration; silver and rawhide belt; set of Indian stickballs.
Donor: Mrs. Willis Storm, San Antonio, Texas.

Copy of program of testimonial banquet for Henry M. Stanley, May 30, 1890.
Donor: Leonard A. Bigger, Wapanucka, Oklahoma.

Stone ax, found near Lake Texhoma.
Donor: Chris Shelton, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Copy of brochure for Tishomingo, I.T., 1903.
Donor: Theodore R. Wilson, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Copies of Allotment Patent of Levi Kinney, Roll No. 1880, approved October 13, 1908; letter explaining donor's relationship to Cyrus Harris.
Donor: Dr. Barry D. Kinney, San Francisco, California.

Copies of information from "The Indians of the Southwest," by John E. Swanton.
Donor: Jerry N. Underwood, Offutt AFB, Nebraska.

Checks from Coleman State Bank, 1916.
Donor: J. G. Reeder, Wapanucka, Oklahoma.

Photographs of Mr. and Mrs. Elehu B. Hinshaw, Bloomfield Academy; Xerox copy of map of Chickasaw Nation.
Donor: Velma Willard, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Two photographs of early day Tishomingo.
Donor: Gary B. Wyatt, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Early photograph of granite Court House, Tishomingo.
Donor: E. Dan Gibson, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Photographs of construction of granite Court House and of Bloomfield Academy and students and faculty; documents from Bloomfield Academy.
Donor: Miss Louise E. Rennie, Durant, Oklahoma.

Photographs of Wapanucka Academy.
Donor: Mrs. Gladys M. Channell, Bromide, Oklahoma.

Photograph on post card of general store at Emet, I.T.
Donor: Monroe Washington, Roff, Oklahoma.

Photographs of Chickasaw Governor Jonas Wolf.
Donor: Jim Wolf, Milburn, Oklahoma.

(*Erin Springs Mansion*)

Large trunk, from the original furnishings of the Erin Springs Mansion.
Donor: Mrs. Fannie Bell, Lindsay, Oklahoma.

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January 28, 1972 to April 27, 1972

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January 28, 1972 to April 27, 1972

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Capshaw, Ronald	Oklahoma City
Clemings, Mrs. Elsie	Platte City, Missouri
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New Annual Members:	39
New Life Member:	1
Total New Members:	40

* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

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Cover: North View of the old Bake Oven at Fort Gibson, Oklahoma. It was built in 1863. Site now owned and maintained by the Oklahoma Historical Society

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT FORT TOWSON, CHOCTAW COUNTY, OKLAHOMA, 1971

*By Kenneth E. Lewis**

In 1968 the Oklahoma Historical Society acquired a lease to the site of Fort Towson in Choctaw County, Oklahoma. This post was built in 1824 and is of special historical interest in that it was one of the first permanent American settlements within the boundaries of the present state of Oklahoma and played a significant role in the development of this region. In connection with a planned program of conservation and restoration of the site, the Society undertook a joint project with the Oklahoma Archeological Survey involving the excavation of one building area. The project was funded and co-administered by the Historical Society, while the Archeological Survey helped in planning and supplied the archeological skills necessary to the execution of the field work.

Archeological excavations were conducted by the author during the month of June, 1971. They were confined to the area of a single structure identified as one of four barracks that appear on an 1843 map of the fort. The barracks is the second building from the south in the east row of buildings.

The purposes of the excavation were threefold. First, they sought to verify the identity of the building as that described in the documentary sources. If this location could be accurately plotted, the rest of the ruins at the site might then be identified relative to the barrack by correlating their positions with those of the buildings on the early maps.

Second, the architectural features of the building would be studied and compared with documentary data in order to reconstruct a tentative picture of the original building.

Finally, the artifacts recovered in the excavation were analyzed to identify the cultural and temporal affiliations of the structure.

In accomplishing these ends, it is hoped that a better understanding will be gained of the structural history of Fort Towson itself as well as insight into the construction of frontier forts in general.

This paper represents a historical introduction to Fort Towson as well as a summary of the archeological findings. It is hoped that the use of both documentary and archeological data here may illustrate the combined inter-

* Dr. Kenneth E. Lewis is State Archeologist with the Oklahoma Archeological Survey, University of Oklahoma, Norman.

disciplinary approach necessary to the interpretation of historic sites such as this.

The author wishes to express his appreciation to the following persons and organizations without whom the completion of this report would not have been possible: The excavations and research were funded by the Oklahoma Historical Society in connection with the development of Fort Towson as a historic site. Special thanks go to Mrs. Martha Blaine, who, as Chief Curator, conceived the potentialities for archeological research in connection with the restoration of Fort Towson and assisted throughout the course of the work. Dr. Muriel H. Wright contributed documentary information used in this report as well as helpful suggestions without which the research would have been much more difficult. Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary; Mike Bureman, Historic Sites Supervisor; R. W. Jones, Curator; Mrs. Ann Covalt, Museum Secretary; Mrs. Alene Simpson and Mrs. Manon Atkin, Librarians; and many others in the Society contributed much to the coordination and support of this project.

The cleaning, sorting, and recording of materials and preparation of this report were accomplished with the cooperation of the Oklahoma Archeological Survey and through the use of its facilities. Special thanks go to its director, Don Wyckoff, the State Archeologist. His secretary, Mary Ann Holmes, aided in the preparation of the manuscript.

Dr. Robert E. Bell of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma offered many helpful suggestions during the course of the work. Mr. Gillett Griswold, Director of the United States Army Field Artillery Center and Fort Sill Museum made available the Museum's collection and library sources for comparison and identification of the military artifacts recovered at Fort Towson.

Historical Background of Fort Towson

In 1803 the land north of the Red River fell into the hands of the young United States as part of the Louisiana Purchase. As Americans began to occupy the newly acquired lands in the west, the army established a series of outposts along the advancing frontier to protect their interests.

In January, 1824, Major General Winfield Scott, Commander of the Western Department, recommended the establishment of a military post close to the Spanish border along the Red River.[1] Late that year two forts

[1] William B. Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (Harlow Publishing Company: 1936), p. 48.

Ruins of Fort Towson Barrack in 1900 (*Photo from Collection of Dr. Muriel H. Wright*)

Ruins of Fort Towson Barrack prior to the excavations in 1971

were erected to protect this frontier, Cantonment Gibson on the Neosho River and Cantonment Towson, six miles north of the Red River on Gates Creek.

The construction of Cantonment Towson was begun in May, 1824, by two companies of the 7th Infantry from Fort Jessup, Louisiana, under the command of Major Alexander Cummings. Two years later, Major Cummings described barracks that, "consist of two rows of buildings parallel to each other . . . , at each end of the barracks is a storehouse with a bastion on the NE and on the SW corner.[2]

Colonel George Croghan, the Inspector General of the Army, visiting the post in 1827 mentioned a hospital and magazine, the latter constructed of stone.[3]

It seems that the 1824 fort consisted of a square of inward-facing log buildings composed of opposing rows of quarters with storehouses at each end, as well as a log hospital and a stone magazine. Bastions stood in the northeast and southwest corners and were presumably constructed of earth and logs. This description bears a marked similarity to a plan of the cantonment constructed by a Captain Martin of the Missouri Expedition in 1818.[4] It shows a hollow square of inward-facing log buildings including a hospital with a bastion at the northeast and southwest corners. Sections of wall connected the buildings, enclosing the fort without necessitating the construction of a separate stockade wall.

Later that same year (1824) to the dismay of local citizens, the army abandoned Cantonment Towson and retired its troops back to Fort Jessup.[5] No sooner had the soldiers left, than the irate settlers vented their frustrations with the national government's policy by burning some of the buildings at the cantonment.[6]

With the inauguration of Andrew Jackson in 1829, the removal of Indians from the southeastern United States gained new impetus. The passage of the Removal Act the following year finalized their removal to the Indian Territory.[7]

[2] Post Returns, Office of the Adjutant General, Fort Towson, 1828. Consolidated Files, U.S. War Department, 1824–1854. (Hereinafter cited as PR, followed by place of origin and date.)

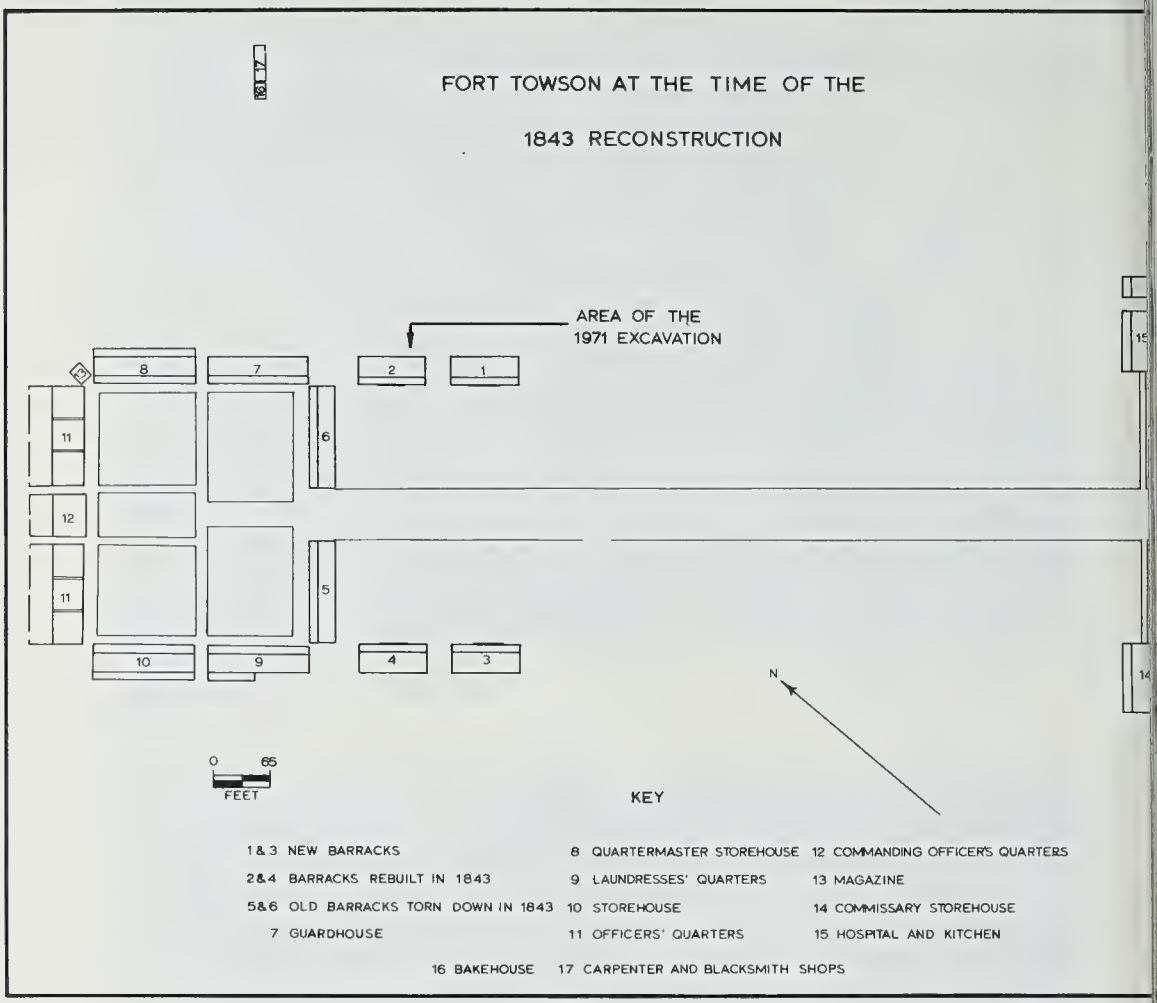
[3] Official Correspondence, Office of the Inspector General, 1827, m624. Consolidated Correspondence Files. 1824–1854. (Hereinafter cited as IG, Record Group 159, followed by date and letter number.

[4] Roger L. Nichols, *The Missouri River Expedition: 1818–1820, the Journal of Surgeon John Gale* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman: 1969), plan of Cantonment Towson, p. 100.

[5] PR, Fort Towson, June 17, 1829.

[6] Emma E. Harbour, "A Brief History of the Red River Country since 1803," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVI, p. 71.

[7] Duane Gage, "Oklahoma: A Resettlement Area for Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 17, p. 293.



Map of Fort Towson, 1843

The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, signed in 1830, assigned an area in the southern part of Indian Territory to the Choctaws. The site of Cantonment Towson was chosen by the federal government as a permanent fort in the Choctaw Nation. In November, 1830, Camp Phoenix was erected at the old site and, on February 8, 1832, was officially renamed Fort Towson.[8] During this time it served as a rationing station for the newly arrived Choctaws.[9]

[8] Francis P. Prucha, "Fort Towson, 1826" *A Guide to the Military Posts of the United States.* (State Historical Society, Madison: 1864) p. 113.

[9] Muriel H. Wright, "The Removal of the Choctaws to Indian Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. 6, p. 119.

Some idea of the Fort Towson of the 1830's may be gained from an 1833 map.[10] It shows a hollow square of structures with two rectangular buildings on the east, south, and west sides. Three buildings are on the north side. Outbuildings, sheds, and stables are located east of the fort and a "cholera hospital" stood some distance to the west. The map does not identify the main structures of the fort; however, several clues to their function emerge in a report made by Captain Charles O. Collins, the post quartermaster in 1843. At this time the post was in a dilapidated condition and was just about to undergo an extensive reconstruction. Collins described single-storied buildings on the east and west rows of the square, a commanding officer's quarters and two other officers' quarters facing south, and two barracks directly across from them facing north. A magazine was located in the northeast corner of the quadrangle.[11] A hospital located to the south of the main fort was presumably recent, for as late as 1839, the commander, Major Wilson, was recommending the removal of the hospital from the garrison to a detached position.[12] A commissary near the new hospital and two barracks located at the south end of the east and west rows outside of the quadrangle may also have been of more recent construction.

The reconstruction of 1843 involved the placement of all existing buildings on stone foundations as well as the removal of the two northward facing barracks. To replace them, two new barracks were built, one at the south end of the east and west rows. Numerous out-buildings, consisting of an ordinance storehouse near the magazine, a bakehouse, carpenter and blacksmith shops, stables, carriage house, harness room, and corn crib were also constructed or extensively repaired at this time. In October, 1844, Captain Collins reported that nearly all of the repairs had been completed.[13]

Several civilian-owned buildings were constructed within the confines of the post. The first was that of the post sutler, George C. Gooding. His residence and store were located west of the fort near the edge of the bluff overlooking Gates Creek. The second belonged to a Mr. Miller, the quartermaster clerk at Fort Towson in 1845.[14]

[10] Official Correspondence, Office of the Adjutant General, 1833. Consolidated Correspondence Files, U. S. War Department. 1824–1854. (Hereinafter cited as AG, Record Group 94, followed by the date and letter number.)

[11] Collins to Jessup, October 1, 1843, Official Correspondence, Office of the Quartermaster General, 1844, c399, Consolidated Correspondence Files, U.S. War Department, Record Group 92, 1824–1854. (Hereinafter cited as QM, followed by date and letter number.)

[12] Wilson to Stanton, June 12, 1839, QM, 1839.

[13] Collins to Jessup, October 1, 1844, QM, 1844, c280.

[14] Babbitt to Jessup, March 18, 1845, QM, 1845, c139.

Fort Towson figured prominently in the Mexican War when large numbers of troops passed through there on their way south. The post formed the major communications link between northern Texas and the United States during this period.

After the war, the frontier pushed westward and new forts were established to take the place of those to the east. The garrison at Fort Towson that once contained the entire 6th Infantry Regiment of 800 men was reduced to a few companies. From June, 1851, until its abandonment three years later, it was occupied by two companies of the 7th Infantry.[15]

In 1854, the fort and grounds were turned over to the Department of Interior for Indian administration. Shortly thereafter it was given to the Choctaws.[16] That same year the Choctaw Council met and made Fort Towson the capital of the Choctaw Nation. Their tribal councils met there in 1855 and 1856.[16a]

During the Civil War, Fort Towson was the headquarters of Confederate Major General S. B. Maxey who commanded troops in the District of the Indian Territory. It also served as a Confederate distribution center supplying over 800 displaced Choctaws regularly.[17] In June, 1865, Stand Watie, the Cherokee General, surrendered his troops near there. Fort Towson was designated "a place where the paroles (of Confederate soldiers) will be administered and the public property turned over in accordance with the terms of surrender agreed upon."[18]

At the time of its abandonment in 1854, Fort Towson appears to have been in a state of advanced deterioration. Captain Samuel M. French reported "the buildings at Towson are much dilapidated, and one large warehouse and two ranges of barracks are blown down."[19] By 1885, all the main buildings seem to have collapsed,[20] and in 1923, the *Daily Oklahoman* reported that "only small parts of the wall of the fort and only two of the old stone chimneys remain standing."[21] With the exception of the collapse of the chimneys, the condition of Fort Towson has changed little since that time.

[15] Morrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 54–55.

[16] Ed Bearss and Arrell M. Gibson, *Fort Smith* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman: 1969) p. 233.

[16a] Hudson 1939:10.

[17] Allen C. Ashcraft, "Confederate Indian Conditions in 1864," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 41, p. 279.

[18] Gen. E. Kirby Smith, Special Orders, Trans-Mississippi Department, CSA, June 2, 1865, United States Department of War, *War of the Rebellion. A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (4 series, 70 volumes, 128 books, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), Ser. 1, Vol. 48, pt. 2, p. 728.

[19] French to Jessup, September 27, 1854, QM, 1854.

[20] James Culberson, "The Fort Towson Road," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V, p. 420.

Archaeology

Fort Towson lies on a gentle, sloping prairie on the east bank of Gates Creek about one-half mile northeast of the present town of Fort Towson, Oklahoma. The site extends over several acres and its northern boundary rests on a bluff almost 150 feet above the bed of the creek.

The limestone block foundations of all of the main buildings remain intact, though often obscured by overgrowth and disturbed by tree roots. The foundations have suffered much due to the adverse effects of weather and the convenience of the stone to local builders in the past century. There are no visible traces of any of the outbuildings described in 19th century accounts; however, scattered surface artifacts suggest the presence of a wide area of historic habitation.

Excavations were confined to the area of a single building presumed to be one of the barracks built outside of the original quadrangle and rebuilt during the 1843 reconstruction. The area of the excavation was laid out in 10 foot squares of a superimposed grid system. All points in the system were measured from a single datum point located southwest of the site to insure that all parts of the site could be related specifically to this point as well as to one another. The direction of the entire grid system was aligned 60° east of north to correspond to the orientation of the structures.

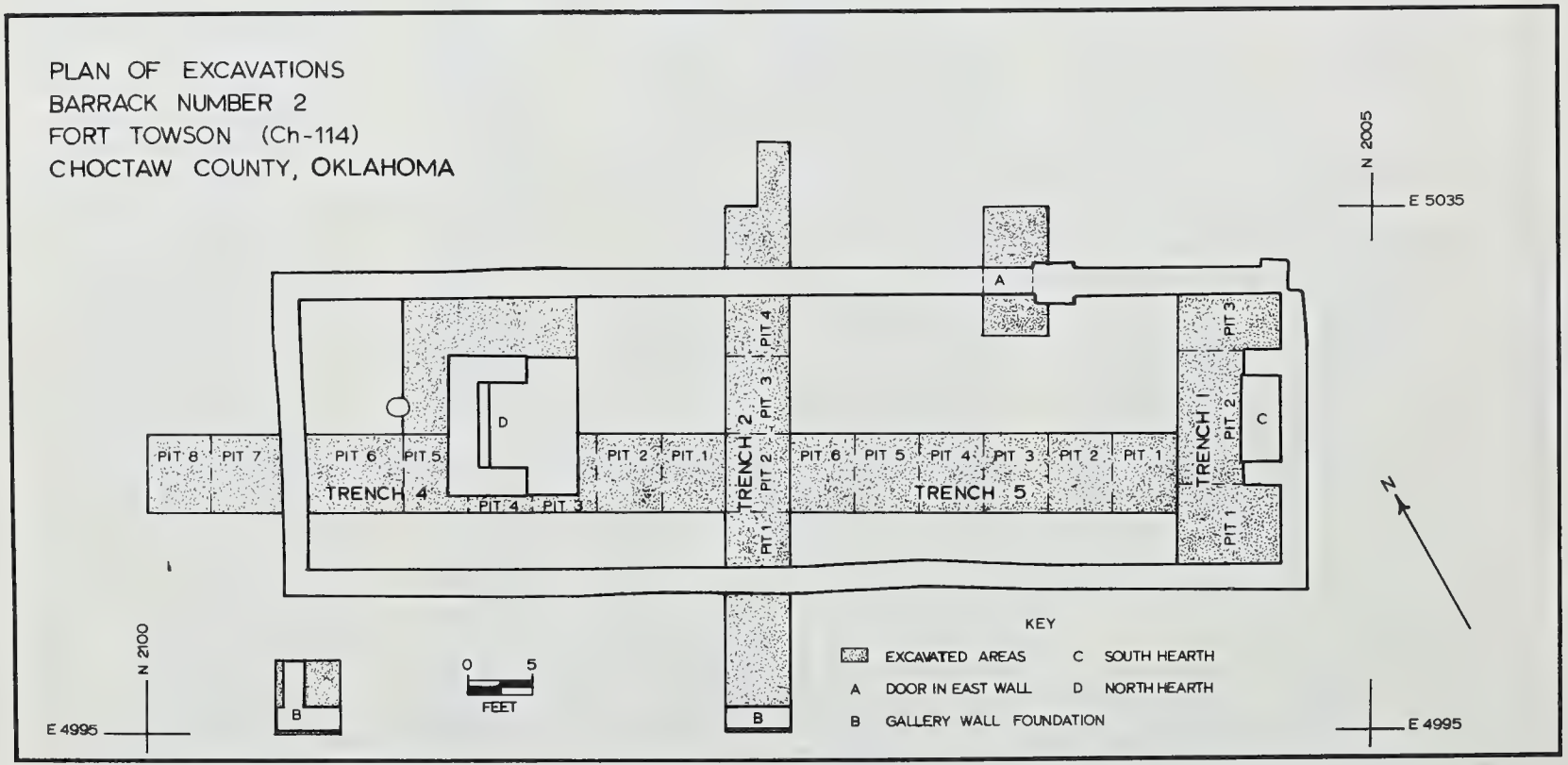
The best description of this building appears in an account given to Edmund J. Gardner in 1916 by Henry L. Gooding, the son of the long-time post sutler. The following is his description of the barracks in 1853, two years after their reconstruction:[22]

> The natural slope of the land descended and to keep the porches of all the buildings on a level, a rock foundation was built . . . (and) this formed a basement . . . The buildings above the rock foundations were made of logs, well constructed, chinked and daubed, and covered with clapboards, and had been painted to a light blue but had faded to a light grey about the color of the limestone foundation.

His description of the interior of a barrack refers to the second barrack from the south on the west row of buildings directly across from the building where the excavations were carried out. Documents indicate that it was contemporaneous with the excavated barrack. An examination of the present remains suggests that the two buildings were mirror images of

[21] Willie DeWitt, "The Ghosts of Old Fort Towson Trail," *The Daily Oklahoman*, July 8, 1923, p. 4D.

[22] Edmond J. Gardner, "Old Fort Towson," *Antlers American*, August 25, 1932, pp. 7–8.


PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS
BARRACK NUMBER 2
FORT TOWSON (Ch-114)
CHOCTAW COUNTY, OKLAHOMA
N 2005
E 5035
A
D
C
PIT 8
PIT 7
PIT 6
PIT 5
TRENCH 4
PIT 4
PIT 3
PIT 2
PIT 1
TRENCH 2
PIT 4
PIT 3
PIT 2
PIT 1
PIT 6
PIT 5
PIT 4
PIT 3
PIT 2
PIT 1
TRENCH 5
TRENCH 1
PIT 3
PIT 2
PIT 1
N 2100
E 4995
B
0
5
FEET
B
KEY
EXCAVATED AREAS
C SOUTH HEARTH
A DOOR IN EAST WALL
D NORTH HEARTH
B GALLERY WALL FOUNDATION
N
E 4995

one another, both having their main end fireplaces on the south wall. In reading this description one must reverse his directions to make them applicable to the east barrack. In this narrative the speaker is standing northeast of the second barrack building from the south on a walkway that ran from north to south in front of the west row of buildings:[23]

We now go to see the inside. We turn to the nearest building to the south. We go down a gravel walk to near the center of the building, then up a flight of four wide steps to a wide porch, banistered on all sides. We turn to our right (left) and go in at a wide door nearest the north end of the building. On entering and near the door we stop for our view of everything.

We see a large room lighted with many windows and a few doors. On the north and south end (of the room) is a large fireplace and soldiers sitting about on chairs here and yonder all over the room engaged in various things. Down the center of the room is a row of tables, and on them are many books and many other things used by the boys. On the ends of this room by the fireplaces are racks and pegs for hanging things on which were being generously used (*sic*). For a short space on the sides of the north end are gun racks made into the wall, and well filled with guns. About three fourths of the room's side is taken up with bunks made to the wall and three tiers high, and arranged near the south end. This room is piled here and there with many things pertaining to soldiers life on the frontier yet it is orderly and well kept and pleasing to the eye.

We now go across this room on the west (east) side of the big fireplace and take a peep into the small room cut off on the north end of the building. Standing in the door we see a general mixture of things for the boys hanging and laying about in a disorderly manner. Going further in at this door we see a flight of stairs leading down into the basement, that is partly underground and within the solid stone walls.

This part of the building is cut up into three compartments, pantry, kitchen, and dining room. The immediate needs of the kitchen was (*sic*) kept in the pantry, the cooking was done on a large fireplace having large cranes that swung from its jambs, and on the cranes hung many pots, and on the large hearth that extended far into the room were other vessels used in the cooking.

We now pass into the dining room, the largest of the three, and find a well equipped place for the boys to enjoy their meals. The room is large, a row of tables fill the center and around the tables are many benches and chairs that extend to near the bare walls, leaving only room for passage, and a very large fireplace could be seen at the south end.

As the primary concern of the excavations involved the architectural aspects of the building, it was of primary importance that all physical remains of the structure be exposed for interpretation. This was accomplished by first clearing all visible portions of the walls. Next a series of

[23] *Ibid.*

trenches were dug across the length and width of the building's interior and through sections of three of the four walls. These trenches would serve four purposes: first, to uncover any features of the building not visible from the surface; second, to determine the nature and extent of the floor or floors; third, to examine the wall structure of both sides to ascertain methods used in the building's construction as well as possible construction phases; and fourth, to collect artifacts that might yield further clues to the nature of the building or areas within it. Finally, a number of pits were excavated outside of the building. Their purpose was generally exploratory in nature, to search for structural features outside of the building's walls as well as to attempt to shed further light on the nature of the building's construction.

At the time of the excavations, little more than a rectangular outline of the walls remained. At the south end of the structure the wall rose to a height of several feet to accommodate a fireplace eleven feet in length. Although the wall nowhere rose more than several inches above the outside surface of the ground, the level of the floor inside the building varied from a depth of three feet on the north end to six inches on the south end below the surface. This was done to insure a flat basement floor on a sloping surface. There is no evidence to suggest anything other than a packed clay floor in the basement of the building.

The walls were constructed of blocks of limestone set in mortar. They appear to have been laid along the edges of a rectangular-shaped pit excavated to form the basement of the barrack. As the walls rose above the ground surface, the edges of the pit were backfilled to form an even surface on the exterior of the building.

Excavations at the building's north wall, where the basement was the deepest, revealed a series of construction levels in which the wall was built up in stages and then backfilled. Apparently this was done to keep the weight of the backfill from collapsing the wall inward before the latter had a chance to set firmly.

No traces of interior walls or support pillars were found. This suggests that the divisions of the basement mentioned by Gooding may have been separated by frame partitions or nothing at all. The absence of support pillars for the second floor is a mystery; however, the extensive disturbance of a major part of the interior, occasioned by stone gathering over the years, may have resulted in the destruction of both the pillar supports as well as the remains of interior walls.

Two hearths were present in the barrack. The first was apparently built as an integral part of the south wall. It measured eleven feet in width with an interior seven feet wide by four feet in depth. Evidence of a thin layer of ash covered about two-thirds of the interior and also extended approxi-

mately one foot up the rear and side walls of the hearth. There was no trace of earlier hearths, suggesting this fireplace was constructed with the wall in 1843. The association of large amounts of burned animal bone suggests its use as a roasting hearth.

The second fireplace was located beneath an overburden of rubble in the northern half of the building. It was not attached to any of the walls. The hearth measured eleven feet in width by six feet in depth and had a seven foot wide interior as did the south fireplace but was only two feet in depth instead of four. The floor of the hearth consisted of red packed clay, raised to a height of five inches above the building's floor and extending four feet in front of the fireplace. This seems to match closely Gardner's description of the kitchen fireplace with "the large hearth that extended far into the room."[24] The general lack of large bones and presence of pot and kettle fragments suggest a function associated with the preparation of meals rather than the roasting of large pieces of meat.

Exploratory trenches outside the west wall of the barrack yielded evidence of a gallery wall at a distance of six feet from the building. Unfortunately, a dirt road passed directly over this location and had obliterated all but an outline of the wall composed of rock and mortar fragments.

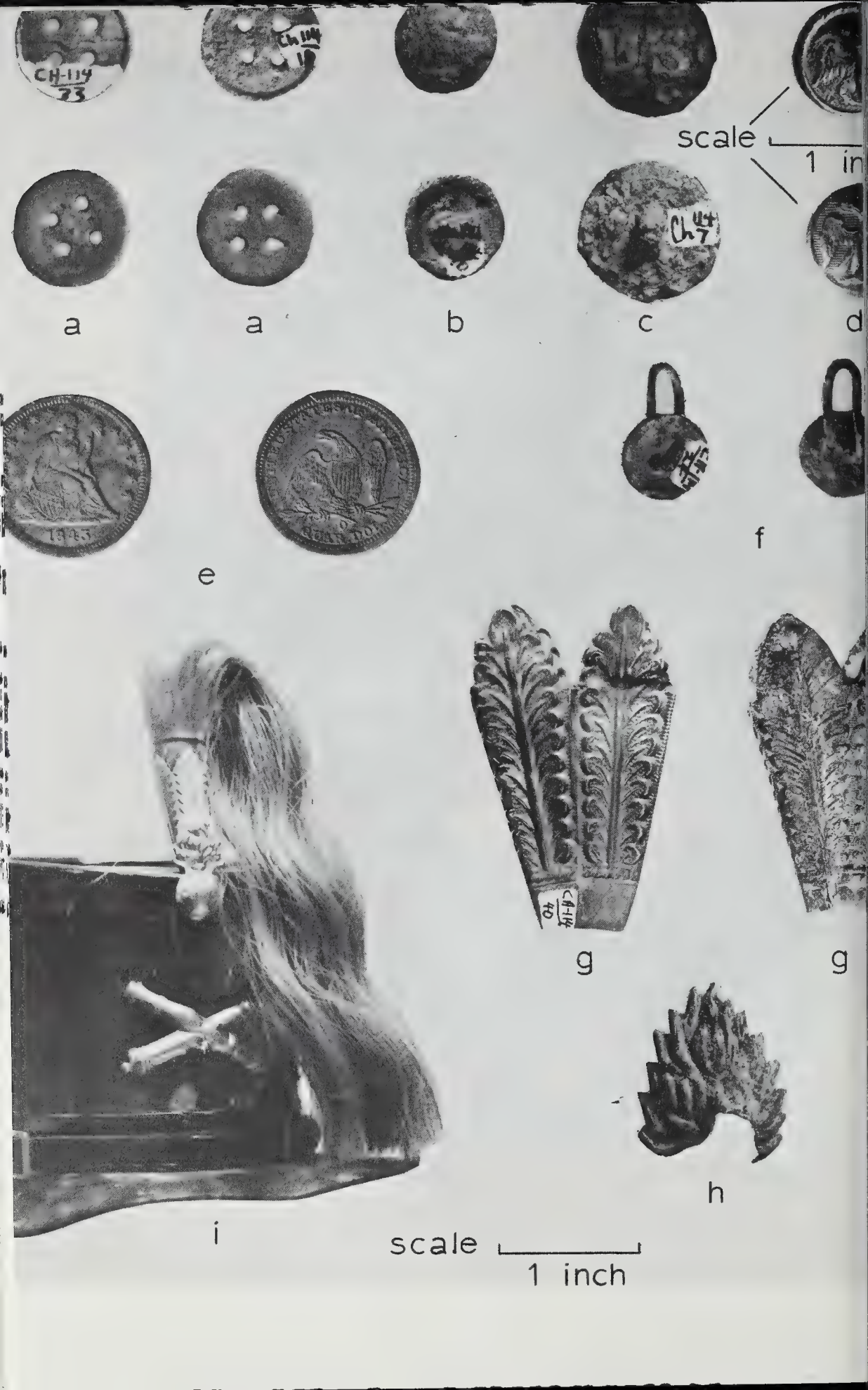
Artifacts did not occur in large numbers at Fort Towson and consisted almost exclusively of items associated with white occupation. They may provide valuable insights into the use of the building as well as in determining the date of its occupation.

First, the military nature of the building is suggested by the presence of several types of military buttons in use from 1812 to the period of the Civil War and uniform ornaments dating from the 1840's. The remains of a U.S. pistol Model 1816 and a musket ball of service caliber were also recovered.

Artifacts pertaining to the structure of the building itself are strap hinges for large doors, a wall hook, and a large number of cut nails of varying sizes. Fragments of pots, kettles, and ceramic containers and bones of cattle, pig, deer, and bison attest to the presence of a kitchen and mess area.

Other artifacts include a wide range of ceramics, mostly hard paste earthenwares and some stonewares that suggest a beginning date around 1820. The presence of ceramics identical to those used by civilians of the period attests to the absence of standardized military tableware at that time. Hand blown glass bottles are also helpful date indicators as their design and methods of construction varied through time. The one complete and one fragmentary specimen suggest a date from 1825 to 1850. A United States quarter dated 1843 may well date from the occupation of the barrack.

[24] *Ibid.*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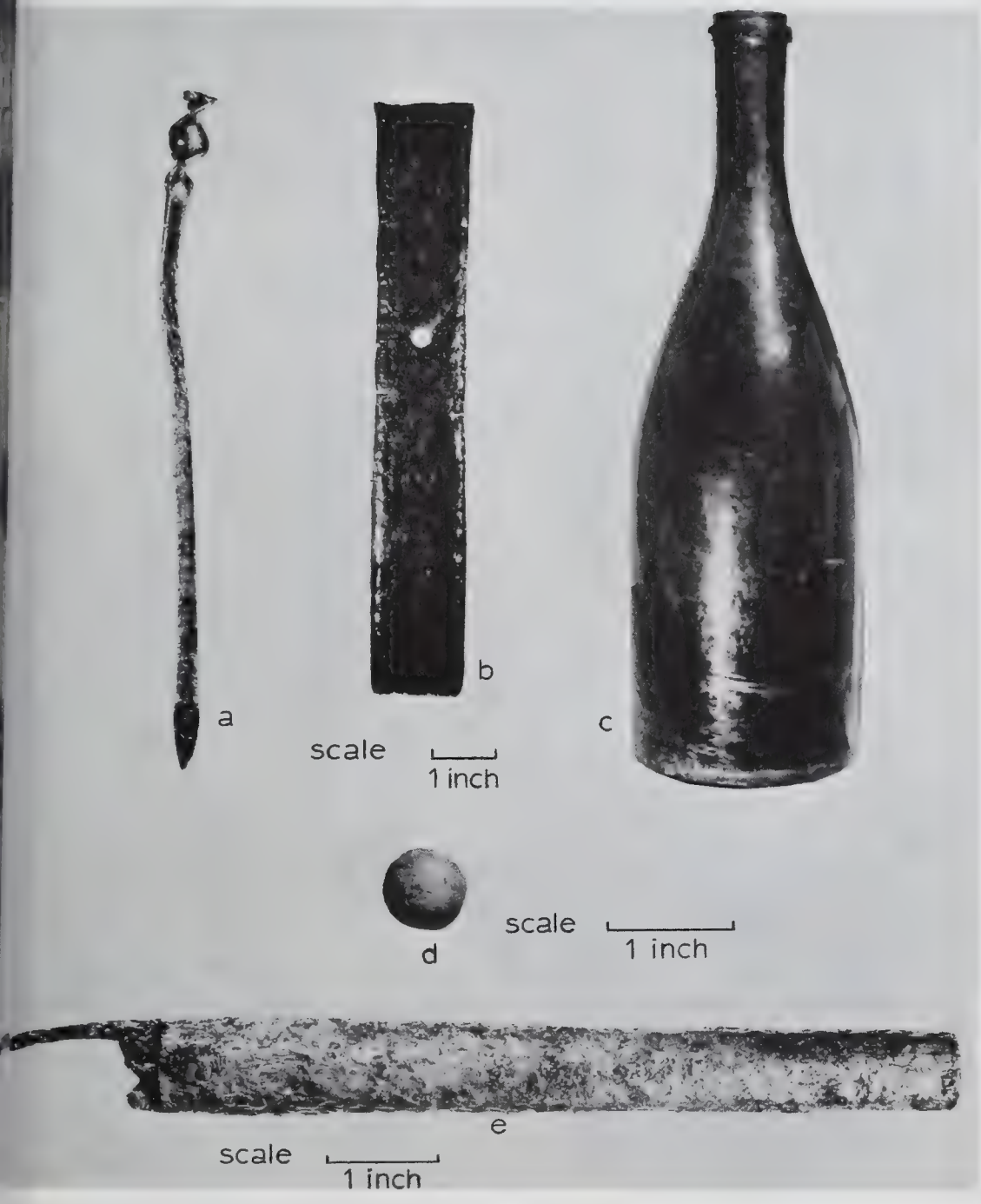
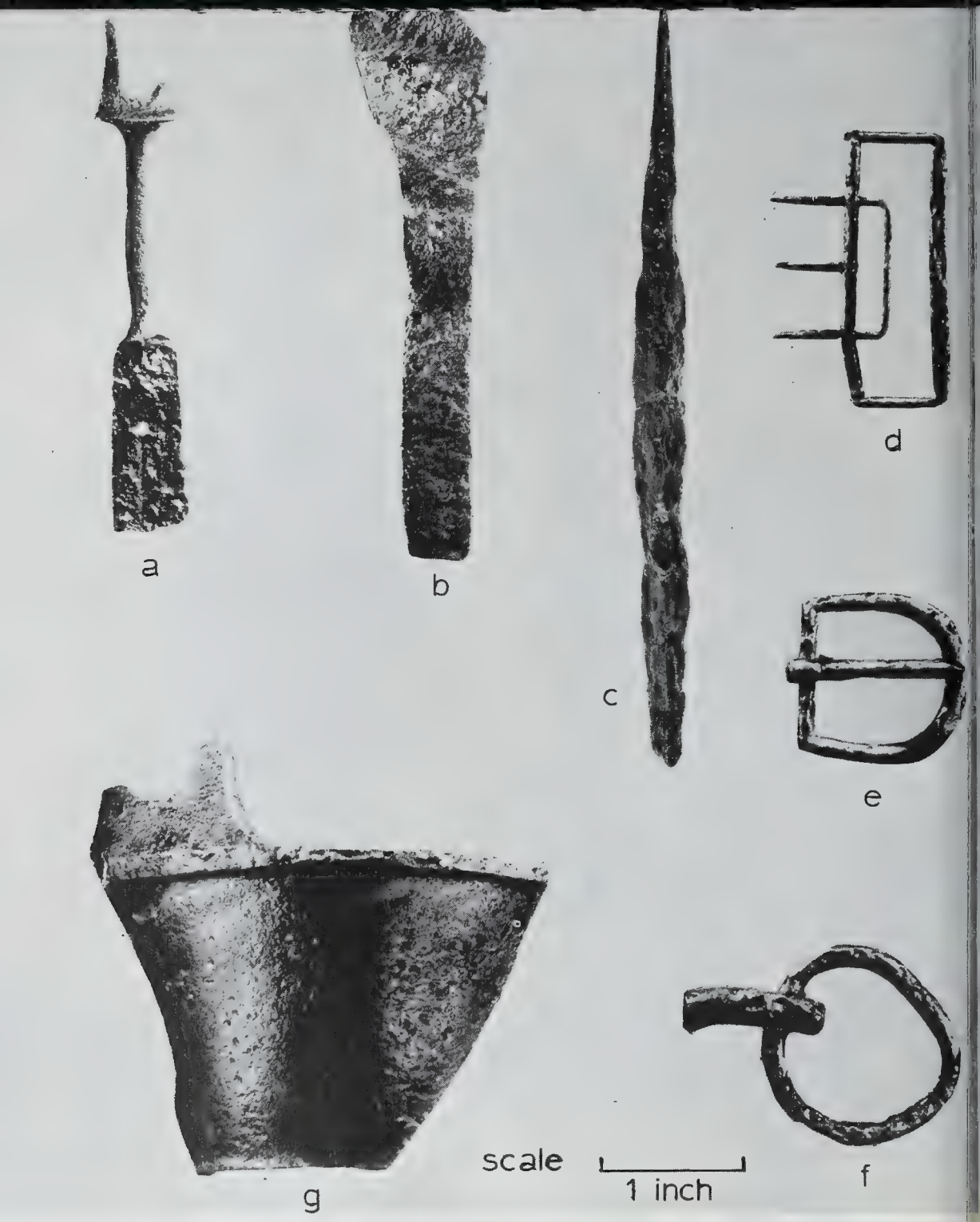
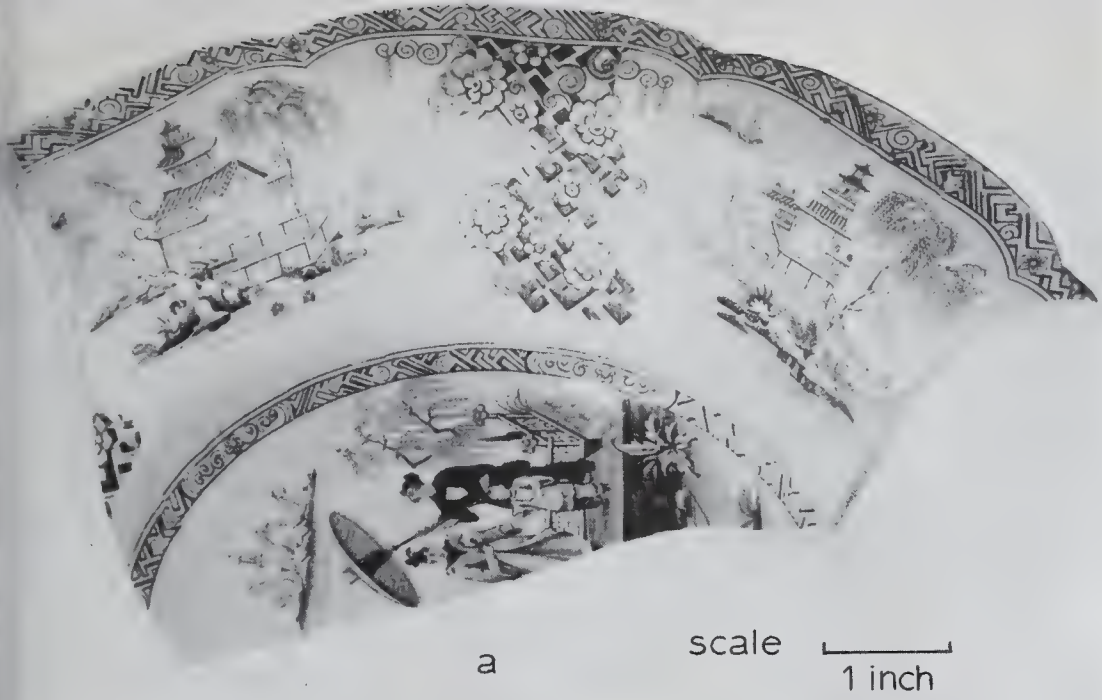


a. Iron auger; b. Iron strap hinge; c. Hand blown wine bottle; d. Musket ball, .69 caliber; e. Pistol barrel, U.S. Model 1816

Military artifacts: a. White metal trouser buttons; b. Plain white metal button; c. White metal enlisted fatigue button; d. Yellow metal officers vest buttons; e. U.S. quarter, 1843, New Orleans mint; f. Cuff link button; g. Bursting bomb plume socket device; h. Flaming bomb device; i. U.S. artillery hat, ca. 1840, illustrating position of plume socket and flaming bomb devices



Miscellaneous Artifacts: a. Fork; b. Chisel blade; c. Triangular file; d. Three-tongued buckle; e. Harness buckle; f. Bit or singletree ring; g. Iron kettle fragment



Ceramic Artifacts: a. Transferware tureen; b. White clay pipestem fragment; c. White clay pipebowl fragment; d. Red-glazed pipebowl fragment; e. Unglazed clay bowl fragment

South fireplace with clay floor exposed as far as line of stakes

The presence of more modern debris on the surface and in some of the fill of the building seems to indicate its use as a dump subsequent to its abandonment.

A comparison of the south fireplace with old photographs of the south dicate that the barrack building was built on a foundation of stone blocks laid along the edges of a foundation pit. The floor of this pit also served as the packed clay floor of the basement of the barrack.

A comparison of the south fireplace with old photographs of the south fireplace of the similar west barrack directly across from this one suggests a seven foot ceiling for the basement story. The upper story must have been at least six feet in height to accommodate the three tiers of bunks mentioned by Gooding. The chimney in the photographs was about eighteen feet tall but its broken top suggests it was originally taller. If a roof with a 25° slope were placed on walls the height of those suggested, it would just clear the broken top of the chimney. A slope of this angle was not uncommon at this time.[25] It would also be steep enough to allow an extension of the roof wide enough to cover the six foot wide porch or gallery.

No photographs exist of the intact north fireplace and chimney; however, its base dimensions suggest that it was similar to the south hearth. The

North fireplace showing ash lens on extended hearth apron

presence of a great deal of brick in the rubble surrounding the fireplace may indicate the use of brick in the chimney above the level of the basement.

A reconstruction of the upper floor must depend much more heavily upon documentary sources as little physical evidence remains. It was divided into two rooms by the north fireplace and chimney. The small room measuring 10 by 26 feet was used as a storeroom or orderly room and contained a stairway leading to the basement. The larger room formed the living quarters.

Gardner[26] states that the rooms "were lighted with many windows" and contemporary repair accounts frequently mention casing and framing for

[25] Albert Manucy, *The Houses of St. Augustine: 1565–1821* (St. Augustine Historical Society: 1962) p. 112.

[26] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

windows as well as sashes and venetian blind shutters, suggesting the presence of windows with moveable sashes and shutters. The large number of pieces of window glass further attests to its use.

The floor of the upper story and porch was made of wood planking laid on heavier wooden beams set in the stone walls. Repair lists continually include entries to cover the expense of repairing rotten or worn out sills, door frames, and floors. The presence of a continuous foundation for the gallery wall suggests that the porch was supported by a solid wall rather than a series of columns. Presumably it was covered by a roof supported by wooden columns.

Excavations revealed a lower story or basement containing both cooking and eating areas, corresponding to Gooding's description. As noted, however, disturbances subsequent to the building's abandonment have obliterated much detail so that the presence of interior support pillars and walls remains uncertain.

The presence of a door may be indicated by the existence of a flat portion of wall suggesting a door sill. A slope in the ground surface just outside and the presence of kitchen trash in this area tend to further substantiate the existence here of a basement door.

Conclusions

In summary, the building fits very well the documentary descriptions of the 1843 barrack. Both the architecture and artifacts suggest activities normally associated with a structure of this type. The primary period of occupation appears to have fallen within the second quarter of the 19th century. There is little evidence of a post–1854 occupation connected with a Choctaw or Confederate presence following the fort's abandonment by the U.S. Army.

In conclusion, it is interesting to note how much Fort Towson seems to contrast with the popular conception of the western military post as a crude cluster of log buildings surrounded by a stockade fence. Fort Towson was not only an open post, but one containing sturdy buildings, well-spaced and landscaped. Despite the handicaps imposed by the isolation of the frontier, Fort Towson seems to have enjoyed many of the advantages of an America just entering the Industrial Age.

FORT GIBSON BARRACKS, POWDER MAGAZINE, AND BAKE OVEN

*By Q. B. Boydstun**

The south half of the original Barracks, the Powder Magazine, and Bake Oven at Fort Gibson, Oklahoma, are owned by the state of Oklahoma for the benefit and control of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Construction of the historic Barracks building was commenced in 1845, as a result of continued agitation for more substantial quarters for the garrison. After an appropriation was made by Congress, General Thomas S. Jesup, Quartermaster of the Army, arrived at Fort Gibson on July 17, 1845, to direct the construction of new buildings of stone on the hill above, and on the slope between it and the old log stockade. Work on the new structure was soon started and by March, 1846, a barracks for two companies had progressed above the second floor and timbers for both floors and the piazzas were laid.

When the work had reached this stage, it was stopped by the burning of the saw mill at the fort with a loss of the mill, lumber, and tools. The walls of the partially constructed Barracks stood for more than 10 years when it was finally completed. The original sandstone building was 159 feet by 25 feet with a slate roof and two stories high.

The Barracks building was built of dark, yellow sandstone. In the lower story were the mess rooms and kitchens; in the upper story were the squad rooms and the orderly rooms. The building was divided into two distinct barracks by solid partitions and each was occupied by one company. Each squad room was 63 feet in length by 21 feet in breadth; 19½ feet to the eaves and 23½ feet to the ridge. There were 14 double bunks in each room to accommodate 56 men. The windows and doors were large. Each squad room had 7 windows on the south side and 6 windows and a door on the north side. The latter opened on the veranda, 12 feet in width, which extended the whole length of the building. The orderly rooms were each 14 feet long and 21 feet wide. The mess rooms and kitchens had the same dimensions as the rooms in the upper story. There were no cellars or store rooms. The upper floor was approached by the veranda, there being

* Q. B. Boydstun is a resident of Fort Gibson, Oklahoma, and has been for 53 years. He was the instigator of the reconstruction and preservation of the Old Stockade and Military Park. He served as Chairman of the Old Fort Gibson Stockade Commission. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Fort Gibson Barracks, construction completed about 1855 *(Photo from Earl Boyd Pierce Collection)*

no stairway within the walls. These squad rooms were opened to the ridge, were well lighted, and were provided with open fireplaces.

The old Powder Magazine was built about 1845. It was constructed of the same kind of material as the old Barracks building with a stone floor and only one solid door. It was used as storage for ammunition used by the troops from the time it was constructed until the post was abandoned.

The Bake Oven was constructed in 1863 for supplying bread to the Federal soldiers on duty at Fort Gibson during the Civil War. It was housed in a frame building.

The Cherokee Nation had been agitating for several years for the removal of Fort Gibson from their country claiming it was wholly unnecessary for protection of its citizens, and, also, in order that Cherokees might enjoy the unrestricted use of the boat landing which was claimed to be the only good landing place giving access to the interior of the Cherokee Nation. Treaties with the United States then in force provided for reversion of the Fort upon abandonment.

The Cherokees were finally successful. The order to abandon the Fort was issued June 8, 1857, and within the month was substantially executed. The Fort and Reservation thus turned over to the Cherokee Nation enabled the Cherokee National Council on November 6, 1857 to pass an act creating the town of Kee-Too-Wah upon what had been a part of the military reservation and provided for the sale to Cherokee citizens of lots therein.

The American Civil War brought further changes to the old Fort. For

a time it was in possession of the Confederate Army and it was afterwards regained by the Union side. In 1863, the old Barracks and the whole hill area was occupied by three Federal Cherokee regiments, four companies of Kansas Cavalry, and Hopkins Battery of Volunteers, an aggregate of 3,150 men with 4 field pieces and 20 mountain howitzers.

After the Civil War various elements of the United States Army occupied and used these buildings. Among those were the 62nd Illinois Volunteers, the 18th Infantry, the 19th Infantry, the 6th Infantry, the 10th Cavalry, the 5th Infantry, the 16th Infantry, the 22nd Infantry, the 23rd Infantry, the 20th Infantry, the 19th Cavalry, and the 24th Infantry.

After the post was abandoned in 1890, the post was occupied again by the 1st Cavalry from April, 1897, until November, 1897. The troops did not occupy the old Barracks building as it was uninhabitable, but were quartered in tents on the old parade ground in front of the Barracks.

After the military post was abandoned in 1890, the Cherokee Nation had a problem of utilizing and maintaining these buildings, since it was almost impossible to keep citizen and non-citizen squatters from taking over these lands and buildings and using them for homes and storage space. The citizens of the Cherokee Nation, fortified by treaty provision, properly considered the land and buildings to be a part of the Cherokee public domain. In an effort to rectify this condition, the Cherokee National Council enacted Senate Bill Number Twelve on January 15, 1894, reserving from public use or settlement that part of the Fort Gibson military reservation upon which the old Barracks, Powder Magazine, Bake Oven, and most of the military buildings were located, and authorized the Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation to appoint a custodian of the property and buildings, to take care of and preserve the public property of the Cherokee Nation, and the custodian was not permitted to rent the buildings to anyone other than a citizen of the Cherokee Nation. Apparently this plan did not work out very satisfactorily as it appears from Joint Resolution Number 5 of the Cherokee National Council passed and approved on January 5, 1900, which reads:

Whereas, in the year 1892, the Government of the United States turned over to the legally constituted authorities of the Cherokee Nation the military reservation at Ft. Gibson, Indian Territory, together with all the buildings on said reservation except the Cemetery and buildings used in connection with said Cemetery;

And whereas R. M. Walker was appointed Custodian of the building situated on said military reservation by C. J. Harris Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, and executed a bond to the Cherokee Nation in the sum of Twenty-five hundred dollars which bond was approved by the Said C. J. Harris as principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation January 19, 1894;

And whereas, for some reason C. L. Bowden was on the third day of May, 1897, appointed by S. H. Mayes, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, Custodian of the buildings on said reservation at Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, and executed a bond to the Cherokee Nation in the sum of Twenty-five hundred dollars which bond was approved by S. H. Mayes as Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, May 3rd, 1897, And Whereas, from the records in the Executive office it can not be ascertained as to whether the said Walker and Bowden has ever made a settlement with the said Nation; and,

Whereas there has been large sums of money paid by parties occupying the buildings and grounds of the said reservation during the time the said Walker and Bowden were Custodians of said property and for the said Cherokee Nation; Therefore,

Be It Resolved by the Council Branch of the National Council the Senate concurring therein, that the Principal Chief be and he is hereby requested to call upon the Said R. M. Walker and C. L. Bowden and upon William Ballentine and Harry Sisson, for a full and complete accounting of the amount of money received by them, or either of them as Custodians or otherwise, as rents for the use of said buildings and grounds and when received and for a full and complete report as to the condition of the buildings and by whom the buildings are now occupied."

It is not known if an accounting was ever had as authorized by said Joint Resolution Number 5. However, possibly due to the imminent transition of tribal government and the far-reaching provisions of the Curtis Act of 1898, and mounting intruder problems, the management and control of these buildings continued to plague the officials of the Cherokee Nation. On December 3, 1901, a committee of the Cherokee Council made a report on the condition of the Fort Gibson military buildings and property and stated that

. . . the Cherokee Nation appointed custodians to take charge of the buildings and grounds and to rent same and to collect rents. That non-citizens have occupied said buildings, some with consent and others without consent of the custodian, and some of the buildings are being occupied by citizens of the Cherokee Nation and every house that is habitable is now occupied by some person and the Cherokee Nation receives no rent from said buildings. The grounds are being used for gardens, orchards, nurseries, fields, etc. The buildings are in a ruinous condition and afford little protection from rain and snow and the roofs of the buildings are in a bad state of decay and the bodies of the buildings are rapidly going to waste and will be only a few years until these buildings will be of little value to the Cherokee Nation, and the people occupying them will be claiming them by some pretended right or on account of neglect of the Cherokee Nation.

The above Cherokee committee recommended that the Cherokee Nation

Powder Magazine at Fort Gibson (west view), built about 1845; now owned and maintained by Oklahoma Historical Society

add 320 acres of land to the town of Fort Gibson so as to include the buildings on the military reservation and to have the land surveyed and platted and laid out in town lots so that the buildings, as they then stood, would be on the lots, and that the lots and buildings be sold under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior. This committee report was incorporated in Council Bill No. 1, which was adopted on December 9, 1901, carrying out the recommendation of the committee by creating a Cherokee townsite commissioner to survey, plat, and sell the land and buildings. So far as available records show, no action was ever taken under the bill and no survey was ever made until the Department of the Interior surveyed and platted the present townsite of Fort Gibson in 1904.

The Old Barracks building after it was abandoned by the United States is known to have been used for various purposes. It was used by the Cherokee Nation in 1894 as a paymaster's office for the initial Cherokee Outlet or Strip payment, so-called, to the Cherokee citizens of the Illinois District. Old timers in the Fort Gibson area remember that Henry Q. Thompson

Fort Gibson Barracks, west view of the south half of this old barracks, now owned and maintained by the Oklahoma Historical Society

opened a subscription school in the Old Barracks building in 1895, and operated it for about one year. Then a Mr. Bristow held a subscription school in this old building in 1896. He was holding this school when Cherokee Bill (Crawford Goldsby) was hung at Fort Smith in March, 1896. His mother, Ellen Goldsby Lynch, a freedman citizen of the Nation, lived in a building that was formerly used by the Army as a school or library adjacent to the Old Barracks building. The funeral of Cherokee Bill was held in this home. Several of the students went to Ellen's home and viewed the body of Cherokee Bill. Among them were Mr. Robert S. Langston of Fort Gibson, who still resides in Fort Gibson and James M. Pierce, the father of Earl Boyd Pierce, now General Counsel for the Cherokee Nation and a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mrs. Adna Starr Benge, also, was one of the teachers in this subscription school.

In the year of 1897, Miss Lura A. Rowland, a graduate of the Arkansas School for the Blind with the approval of the Cherokee Nation, opened a private institution on behalf of the blind of the Indian Territory and main-

tained the same in the Old Barracks building and adjoining military buildings until June 30, 1913. The residence of the superintendent is the present residence of former District Judge Claude Garrett.

After the present town of Fort Gibson was platted in 1904, the lots (6 and 7 in Block 12) upon which the Old Barracks were located were sold to John J. Patrick and John Brown by the Cherokee Nation, on April 10, 1907, and in 1912, the north half of the Old Barracks was torn down and the material used to construct a residential building, the first occupant of which was the late Ran Lee. This fine stone residence is located immediately north of the present Barracks.

Title to the remaining half of the Old Barracks building passed to Herbert W. Hicks on December 29, 1909, who conveyed the same to Fred Carroll on March 2, 1934. Mr. Carroll removed the slate roof from the building exposing the interior to the weather and the elements. Mr. Carroll used this slate to roof his home at 501 N. 15th Street in Muskogee. Most of the heavy beams and timber and woodwork were in a fairly good condition when the Oklahoma Historical Society on May 4, 1934, acquired title from Mr. Carroll to the south 25 feet of Lot 6 and Lot 7 in Block 12 of the original townsite of Fort Gibson, upon which the south half of the Old Barracks is located. The consideration paid for this property was $400.00. The following recitation appears in the deed: "Consideration paid by Mrs. Garfield Buell of Muskogee and John G. Catlett of Tulsa in equal parts for the benefit and control of the Oklahoma Historical Society."

The Magazine or Powder House and the old Bake Oven, located across the street from the Old Barracks is on Lot 10 in Block 13 in the Town of Fort Gibson, and was sold by the Cherokee Nation to Thomas M. Buffington, former chief of the Cherokee Nation, on May 22, 1909.

The State acquired title to the Powder Magazine and Bake Oven (Lot 10, Block 13) by purchase from Thomas M. Buffington on December 26, 1934. This purchase was negotiated by Dr. Grant Foreman and the writer hereof for the benefit and control of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Oklahoma Historical Society, soon after acquiring the Old Barracks building, with donations from various people interested in restoring this old building, did some repair to the same and placed a new shingle roof on the building. However, these buildings required considerable more repairs than the Historical Society was able to do, and a committee representing the Oklahoma Historical Society consisting of Dr. Grant Foreman and Alex Todd, both of Muskogee, requested the writer hereof, who was Chairman of the Old Stockade Commission, which Commission was created by the Oklahoma Legislature to reconstruct the Old Fort Gibson Stockade, to make an application to the Works Projects Administration

for a work project to repair the Old Barracks, Powder House, and Bake Oven and to build a house to cover the Oven. The writer hereof as Chairman of the Old Stockade Commission, filed such application on September 12, 1935.

The application for this work project was finally approved on December 24, 1935, with the sponsor, the Old Fort Gibson Stockade Commission, contributing $796.46 for materials and the Works Projects Administration contributing $4,337.57 for labor and materials.

On January 8, 1936, a work order was issued by the Works Projects Administration and Mr. Walter G. Gibbons, prominent businessman of Muskogee, was appointed general superintendent, and Mr. George L. Brown of Fort Gibson as supervising architect. The remaining one-half of the Old Barracks building was fully repaired and restored to its original condition, except that on the lower floor, living quarters were constructed for a caretaker and a shingle roof instead of slate. A new frame building was constructed over the old Bake Oven and a new roof and door were placed on the Powder House or Magazine.

The Stockade Commission completed this project about the 15th day of May, 1936, and turned the same over to the Oklahoma Historical Society. The Oklahoma Historical Society appointed Mr. Hubbard Ross as custodian of these buildings, who only served for a short time. The Society then appointed Mrs. Floyd Hines as custodian and the buildings were kept open for public inspection for several years. But for the last 15 years or more, due to insufficient appropriations, the Oklahoma Historical Society has been unable to provide a custodian to keep these buildings open to the visiting public, but has kept the Barracks and Powder House in a fairly good state of repair. Several years ago, the house over the old Bake Oven was destroyed by fire. The Oven is still intact, but is standing out in the open.

The Legislature this last year (1971) commenced a rehabilitation program for the Old Barracks, under the direction of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Its agent, Mr. Mike Bureman, is in charge of the contract work being performed at the present time. We are hopeful that the Legislature will continue its interest to the end that these three buildings, which form so important a part of the history of Oklahoma, are fully restored.

KAW AND THE RAILROAD

*By Donovan L. Hofsommer**

By mid-morning a number of interested persons had begun to assemble at the depot of the Santa Fe Railway in Kaw, Oklahoma. At noon more than fifty people, including a small bus-load of students from the Kaw City Grade School, were milling around the station platform. A few minutes later the object of their collective interest hove into view. Down the track to the northwest came Extra 2759, the last southbound train to pass through Kaw. The date was Friday, December 10, 1971.[1]

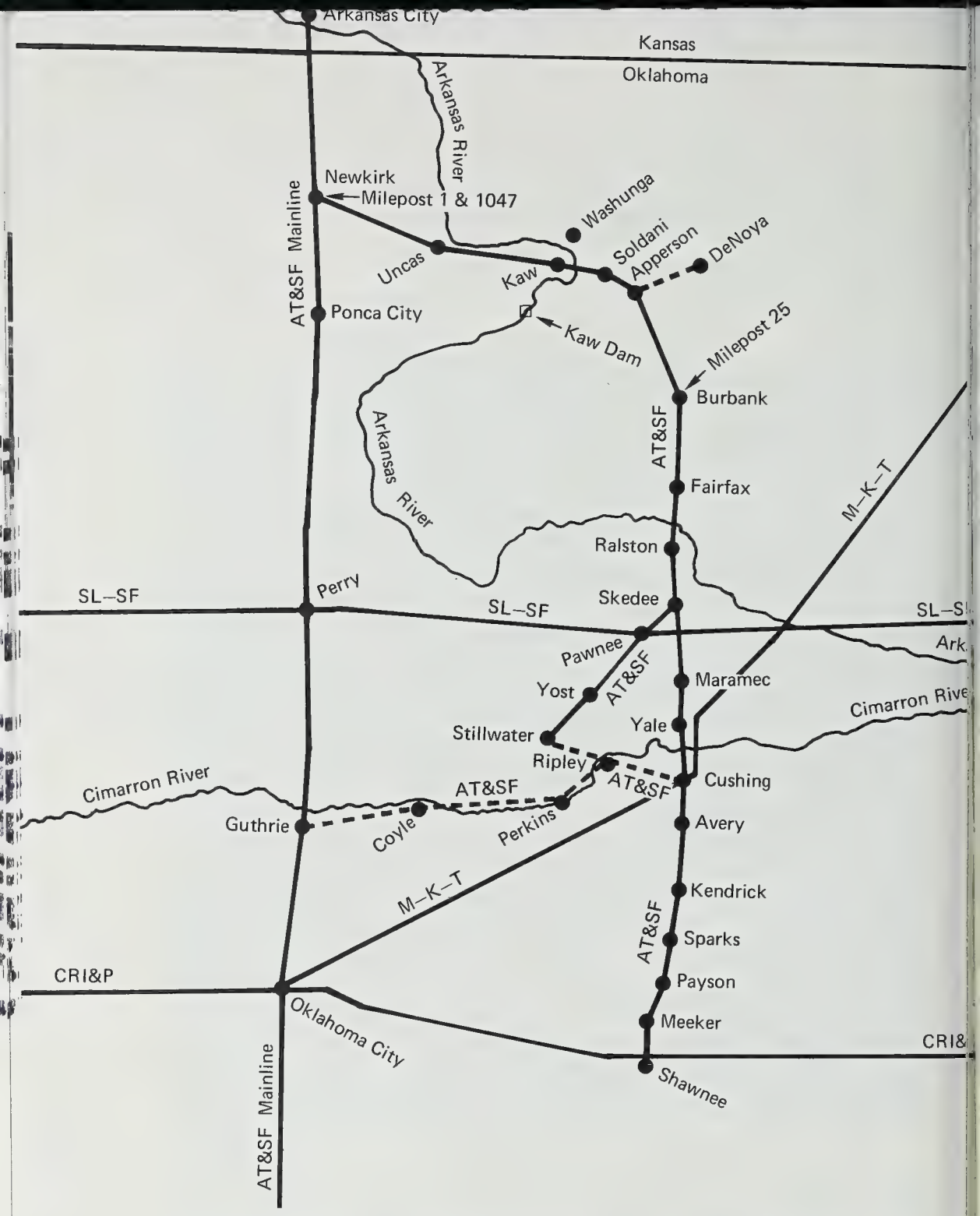
Sixty-eight and one-half years earlier the first train service to Kaw began with the arrival of the Eastern Oklahoma Railway Company. This predecessor of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway opened its 16½-mile road between Newkirk and Kaw on April 19, 1903. By December 1, of the same year, the Eastern Oklahoma Company extended its service from Kaw to Ralston, thereby opening two through lines of road: one which connected Newkirk and Guthrie via Skedee and Stillwater, and another from Newkirk to Shawnee via Skedee and Cushing. These lines were operated under lease to the Santa Fe from the commencement of operations until they were purchased by that road on June 20, 1907.[2]

In 1906, two trains each way per day served the burgeoning town of Kaw. The two southbound trains operated during the morning hours, while northbound service was offered in the afternoon. One set of trains performed only passenger duties while the remaining set afforded "mixed" passenger and freight service. At this time all trains through Kaw came from or were destined for Shawnee; connections for Stillwater and Guthrie were made at Skedee. A wye was built at Kaw in 1905 for the purpose of turning the locomotives which were assigned to local freight trains. Various ranchers and stock brokers used the AT&SF stockyards to load and unload

* The writer is a doctoral candidate in the Department of History, Oklahoma State University. His M.A. thesis was *A History of the Iowa Central Railway* and his dissertation deals with the history of the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad in Western Oklahoma.

1 *Ponca City News*, December 12, 1971; Train Register Book, AT&SF Station, Arkansas City, n.p.; the town is commonly known as Kaw City but the Post Office Department and the Santa Fe Railway have always referred to it as Kaw.

2 James Marshall, *Santa Fe: The Railroad That Built An Empire* (New York: Random House, 1945), pp. 420–423.



Map showing Kaw Station on the Santa Fe Railway: This map shows the line of the Santa Fe Railway to be abandoned (Mile Post 1 + 1047 to Mile Post 25), as well as the principal rivers and railroads of Central Oklahoma (*Drawn by D. L. Hofsommer, map not to scale*)

their shipments, and during the early years entire trainloads of livestock moved to and from Kaw. Shippers who leased land adjacent to sidings and spur tracks included Tulsa Sand and Gravel, Oilwell Supply Company, The White Swan Oil Distributors, Conklin Grain Company, and Kaw City Canning. The latter concern preserved string beans and tomatoes; they made their first carload shipment in 1928. Ingredients necessary for the distillation of illegal spirits and the containers for such liquor arrived by rail during prohibition and allegedly were consigned to the operator of a "still" located west of town. Less than one carload of items of a more mundane nature arrived on the local freights, while the passenger and mixed trains brought mail and express.[3]

Kaw's salad days came with the oil boom that resulted from the discovery of the Whizzbang Field. During those halycon years, local freight trains operated daily between Kaw and the loading stations at Burbank, Apperson, and De Noya. Regular train service through Kaw in 1936 was much the same as it had been three decades earlier. There were still two trains in each direction on roughly the same daylight schedule. The passenger train, advertised by this time as a "Motor," plied the line daily between Newkirk and Shawnee. Rather than servicing the direct route between the two communities, these passenger trains used the more circuitous line through Stillwater and Ripley. Mixed train service was provided daily (except Sunday) between Newkirk and Cushing over the same wandering pathway. However, local freight trains and the numerous "extras" which had characterized traffic on the line for many years began to disappear. The movement of livestock was severely curtailed as marketing conditions changed and highway trucks cut deeply into this traditional source of revenue. Activity in the Whizzbang Oil Field likewise diminished, and the Santa Fe abandoned the short but important De Noya Branch on March 26, 1939. By 1941 the wye at Kaw was dismantled. Traffic patterns remained nearly constant through the war years, but the automobile increasingly abrogated local passenger traffic. Mixed train service disappeared before 1950 and all regular passenger train service through Kaw ended on November 10, 1956, with the discontinuance of trains 51 and 52. Less-than-carload traffic was shunted from the Santa Fe's rail operation to its motorway, and local carload shipments decreased yearly. From 1966, one train each way provided daily (except Saturday and Sunday) service.[4]

[3] *The Official Guide of the Railways*, 38th Year, No. 10 (March, 1906), p. 777; Blueprint station map for Kaw, Oklahoma, issued by the Office of the Chief Engineer, AT&SF Railway, June 30, 1916 (amended); Floyd I. Reisch, AT&SF Track Supervisor, Ponca City, Oklahoma, personal interview with the writer, October 25, 1971; Incidental File, AT&SF Station, Kaw, Oklahoma.

Santa Fe Railway Station at Kaw, Oklahoma: The railway water tank is seen in the background; the depot was closed on December 10, 1971, when train service over the AT&SF line ended *(Photo by D. L. Hofsommer)*

On this line the Arkansas River was a traditional source of difficulty whenever its banks were swollen with the runoff of spring thaws or from sudden Oklahoma thunder showers. For some time there had been pressure to control the troublesome waters of this stream. To this end, the United States Army Corps of Engineers was authorized, in the late 1960's, to build a dam near but downstream from Kaw. The engineers announced that when completed, the dam would impound waters of the river for approximately twenty-five miles, and create a lake of perhaps 53,500 acres. The villages of Kaw, Uncas, and Washunga, along with highways, public utilities, and a substantial portion of Santa Fe right-of-way would thereby be inundated. There was sufficient need for continued north-south rail service to Burbank, Cushing, Stillwater, and numerous smaller communities along the Santa Fe line south of Kaw. The government and the railroad had two options. The Corps of Engineers could authorize the funding

[4] Floyd I. Reisch, AT&SF Track Supervisor, Ponca City, Oklahoma, personal interview with the writer, October 25, 1971 and November 12, 1971; *The Official Guide of the Railways*, 69th Year, No. 5 (October, 1936), pp. 910–911; Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 436–437; *The Official Guide of the Railways*, 83rd Year, No. 6 (November, 1950), p. 969; *Stillwater Daily News-Press*, November 11, 1956; Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket No. 26495, "Return to Questionnaire," March 12, 1971, p. 4.

of a new line of road around and across Kaw Lake and thereby replace the old line, which would allow for the retention of both local and through service; or, the railroad could petition the Interstate Commerce Commission for permission to abandon the affected mileage and accept a cash settlement from the government. The AT&SF chose the latter course.[5]

On January 18, 1971, attorneys for the Santa Fe filed an application with the regulatory agency for permission to abandon its trackage "from Mile Post 1 plus 1047 feet at Newkirk, Kay County, to Mile Post 25 at Burbank, Osage County, a total of approximately 23.8 miles. . . ."[6] The Commerce Commission was advised that replacement of the line to be inundated would require the construction of a new 11.2 mile railroad which in 1968 had been estimated at a cost to the government of $9,100,000. The Santa Fe contended that the "expenditure of such a large sum of money to keep the line in service is not warranted, since the small amount of traffic originating and terminating on the line will not justify its continued operation, and there is no reasonable prospect for any increase in volume."[7]

According to Santa Fe estimates, the approximate population of the territory served by the line was 500, a figure that probably would decrease because people currently living in the area would be dislocated by the flooding caused by the construction of Kaw Dam. Service to four stations on the railroad would be discontinued if the petition were granted. These stations were: Uncas, non-agency, Mile Post 11.6, population 100; Kaw, agency, Mile Post 17.4, population 457; Soldani, non-agency, Mile Post 19.5, no population; Apperson, non-agency, Mile Post 21.1, population 50.

No important industries were located at any of these stations. Shipments of grain constituted the outbound business at Uncas and Kaw. Until recently Soldani contributed significant revenues from the shipment of livestock, but that traffic has subsequently gone to over-the-road truckers. The bulk of the line's traffic neither originated nor terminated on the segment which the Santa Fe sought to abandon. Indeed, less than two per cent of the cars handled on the line between 1968 and 1970 could be classified as local. In 1970, there were sixty-two outbound cars from the affected stations, and eleven inbound loads. For handling these shipments the railroad garnered only $34,434.00 in revenue. Abandonment was not sought for the trackage south of Burbank, and the Santa Fe proposed to handle regular

[5] Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket No. 26495, Statement of Mr. Myron W. De Geer, Chief of Engineering Division, Tulsa District, United States Army Corps of Engineers, May 11, 1971, pp. 1–2.

[6] Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket No. 26495, "Application," January 18, 1971, p. 1.

[7] *Ibid.*

tonnage on other of its lines, and by trackage rights over the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad between Oklahoma City and Shawnee. Thus the company calculated that it would retain all of the overhead traffic—more than 98 per cent of the total.[8]

Petitions for the abandonment of branch lines normally involve operations in which maintenance standards have fallen to unbearably low levels. Not so with this petition. The main track of the line was laid with ninety-pound (to the yard) rail except for one mile of one-hundred-ten-pound replacement rail. The curves were superelevated, the ballast was good to adequate, the alignment good, and the bridges were remarkably sturdy and well maintained. Speed over the line between Newkirk and Burbank was restricted to thirty miles per hour, but engineers who knew the route safely operated their trains at speeds in excess of the company limits. The Santa Fe judged the salvage value of the line at $185,083 and estimated the cost of removal at $176,869, leaving a net salvage profit of $8,314. If the I.C.C. granted abandonment, the government agreed to compensate the railroad for its properties in the amount of $4,500,592. Should the Commerce Commission deny the request, the government would have to provide for the construction of a new line of road which would cost substantially in excess of $9,100,000 (the figure of 1968). Both the Corps of Engineers and the Santa Fe hoped for a favorable decision from the I.C.C.[9]

Those who protested the proposed abandonment included the Osage County Farm Bureau, Fairfax School Board 25, Fairfax Chamber of Commerce, Kay County Farm Bureau, and various railway labor organizations. The Interstate Commerce Commission, by order entered on April 9, 1971, assigned the matter for handling under a modified procedure, and advised the protestants that they would be required to file verified statements before June 18, 1971. No filings were presented to the I.C.C. by that date; thus the matter was decided without formal participation on the part of the protestants. On August 31, Review Board Number Five of the Interstate Commerce Commission, meeting in Washington, D.C., gave permission to abandon the 23.8 miles of trackage between Newkirk and Burbank. The Commission called attention to the fact that less than two per cent of the

[8] Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket No. 26495, "Return to Questionnaire," pp. 5–6; Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket No. 26495, Statement of Mr. E. M. Mills, Manager of Statistics, Accounting Department, AT&SF Railway, May 14, 1971, pp. 1–2, and Exhibit 4–A.

[9] Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket No. 26495, "Return to Questionnaire," p. 3; The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, Eastern Lines, Middle Division, "Time Table No. 19," (July 12, 1971), p. 16; Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket No. 26495, "Return to Questionnaire," pp. 3–4; Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket No. 26495, "Statement of Mr. Myron W. De Geer," pp. 1–2.

Station Agent Phyllis Rainbolt and Track Supervisor Floyd I. Reisch at Kaw Station in 1971: Station Agent Rainbolt asks the dispatcher at Newton, Kansas, for a line-up of trains to give Track Supervisor Reisch, on December 10, 1971 (*Photo by D. L. Hofsommer*)

line's traffic was "local" in nature, and concluded that relocation of the line would mean the wasting of public monies. The Commission announced that abandonment could occur anytime after October 18, provided the Santa Fe gave the public a ten day notice. That notice was delayed until December 1, 1971.[10]

At 10:00 a.m. on December 10, the crew assigned to take the last train south over the line through Kaw gathered at the Santa Fe yards in Arkansas City, Kansas. Conductor R. A. Coffman discovered that the train's normal twenty-five car consist was enlarged by two additional cabooses and wondered if he would be handling passengers on that last trip. Meanwhile, Engineer J. J. Sherman brought a brace of locomotives from the engine-

[10] Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket No. 26495, "Certificate and Order," August 31, 1971, pp. 1–2.

The last southbound AT&SF train stops at Kaw: John Brown, eighty years old, who rode the first train into Kaw in 1903, is seen on the platform of the locomotive *(Photo by D. L. Hofsommer)*

house, and soon Brakemen D. W. Ingels and L. B. Canning had the train together. Extra 2759 departed from its terminal at 10:40 a.m. and hurried down the mainline. At 11:29 a.m. the last train passed Newkirk, switched to the rails of the condemned line, and rumbled down into the valley of the Arkansas River. Thirty minutes later the train rounded a curve and the Kaw depot came into sight. There were no cars in the train for Kaw and there were no cars on the sidings to be picked up. Yet the train-order signal was red and the train was obliged to stop.[11]

Local citizens were especially conscious of the train's final passing, for in truth it was an important last chapter in the demise of their community. Indeed, after the depot was finally closed in the afternoon, the only business establishments yet open were the grain elevator, a tavern, and a service station. The other businesses either were closed forever or had made plans to move to "new" Kaw, located on a predominant hill some two miles away. Efforts to save the depot by moving it to a location in the new town were under way, but, fearing the worst, Mayor Fred Munson accepted the depot safe as an interim or consolation prize. Numerous older citizens of Kaw convinced Agent Phyllis Rainbolt to ask the railroad for

[11] Train Register Book, AT&SF Station, Cushing, Oklahoma, n.p.; Train Register Book, AT&SF Station, Arkansas City, Kansas, n.p.; Train Sheet, AT&SF Station, Newkirk, Oklahoma, n.p.

permission to take a short sentimental ride on the last train. Additionally, there was a special appeal to secure passage for John Brown, an eighty-year-old man who had ridden the first train into Kaw in 1903. However, the railroad rejected all requests and only agreed to stop the train at the Kaw depot for the purpose of allowing interested parties to take photographs. John Brown was on hand when the train arrived and was allowed to board the locomotive long enough to have his picture taken by a photographer from the *Ponca City News*. Also in the crowd were Mr. Jack Kneedler and Mrs. W. T. Conklin, both of whom had witnessed the arrival of the first train in Kaw, and Mr. Laverne M. Cline, who had seen the same train leave Newkirk for the first trip to Kaw.[12]

After seven or eight minutes, the train slowly moved by the station and then stopped briefly again so that pictures of the caboose could be taken. Moments later, at 12:15 p.m., Engineer Sherman opened the throttle and the train, seemingly impatient with its delay at Kaw, quickly gathered momentum.[13] Soon the locomotives reached the curve to the left and passed onto the long five-span bridge over the Arkansas River. Torn from its resting place by the suction of the passing train, a lone tumbleweed vainly chased after the rapidly disappearing caboose. Santa Fe workmen began immediately to close down the station. In the distance the energetic efforts of the two locomotives could be heard as they labored to lift their train out of the Arkansas River Valley. Then it was quiet in Kaw.

APPENDIX

On January 23, 1972, a most unusual postscript was added to the history of the railroad at Kaw. Several miles away at Guthrie, on the mainline, a freight train derailed that day. Among the many trains delayed by this accident was Amtrack #16, the northbound *Texas Chief*. Wrecking crews feared that the roadway would not be cleared for another twelve hours so Santa Fe officials were confronted with the problem of detouring the streamliner around the pileup. Alter-

[12] *Tulsa Daily World*, December 7, 1971; *The Ponca City News*, December 10, 1971; *ibid.*, December 12, 1971; The depot was subsequently deeded to the town. It is to be moved to a location near the municipal building in "new" Kaw and will be used as a museum featuring the history of the old village. *Tulsa Daily World*, January 26, 1972; The consist of the last southbound train included 9 loads, 11 empties, 1160 tons. Train Register Book, AT&SF Station, Arkansas City, Kansas, n.p.

[13] Extra 2759 was the last southbound movement; the final northbound train sped through Kaw about fifteen hours later. That train was Extra 2652 which passed Burbank at 2:30 a.m., Kaw at 3:00 a.m., and arrived in Newkirk at 3:30 a.m., December 11. It carried 3 loads and 3 empties, amounting to 355 tons. The crew consisted of Conductor Jule W. Richardson, Engineer B. D. Roberts, and Brakemen D. C. Demaree and N. J. Hines. Train Register Book, AT&SF Station, Arkansas City, n.p.—See *Appendix* for Run of the *Texas Chief* in 1972, at end of this article.

nate options were considered and it was finally agreed to detour by way of Kaw! Thus maintenance men were called to replace two rails at Newkirk and two rails at Burbank—removed in December to consummate a symbolic or legal abandonment. Meanwhile, the eight-car passenger train was routed from Oklahoma City to Shawnee over the Rock Island. Operated as Extra 315, the train was handled by Conductor C. T. Gage, Engineer E. R. Hulse, and Road Foreman of Engines Cliff Smith. By 11:00 p.m., passengers were riding over the rails of a supposed ghost railroad and sleepy local residents stared in disbelief at the passing train. Perhaps nobody was more surprised than the rancher who had strung wire fencing across the track of the "abandoned" right-of-way. The train regained the mainline at Newkirk shortly after midnight. Resurrection was, however, short-lived as the rails were again removed at Newkirk and Burbank.—Ref.—Train Register Book, AT&SF Station, Shawnee, Oklahoma, n.p.; Train Register Book, AT&SF Station, Arkansas City, Kansas, n.p.)

THE DIARY OF MRS. ANNA S. WOOD: TRIP TO THE OPENING OF THE CHEROKEE OUTLET IN 1893

By H. D. Ragland

The diary kept by Mrs. Anna S. Wood of Cherokee, Oklahoma, tells of the trip that she and her son, Clarence E. Wood, made to the Cherokee Outlet at the time of the Opening on September 16, 1893. A month later, they secured claims of land in the Outlet, a part of a section near the little settlement of Erwin in present Alfalfa County, Oklahoma.[1]

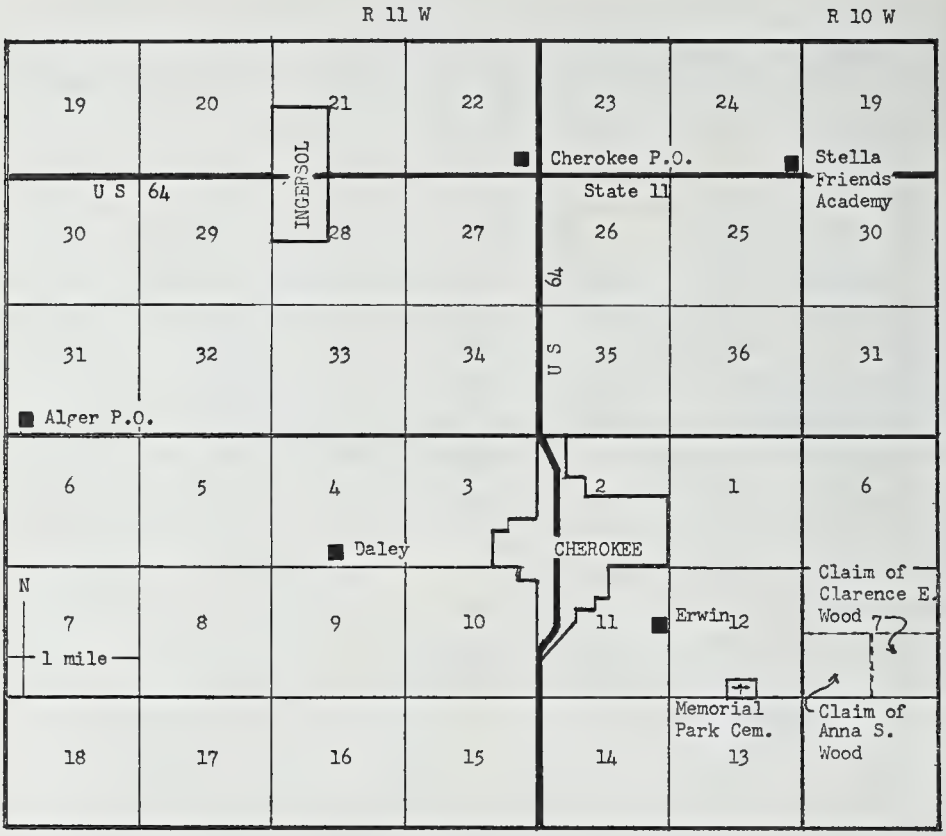
Mrs. Anna S. Wood (formerly Anna S. Prouty), an early day school teacher, was born at Poultney, Vermont, September 1, 1844, where she spent her girlhood days and attended school at the Poultney Academy. In 1861, she was married to James Wood who was reported as "Missing in Action" during the Civil War. They had one son, Clarence E. Wood. She died January 1, 1926, at Bushyhood, Oklahoma. Her funeral services were conducted in the Methodist Church, Cherokee, Oklahoma, and she was buried in the Memorial Park Cemetery, Alfalfa County, Oklahoma.

In 1871, Mrs. Wood and her son, with a brother and his wife, moved to Wisconsin where she lived a few years, then moved westward and settled in Washington County, Kansas. She taught school in several Kansas towns and served two terms as County Superintendent of Finney County, Kansas. She moved to Denver, Colorado, from Kansas, where she was living at the time that she and her son made the trip to the Cherokee Outlet opening in 1893.

In 1896, she moved from her claim to Erwin and with her son established a mercantile business. She and the other business establishments moved to Cherokee which was laid out in 1901, and worked in the post office of which her son was the postmaster.[1a] She soon succeeded her son as postmaster of Cherokee and served in that capacity for several years.

[1] The little town of Erwin was located just southeast of Cherokee. Post offices were established in both places in 1894: at Cherokee, on February 7, with Henry C. Arndt as Postmaster; and at Erwin on June 11, with John F. Gamble as Postmaster. Mail to Erwin was discontinued in 1901, and sent to Cherokee.—See George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952), pp. 38–104.

[1a] Another small town in old Woods County was Alger, about five miles northwest of Erwin. The post office at Alger was opened on June 18, 1898, with William H. Millspaugh as postmaster. Mail to both Alger and Erwin was discontinued on March 16, 1901. At this time, a townsite was platted for the town of Cherokee two miles south of its original location in Woods County, Oklahoma Territory. On March 30, 1901, the mail from Alger and Erwin



Area map of Cherokee, present Alfalfa County, Oklahoma: The platted area is a part of four adjoining townships with sections numbered, in Alfalfa County, formerly a part of old Woods County in Oklahoma Territory (1890–1907). The adjoining claims (160 acres each) of Anna S. Wood and Clarence E. Wood are shown in the South ½, Section 7, Township 26 North, Range 10 West. Historical places within the area are shown in old Woods County in Territorial days (*Map platted by H. D. Ragland*)

Clarence E. Wood (often referred to in the diary as "C"), a graduate of both the Kansas State Agricultural College and the University of Kansas, settled a claim adjoining that of his mother to the east. In 1896, he moved to Erwin with his mother and succeeded John Wood (no relation) as postmaster of the town. Clarence E. Wood founded and became editor of

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was sent to Cherokee which became an important center on its new townsite. Hot competition arose among the citizens of the three towns for appointment as postmaster of Cherokee, and Clarence E. Wood won the appointment.

Mrs. Anna S. Wood

The Orient which was moved to Cherokee and became the town's first newspaper. Prior to this with his degree in journalism from Kansas University, he worked on *The Denver Republican*, a leading newspaper of Denver, Colorado. He became involved in local politics of old Woods County, Oklahoma Territory, and was elected to and served a term in the Oklahoma Territorial legislature meeting at Guthrie in 1905.

The original copy of the diary was in the possession of Mrs. Lillian Blue of Cherokee, Oklahoma, as of January 29, 1965. Mrs. Blue, a daughter of Clarence E. Wood and one of the oldest citizens of Cherokee, furnished some of the information contained in the annotations. The diary follows here:

A Trip from Denver, Colorado to the Cherokee Outlet, Indian Territory, 1893

NOTES BY THE WAY

Friday, September 1st, 1893

Well once more we are on the road bound for the promised land, *viz.*, "The Strip."

We left Denver this morning at 7 o'clock, Clarence, myself, and our friends

Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Sankey, and their three daughters, Flora, aged fifteen, Edith, thirteen and May, twelve.

We are going to make the trip, four hundred miles, in our covered wagon and we expect to make it in fifteen days for the gateway of the promised land is to be lifted the sixteenth of September and we want to be in at the rush. We traveled but twenty-two miles today on account of our horses being fresh on the road and we do not like to hurry them at first. As we passed slowly out from the Queen City[2] of the West we nodded a farewell to each passing car [street] and waved a last fond adieu to the smiling conductors and motormen, little May standing up on the seat and putting her head out through the opening at the top of our canvas cover. As we passed the last Montclair car we looked at each other and thought, "How long will it be before we see another street car or evidence of Civilization?"

Toward noon we began to bethink ourselves about water and stopping for dinner. We reached a small wayside station and Mr. Sankey and Clarence had both to climb the tank pipe to get water. In their efforts Clarence got a sitz-bath and Mr. Sankey a shower bath but as it was all done in behalf of the common good we were forsooth restrained from laughing at their forlorn condition. Clarence's first "captive of his bow and spear" or otherwise his double barrelled shot gun was a snipe which the little girls prepared for cooking for supper. We went into camp at six o'clock having traveled about twenty-two miles.

Saturday, Sept. 2nd

Broke camp at 6:30. Four men all bound for Cherokee came up in a wagon and traveled with us all day. We got butter and milk from a widow who had lived on the range twenty-seven years and knew everybody in the state, nearly. She had a fine ranche took us out to her milk house where she gave us a peep at her shining rows of milk pans filled with rich yellow cream. We drank all the milk we wanted, bought our butter, and then she took us out to her garden and pulled a great head of cabbage and made us a present of it. Then we started on to Byers our next station. Mrs. Sankey forgot where she was and waved her hand to some one on the depot platform that proved to be a susceptible Mexican who followed us through the town when we made our purchases and ogled us with amorous glances, but we finally left him in the lurch. Clarence shot two rabbits today and we had them dressed and cooked for supper. We traveled twenty-seven miles today and went into camp at or near the three ring ranche.

Sunday, Sept. 3rd

We broke camp at six o'clock. Sabbath dawned lovely and bright. We all spoke of the day and wished we could be in church but could not. During the day we passed through a mile or two of sand so deep that we all walked, came

[2] Denver, Colorado.

to a place in the timber skirting the creek where there was an old table standing under a tree ready for our lunch and a well dug in the sand where we stopped to drink. And wished that we had stopped there the night before and decided that we would stop there on our return. Browsing among the trees was a gentle motherly old cow that did not refuse Mrs. Sankey's appeal for milk but as she only had about three spoonfuls in reserve we were not much benefitted by her kind hospitality. We traveled about twenty-four miles today and at night stopped at a station house that was kept by a white section foreman with a gang of colored men to care for his section of railroad in the evening after we had built our campfire they came over and seated themselves around it and sang for us until nine o'clock.

Monday, Sept. 4th

We broke camp about six-thirty and traveled twenty-five miles, passed through Limon where we parted with the old R.I.R.R. and started down the U.P.R.R. went into camp at six about ten miles from Hugo. Clarence killed two rabbits and Mr. S. one. C. Broke——[?]

Tuesday, Sept. 5th '93

Broke camp about 6:30. Started for Hugo the largest town on this R.R. east of Denver in Col. Mrs. S. & I bought veils to protect our eyes from the hot glare of the sun and we bought supplies for we are told that this is the only place for a hundred miles where we can get anything to eat and we nearly bought this place out. Bought every bit of pork in any shape and it consisted of hocks and ribs of home cured pork. We bought bread for the first time, and we were enabled to buy milk again. As it came near night Clarence killed two jack rabbits, the first ones. We settled, salted one down and cooked the other. We do not want to get out of meat entirely. S. broke the butter jar and I scolded and was sorry afterward. And we lost the big kettle and do not know what to cook potatoes in.

Sept. 6th, Wed. '93

Started about 6:30, came to Anson where we bought bread again. We ate bread and milk for dinner. We lost the little pillow and broke the lantern.

Thursday, Sept. 7th '93

We started this morning at 6 o'clock a half an hour earlier than usual, the men got us to promise last night that we would not stop to wash the dishes, but this morning it took so long to care for the horses that Mrs. S. stole a march on them and when we were all in the wagon ready to start or had started she told us. We drove until 9 o'clock and then came to Kit Carson, a town with one store. It has been a good town, but the cattle having been removed from the range it is nearly dead. We got a globe for our lantern and hose for May.

Came on to Eureka ranche, a lovely place owned by Bartells of Denver. It

had many lovely ponds and good feed, a nice looking house and the first piece of alfalfa we had seen since we left the vicinity of Denver. As the house was a half mile or more away from the road we did not go after any water, but we had not gone five miles before we met a man who told us we could not get water for thirty miles. We drove as fast and as far as we could and at sundown came in sight of what appeared to be a house about two miles off near the river. We struck across the prairie, Mr. S. driving and C. with a pail to get water somewhere. When we drove up to the place we found what we had thought to be a house was only a hay stack but it had a new board shanty beside of it, and there stood C. talking to a man who made us welcome and as the wind had commenced to blow furiously we were very glad to accept of his hospitality.

We got our supper on his stove, and Edith and May went to sleep on his bed until we could get our tent ready which we did with all speed. The men assisted us in making our beds or everything would have been blown away. We had to hold the goods down to keep them from blowing away. It has been a hard experience but as we know that no one is to blame about it, we make the best of it, and Mrs. S. and I are writing and reading in our tent with a bottle of camphor on the table between us. We take a sniff occasionally to keep our spirits up. C. did not kill any game today, but we had the usual disaster—another broken glass [jelly]. As it was the seventh one and the seventh day since we started we are even now.

Sept. 8th Friday Sheriden Lake

Got up at 4 o'clock and went into the shanty and baked nine pans of biscuits and cooked cabbage and rabbit for luncheon, invited the ranchman to breakfast with us. Started at seven o'clock, drove 15 miles, reached a school house with the door wide open we entered, found the maps, charts, books, slates and other apparatus all out and we decided that school must be in session and the teachers and pupils had gone to dinner so we took possession and ate our dinner. Before we were through the teacher and three pupils came. They were all brothers and sisters and the elder brother was their teacher had lived there six years. Edith recited for them. After dinner drove to Sheriden Lake twelve miles bought supplies and got supper. While we were cooking a crowd of smart alecks came up and tried to talk but we were too busy to talk so they amused themselves by firing bullets through their hats until I requested them to stop as it frightened the children. We find that the only accident today was smashing the water pail and cracking the enamel on my kettel.

Sat., Sept 9th '93 Horse Creek

We broke camp this a.m. at 5 o'clock made a forced march owing to the fact that there was no water on the road to Coolidge a distance of about fifty miles except about half way there was a crek called Horse Creek where there was plenty of water. We made a forced march to it, got there about 3 o'clock p.m. having made about thirty miles. On the way C thought we had lost his tobacco

and jumped out and walked at least two miles and back when we found it under the seat. Our breakage today was one glass top to our coffee can.

We camped at Horse Creek and May and Edith went in wading and Mrs. S. gathered shells. stayed all day and Mrs. S. and I sewed and rested in the tent.

Sun. Sept. 10th '93 Coolidge

We broke camp this morning at six o'clock. Stopped for lunch about 10 miles NW of Coolidge, Kan. It seemed as though the very air was an old acquaintance and fields of grain began to meet the eye showing that we were nearing a different state than the one we were passing through. About two o'clock we passed the state line. Mr. S. sprang from the wagon and danced and waved his hat and finished the performance by turning a summersault. We came into Coolidge about 8 o'clock. We got bread and butter. We enjoyed the butter even if it was not very good, for we had been without for two or three days having been unable to buy but once in passing the state [line]. They need some good enterprising Yankee woman to come in and teach them to make butter. The little girls walked and gathered mock melons. We drove about 25 miles. Went into Camp on a good place and Mr. S. had a word battle with a man who lived near —who did not want us to camp near him. Clarence shot a snipe, the first in several days.

Monday, Sept. 11th, Kendal Kan

Rose at 5 o'clock, started at 7 o'clock. Traveled 21 miles but it was over the worst road since we left Denver. While we were getting our breakfast a lot of chickens came to our wagon and Mrs. S. sat under the wagon and coaxed them to her and threw bits of cracker to them until she got them close enough and then she caught two of them and we had a nice roast and will have the other tomorrow. C shot a jack rabbit and had them broiled for supper. We lost the silver fork.

Tuesday, Sept. 12 Lakin (east)

Started at 7 o'clock. Came over very poor roads. Several teams all bound for the Strip [Outlet] passed us. Mrs. S. killed the chicken at Kendal. We bought nice milk and eggs there, also got butter at Lakin as we passed through. Got no milk today. Came very late to camp and did not cook much supper, just eggs, beans, bread and butter and coffee and tea.

Camp at Bigley's & Weeks, Wed., Sept. 13 '93

Arrived in C. C. [Garden City] at 5 o'clock this afternoon. Stopped at Sister Hoffman's for melons.[3]

Camp near Doty's grove—Garden City, Thursday, Sept. 14 '93

Rose early at Emma's

[3] A teacher friend.

Camp at Ingalls, Friday Sept. 15th '93

Left Ingalls 7:30 this a.m. reached Cimarron at 10 o'clock. Went in a store to get some butter. Saw two ladies sitting in there, one had a Western School Journal. By that knew she was a teacher. She said Miss Hoapper was teaching in Gray Co. Was glad to see her.

Today found a turtle and brought it to the wagon to give May. She screamed and nearly went into spasms, so we threw it away.

Clarence drove past a man with several horses and he bantered C. for a trade. C. jumped out and went over to him and [?] or in less than ten minutes he came back riding a young horse having tràded his watch for it. May named her Daisy.

Camp near Wright, Sunday Sept. 17 '93

Left our camp east of Dodge at 7:30 a.m. Drove through Dodge just as people were going to church. Felt rather mean but we knew the need and so did our Father. Had not been very long on the way this p.m. when Daisy went on one side of a telegraph post and our wagon went the other. Result, a broken wagon bow and a wagon cover torn from end to end. We fastened it up the best we could and went on. As we reached Wright there came up a black cloud that threatened a severe storm but it scarcely settled the dust. Went into camp about 2 miles east of Wright. Got nice milk—lady would not take pay for it.

Camp two miles east of Offerle, Monday, Sept. 18th '93

Today is father's birthday. Wonder if he thinks of it. If it had been so I could I should have sent him a reminder. We spent the morning in an attempt to mend our wagon cover and made it quite presentable. Mrs. S. killed Emma's turkey and dressed it. Had a little sprinkle of rain. C. got jew bacon at Offerle as we did not have the turkey ready.

Camp near Garfield 5 miles west, Tuesday, Sept. 19th '93

Today is Sister Jennie's birthday.[4] Wonder if she is thinking of me. We broke camp about nine o'clock. Mr. S. walked into Kinsley and we drove in about noon. Did not see anyone we knew on the road. C. killed a prairie chicken and a big bull snake. Camped near Garfield about 5 miles west. A group of half clad little children came to our tent.

Camp near Pawnee Rock, Wed. Sept 20th

We broke camp about 8 o'clock. Drove into Garfield about 10 o'clock and into Larned about 3 o'clock p.m. Traveled on to about three miles west of Pawnee Rock where C. killed a jack rabbit, the first one for more than a week. We decided to camp near a fine grove apparently surrounding a fine residence. We drove about a mile and found no house so turned aside and came back to

[4] A younger sister of Mrs. Wood who lived in Vermont.

near the place where we turned in. Found a place to water and to get milk. The man told us to go near the school house about ¼ of a mile away where we could get food feed and water. We did so and Clarence commenced to dress the rabbit and Edith and I to unload the wagon, Mr. S. to build a fire. In about two minutes we heard an outcry and turned and saw Mr. S. fighting the fire he had just started. We ran to his assistance but of no use. The grass was dry and thick, the wind high and strong and although we all worked like firemen, P. and I trying to backfire it, it got away from us and went roaring off down toward the R.R. We divided and one party took one side and the other another. We fought it for nearly twenty minutes before help came, then the man who had sent us here came with his boy and soon a lady came on horseback and she rode off for help and soon another man and boy came also a lady carrying a little child.

Camp four miles east of Great Bend (Walnut), Thursday, 21st Sept '93

Left camp at 8 o'clock. Drove to Pawnee Rock famed in song and story. Reached there about nine a.m. Dundee at eleven and Great Bend at four p.m. Did not stop in town but drove on to Walnut Creek where we went into camp at six. Killed no game today, but found roasting ears and the little girls are much pleased with them. Roasted them for supper.

Camp one mile east of Ellinwood, Friday, Sept. 22

As our camp on the Walnut was so good we did not break camp until about ten o'clock. C. went out hunting and brought in two ducks and reported that there was a nice lot of walnuts down there so when the little girls came up with their aprons full of wild grapes they all went back and gathered 2 market baskets full. Mr. S. dressed the ducks, and we started on to Ellinwood where we went into camp. The men started into town and we got out our books and work. Presently a couple of covered wagons came up and stopped to water and I heard a familiar squeaking voice say, "I am going to stop to water" and lo there was old Dan Stauffer[5] of Terry, and his two sons and two daughters and all their household lares and penates going to Harvey Co. We had little visit and Barbars milked a cow for us, showed the little girls her pet prairie dogs and colt, then they went on. Soon the men came back and we had lunch then Mr. S. paddied and bridled Daisy and started for a job plastering 7 miles across the river. His outfit was comical. The red quilt strapped on with a rope [picket], the ends of which C. looped up for stirrups. He tied them rather short and Mr. S. had to bend his legs until his knees stuck up and away he went at a bump. Then C. harnessed up and we struck out again at about 3 o'clock. Went across the river and went into camp to wait for Sankey to report. About 4 o'clock he returned and said that he did not see the man to decide but would see him in the morning. so we hitched up and went across the river again, and traveled a mile east of town and went into camp for the night.

[5] A teacher friend.

Camp ½ mile west of Alden (Vacant House), Sat. Sept. 23rd

When we woke this morning we found it raining and decided not to wait for S. to see the man, so we hurried off toward Hutchinson. Could not get much to eat. And the wind was blowing so hard that we could not build a fire and our dinner consisted of corn stewed [cold]. The wind brought up a rain and it just poured on us for two or three hours. Toward the last, we decided to stop at a vacant house and as we stopped another man came up. We found water, but did not go into the house but ate in the wagon. Did not get wet in the wagon of tent. The little girls ate walnuts all day. When morning broke, we found we were near Alden. C. and S. rustled cabbage and beets tonight.

Camp at Nickerson, Sunday, Sept. 24

When day broke we found it cloudy but not raining so we started on passed Alden and came to Sterling where Edith bought the bread with the ten cents that Mr. D. gave her. Had a nice lot of sweet potatoes for dinner and supper. Came on to Nickerson and camped near the R.R. track. It did not rain.

On knoll in pasture Oct 10th (Tuesday)
Camp Ten miles S.E. Hutchinson

Last night just before going to bed we decided to strike the road again so rose bright and early. Gathered my effects into one room and prepared to pack. Mrs. S. got breakfast. After breakfast, took Flora Edith and May to the school supts office for ex. so they could enter school when they got their books. Came home finished packing put on my old traveling uniform, blue dress (gingham) blue hat red tie. Ate dinner with Mrs. S. and children. Mr. S. had gone to the country to do some plastering.

After dinner C. and I went up to see Mr. Ryther's[6] folks and say good bye. They felt very bad about our leaving. Would not say good bye but said they would see us again in a month. Came to leave I felt bad too. Left my flat iron with Mrs. Ryther who gave me milk, jelly and sweet potatoes. We then went back to Mrs. S. bade them all good bye and climbed in the wagon to start out again in search of health and wealth. Left gun case with Mrs. Harrison[7] got some groceries and oil. She said her husband was in Pond City. And wanted us to see him when we got there. Drove ten miles with out adventure and went into camp about 7 o'clock p.m. about ten miles S.E. of Hutchinson, ate supper, prepared our beds. C. had filled a tick [mattress cover] with straw for me and he crawled into the tent rolled up under the wagon and went to sleep. I made my bed in the wagon and now at 10 o'clock am writing with the wind fairly rocking the wagon and flapping the canvas until I am nearly wild. Do not expect to sleep much. It seems lonely after having so large a family, but we will get used to it after a while.

[6] A teacher friend.
[7] Mother of a friend.

Camp in hollow by bridge about 30 miles south of Hutchinson Wed. 11th Oct., Sedgewick Co.

Broke camp about 8 o'clock. Drove through some very fine farming land. C. had a mind to stop and husk a day. Did not but got a sack of corn and we were very glad that he did for after we past Haven there was but a few miles of good farms with corn. In the afternoon we drove through rather a barren country soil very red. We called it the "Red Lands." But to return, when we got to Haven, C. stopped and we held a consultation and decided to go straight to Caldwell so turned sharp south that is the reason we did not have better roads and saw no good farms.

The wind blew pretty cold all the afternoon and toward night began to be pretty cloudy and cold. We passed but few teams. I put on my plush coat and put my heavy circular on over that. Put on my hood and veil. C. put on his overcoat and heavy gloves, and put a wrap across his lap as he drove. Presently we came to a small house and a woman ran out to the well across the road after water and lo she was barfoot. We felt as though we "had no kick coming." We drove until 5 o'clock when we decided to stop as there was a deep draw where we could get the horses out of the wind. C. jumped out and commenced to put up the tent and just as we raised it, the first drops of rain fell. We got it up, however and put all our bedding inside and our cooking kit. Then C. fed the horses at the wagon. I lit the oil stove. C. fastened the tent up very secure. We got our supper, made our beds and went to bed. That is I sat up in bed to write this. The rain is falling and the wind blowing but it does not reach us, so good night.

Camp beyond R.R. Bridge Sumner Co. Line Thursday, Oct. 12th.

Rose and prepared breakfast as usual but little late owing to our not having slept well. The wind kept us awake. Found the rain had ceased, the clouds broken away but it was very cold. Started at 9 o'clock, having made a tick and filled it with hay for C. Drove two or three hours before it got warm. Crossed a pretty stream about 1 o'clock, the north branch of the Ninnesha and about 1 o'clock crossed the main stream both pretty. Camped for dinner at the last crossing. Drove rather late this p.m. and stopped just over the countyline in Sumner beside the R.R. Saw a tramp on the track who watched us so closely that it made me nervous.

Friday, Argonia, Sumner Co., Oct 13th, 1893

Rose this a.m. at 6:30 and started at 7:30. It does not take very long to get started now. I got up at 6:30, dress and wash, light the oil stove and have breakfast ready when I call C. He jumps up, dresses, feeds the horses, puts on the harness and in ten minutes from the time he is called is ready for breakfast and breakfast is ready for him. We eat and he puts away the oil stove and the jug and by the time we are—

We came to an empty house about noon but did not stop to eat our dinner there as it was too dirty. Drove on into town where Lew Salter,[8] a classmate in College of Clarence's lives. C. did not want to go up at first so stopped to water his team and made inquiry about him. Was told that he lived up in the brick house that we could see—the nicest house in town, so C. had to go then after all, so we drove up there and C. went in and chaffed Lew some time before he knew him, but presently Lew knew him and called in his wife who was also an old classmate, was as glad as Lew to see him, so they all came out to the wagon to me and nothing to do but what we had to get out and stay all night and so we did. Had a delightful supper and spent one of the pleasantest evenings that we had had for a long time, and were shown to much pleasant soft beds that we did not rise until late the next morning and no wonder for it was midnight when we went to bed.

The next morning they would not hear to our leaving so I went to washing Clarence went out with Lew. In the afternoon Dora and I drove around the country to their farm and elsewhere. C. and I went out also. I ironed after we got back and got things ready for a start early in the morning. Clarence and Lew sat up both nights until about one o'clock renewing their college days.

One mile north of 3 mile pasture, Harper Co., three miles west of Argonia.

This morning when we rose found that Dora had filled a can of sweet milk and one of sour. A quart can of pickled peaches and one of peach preserves, a tin can of peaches, one of sugar and a box of lunch, and Lew had put a lot of corn in our feed box and a William[9] in Clarence's hand—all these kind things for old associations sake. They had a nice breakfast and helped us on our so kindly we will never forget. Clarence gave the boys, Clarence & Frank, a base ball and I gave "Wink" "Mother Truth" and the girls Melva and Bertha the little stools that we brought from Denver, little Louis a kiss and a hug. There we exchanged warm good byes and long hand clasps. They urged us to come back this winter, I to stay with Dora and C. to go with Lew on a hunt. The pleasant moments could not be lengthened longer, so we reluctantly turned our faces southward, our hearts filled with gratitude toward these dear friends who had treated us so royally and made us so generously welcome. We drove four miles south then three miles west to Harper Co. line then south again twelve miles where we went into camp. When we unpacked the lunch box that Dora had filled there was freshe peaches, bread, cake, crackers, butter, dried beef—enough to last us to the Strip.

We camped early as C. was sleepy after having sat up with Salter two nights. Just as we were in a sound sleep a voice was heard calling to us. Have you seen a lost boy? On lifting our curtain we saw a man in a cart who said his boy had

[8] Lew Salter and Clarence Wood graduated together from the Kansas State College at Manhattan, Kansas.

[9] Slang for a dollar bill.

gone on ahead from Bluff City with a little cart and when they got to the "Pasture" where they were going to camp they could not find him and as he was barefoot and without a coat he would nearly perish as the wind was from the N.E. and cold. Do not know whether they found him or not. We could do no good on the prairie in the dark. I offered to put the lantern up but he said no he must have gone on before we came to camp.

Pond City (R.R.) Oct. 16th, Monday night

Started at 6:30 this morning as we wanted to make Pond City before dark. Drove through the three mile pasture after watering our horses and filling our jug at the house near where we stayed all night. The last house in Kansas and soon we were in the "Strip" that Mecca to which so many hearts have turned in the last two months. Of course we saw no houses as the "Strip" has never been anything but a hunting and grazing country for Indians and a few cattlemen. But now we saw none of them, nothing but the vast open prairie stretching out southeast and west as far as the eye could reach. Here and there a few sod turned up or a furrow or two of breaking to show where some one had cast in his lot, a few white flags fastened to stakes also showed where homes would be someday.

Late in the afternoon we came in sight of Pond Creek,[10] amid great trees surrounded by a fine country. "Sooners" had evidently been here as wheat was sown, houses put up and such evidence as went to show that whoever took this land knew what it was and had been there before. Just at dark we drove into the little city. White tents and white board shanties had to drive all around before we found water for horses. Finally found it and then it was too dark to see grass and we had to stop where we could. In the morning found that we were right in the midst of town, lots all staked off and a few tents put up. In the morning after breakfast C. went into the town to see what it was like. Got bacon but did not like the place, so said we would go over to the other city after dinner. While we were eating our dinner saw flames shoot out from the door of a tent a hundred yards from us. We ran as fast as we could but before we got there it was all ablaze. Men coming up just then they pulled the tent down and ran as the cry of "powder" was raised. We rushed back as two sharp reports rang out, but the owner was there by that time and said he had no powder except what was in his revolver that we heard go off, so we rushed back and got out what we could. It was all burning and scarcely a thing was saved except a chest of tools. The tent was a fine large new one and was all burnt to pieces. We went back and finished our dinner and started to the "Gov. Pond City."[11] By the way Uncle Sam's soldiers are still in town owing to the fact that the town is still unorganized and without law of its own.

[10] Now Jefferson, Oklahoma.

[11] Was called Round Pond, but now Pond Creek, Oklahoma.—G. E. Lemon, "Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in the Cherokee Strip," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXII, No. 4 (Winter, 1944–45), 452 ff.

Gov. Pond City, Oct. 17th Tuesday night

We left R.R. Pond City about four in the afternoon. About a mile out we found a man stranded by the road side. Had only a yoke of two-year old steers to haul his wagon and family. Clarence drove his own team across the creek full of sand only and then went back and took him across, his two young daughters driving the oxen. He was going to Hennessy where his old mother was holding down a claim for him, having made the race and won a farm. We drove into the town about six o'clock, went into camp nearby. In the morning C. dressed up a little, that is shaved and changed his pants and shoes and went into the town to see what he could see and hear. I stayed in the tent and wrote letters etc., and read the paper that the "Times" man gave me. When C. returned said a man had been inquiring for him at the *Tribune* office and he thinks it must have been Waite. C. wrote a card to him after dinner and mailed it and is going to look around a little longer.

Round Pond Oct. 18 Wed. night

C. found nothing to do in town this morning so came back to camp and I went in to look up school matters. Found that the county Atty's wife was running a select school and no show for another one. Went into a meat market and found that the owner was a Mr. Brown from G. C. who told me that he remembered voting for me as Co. Supt. Inst. in 1886. That Hurst my opponent, a democrat, came up to the brick yard where he was at work and asked the owner of yard to vote his men all for him, but the man said no although he was a democrat he was going to vote for the woman and have his men vote the same if they would and they did. We had quite a laugh over old times. Mr. Armstrong of Haskell Co. was assisting him in the market. They said if I would stay in Co. L. they would make me Co. Supt. but I do not know about it. I do not like it very well. Came home and got supper. How natural it comes to say home, even though it be but a tent and covered wagon.

Round Pond, Oct. 19th, 1893 Thursday night

Spent another day in town looking around to learn all we can about this new country. It is very crude of course, but will be all right some day.

We talked today of going down to Enid and through Hennessy to Oklahoma looking for work. Learned that Gus Platt[12] was in Perry. Would like to see him. Perhaps we will. Have now decided to do so.

I went over to the city to lay in supplies when I got back at dark C. said well, I think we had better turn back to Argonia and go down with Lew to Alva. So after supper I got things ready for an early start. Do not know whether it will be for the best or not but do not like to advise for fear that it may not turn out all right so will do whatever C. says.

[12] A classmate of Clarence Wood.

Camp one mile south of Big Pasture
Friday night, Oct. 29th '93

We did not get a very early start, 8:30 was the time. Drove through Pond Creek, Rock Island, or Sandy Point as it is called at different times. It seems the Gov. U.S. was going to locate the county seat at the Pond Creek Station and the R.I.R.R. learned of the fact and took advantage of the fact so the Gov. [U.S.] made a change of base and put the county seat three miles south—too late for anyone to take an advantage. Of course it makes a great rivalry between the two towns. The Gov. town has the P.O. and the RR town the depot. One town must depend upon the other for mail and the other inturn must depend upon the other for freight etc.

We watered our horses and filled the water jug, posted a letter at the RR office and started on the back track about fifty miles. Made about twenty-two and went into camp in sight of Kansas. How good it looked. After dark a wagon came up and a young man came over to see us and inquired about some team that he started out with but had lost. He had no water and no wood, so we shared our hot coffee etc. with him and in the morning also. Clarence says he will start as early as I want him to if I will wake him, so we are going to bed as early as possible. Still I stayed up long enough to fry some onions, peel some potatoes, cook some peach pickles, put bread a sponge etc.

Argonia Sat Night, Oct. 21st 1893

Well we did get a good start 6:30. I gathered some wild flowers before starting to take to Dora. We drove past many carcass of what was once a good horse, but had laid down their lives in an attempt—vain or otherwise to make a home for their owner—in the wild run of Sept. 16th. We reached Kansas about 9 o'clock where we watered our horses and filled our jug and started on our last days drive to Argonia passed a house where the multiplicity of colors caught my eye. The house was natural wood gray (unpainted) banked up with earth of a beautiful seal brown color. The window curtains were green. A little child with a pale blue dress was standing on the step throwing crumbs to a black pig and a white hen, while in the yard stood a green wagon and blue plow against a red well curb. A few feet away was a brown barn and piled on one side of it was a beautiful heap of pale yellow straw. We stopped for dinner near a school house where the road turns east three miles and then north four miles to Argonia. While we were eating our dinner a buggy drove up to the school house. Two men got out and while they were looking at the broken windows of the school house a boy came up on horse back who told us that he had the contract for cleaning the school room but did not have time to do it before school commenced a month before, so was going to do it now and the men were members of the school board who were to repair it.

We got to Argonia about 4:30. Dora was on the door step fitting a pair of new shoes on Bertha. She saw us and gave a cheer of welcome. Lew was in the country but she made us both welcome and C. put up the team after supper.

Dora and I went up town to see about a vacancy in the school, hoping that I could get it but no such luck. Lew came home and he and C. sat up until 2 o'clock making plans for Alva where we all expect to go some time. In the meantime I will rest awhile.

Camp in Big pasture, Sat. night Nov. 4, 1893

Left Argonia at noon today as C. and Lew came home from the Strip where they had been looking for claims for the past ten days. They reported two good claims about 50 miles south of here so we decided to go. Dora with the same thoughtful kindness saw to it that everything essential to our comfort went into the wagon even to a jug of fresh buttermilk and a can of butter she had just churned this morning, and Lew got us a spring wagon of one of his friends, Mr. Howard,[13] who is down on a claim near where we are going. We devoted the afternoon to packing and after a good dinner we started. Drove about twenty miles this p.m. and camped in the big pasture.

Camp near Big Sandy

Started from the pasture early and soon overtook a lad from Missouri who rode with us a while and amused us by his talk. A regular typical Missourian.

Stopped at Cameron for dinner. Bought very nice fresh beef, also lima beans and bacon.

Monday Night Nov. 6, 1893

Camped on our own land tonight. I say our own land, but I mean I hope it may be. We drove through lots of sand and timber and crossed big Sandy, little Sandy, Medicine, and Driftwood creek, then came to salt fork, and from there we commenced to look for the claims as we had no compass, and C. had not been there but once and not then only to cross them. We were not sure about it. But C. finally said well I think we are far enough south and now we will go a little west, so turned off the road, as it proved, right onto his own claim.[14] We drove around and sized it up, then went on to the adjoining one (mine)[15] and said it is good. Then went on a mile and a half farther to Mr. Howards. Found the place deserted, they having started for Argonia Sunday a.m. We watered our horses, filled our jug from his well and as it was noon started back to our own claim for dinner. While I got dinner I put up the tent on my land and after dinner we went down to the division line and looked up a place where we thought we would like to build.

Went over the claims and on the south half of Clarence's found a prairie dog town and before I had even thought of rattlesnakes ran right up to one and as it was not but a year-old one C. killed it with a stick he was bringing up for

[13] Mr. J. W. Howard, who later became Clarence Wood's Father-in-law.

[14] In Alfalfa County, being the Southeast ¼ of Section 7, Township 26 North, Range 10 West of the Indian Meridian.

[15] The Southwest ¼ of the same section.

kindling. Before we got to the house we came upon another, a big one and C. ran to the tent and brought his gun. While I stayed and watched his snakeship. C. was about half way back when the snake commenced to uncoil. I called to C. to hurry. He did so but before he reached me the snake had reached a hole and I ran right up to it and called "oh quick run he is going in a hole. Here he is" and I began to dance up and down and pointing to the horrible thing fast going out of sight as C. came running up he saw where I was pointing and catching a glimpse of the snake, fired and struck him with sufficient force to throw him out of the hole and the second shot threw his head clear from his body so we never saw it. He had but four rattles but was a whopper.

Tuesday night

We have been to see our neighbors, about four miles away. Got a spade and came home by Mr. Howard's where we again filled our jug and watered our horses. Came home and C. began to dig a basement for my house but we thought as there was a prairie fire on the south and west of us we had better begin to burn a fire guard and we burned across my north line and then seeing that the fire was changing a little and burning higher we ran back to the tent and burned a wide circle around it, put the horses inside of it, tied to the tent, piled the loose plunder close around the wagon and making a kerosene torch started to the west line. It was nearly dark and we had had no supper but we burned down nearly the whole west line when seeing the fire going down in west we returned to our tent so tired that we did not cook much supper. Made some strong hot coffee and went to bed at midnight.

Wed.

Went over to get water and to see if someone would come over and act as witness for us that we were the parties making the improvements on the place. One man said he would come. Drove up to Mr. Detwiler's. Came home and I took my sewing and a camp stool out where C. was digging the cellars and stayed with him all the afternoon. Lost my glasses. Came home and ate supper early and rested as we all were so tired.

Thursday night Nov. 9, 1893

Just after breakfast this morning a cowboy rode up who had been out all night looking for cattle but had had his breakfast before he came to us. About ten o'clock we took the team over to water and I decided to go along and then afterward go to see my neighbors. C. went back to his digging and I took the team and drove to Mr. Allen's[16]—the nearest family to us and they were four miles away. Found Mrs. Allen a very pleasant lady with one little girl Lilla. Did not go in but she came out to talk while I waited to see the man who was going over to witness for us, but found them just starting to Hazelton, but he said he would go. So I waited for him while he was watering his pony, preparatory com-

[16] Mr. A. E. Allen.

Clarence E. Wood, Representative of old Woods County in the Oklahoma Territorial Legislature meeting at Guthrie in 1905

ing over. I got to talking to the children around Mr. Detwiler's door who their next neighbor on the north was and he said Mr. Weeks a surveyor from Finny Co. My head jumped and danced for I knew it must be Tom Weeks who was Co. Surveyor of Finney Co., when I was Co. Supt. of the same.

I drove right up there but found that he had gone back to Garden City but that his wife's brother was there. I went up, introduced myself, and told him I wanted him to come down to witness that I was on the SW¼ S 7 T 26 R 10 and that C. was on the one directly east of me. He said he would come over right away so I drove back to Mr. Allen's and invited Mrs. Allen and her daughter Lilla to go with me home and Mr. Allen to ride over with Mr. Bond so they did. In about three hours from the time I left home, C. looked up from his work and saw a cavalcade coming though he was well pleased to have such a goodly crowd of witnesses. While the men looked of the improvements, corner stones etc. Mrs. Allen, Lilla and I drove over to the Gov. Salt Reserve and gathered some salt to take home.[17] Then we returned to my farm and C. got in and we all started back to Mr. Allen's. After thanking them for their kindness we returned to our home, well satisfied with our day's work and I double so to think that Tom and Flora Weeks will only be about three miles from us. C. is reading and I am writing and it is 11 o'clock and as we start to Alva in the morning to file if we can or rather get number for filing we must retire early.

[17] The Great Salt Plains Reserve is now the Salt Plains National Wild Life Refuge located east of Cherokee in Alfalfa County.

Camp in Salters Canyon[18]*—Friday Nov. 19th 93*

We did not start very early as C. thought it would not be a long drive so started at nine and drove over to Mr. Howard's to water, then on to Mr. Bonds to say thank you and send a message to Tom and Flora which we did just as he was ready to start for G. C. A young man from Denver came up and wanted to ride with us to Alva and we made room for him on top of our load, but the road was rough and seemed very long and C. was hungry with all that that implies so we did [not go] in to Alva at all but drove up to Lew's farm and camped about six o'clock. And as we were tired did not do anything but get our tent up, cook and eat our supper make our beds down. C. is reading and smoking, very happy. Good night.

Salters Canyon, Sat night Nov 11th 93

I am sitting alone in the tent and it is nearly nine o'clock at night. This morning when C. went down to the land office he found that the land had not been filed on so got numbers for filing, also received a letter from Lew explaining that the improvements—visible on my farm were put there by Davis for Uncle Bennie etc. As it was looking so much like rain, we moved our tent to another part of the canyon sheltered from the north wind and C. went down to the city to write to Lew about money and asking for a telegram. When he returned I had arranged the tent in house keeping style, had made my beds and a good fire (in the oil stove) and the horse blankets out for Dollie and Jim and before I could get them fairly on it commenced to rain. I got dinner and C. made the tent a little warmer and safer and we spent the p.m. talking and reading as warm and comfortable as you please but about six o'clock my trouble began. After supper he said he believed he would go down town and see if Lew had answered his telegram so at six he started and as it had begun to snow and threatened a very bad night I was very ancious about him and it is now nearly nine o'clock and he has not returned and the night is pitch black. The snow falling and the wind blowing and I am alone in a little tent way up in a lonely canyon but I am not afraid only for him. There are so many wolves and mountain lions around here it is all so new. If I could only put out a light, but I have no window and even if I had, he could not see it until he was within a few feet of it on account of our being in a spur of the Canyon. It is now nine and just now Dolly nickered and I know he is coming. Yes he says "Hello the house." He had to wait until 8 o'clock for the telegram so all is well and Lew will be here Monday.

Sunday Nov. 12th 1893, In Camp Salter

By morning the snow ceased to fall and now the sun is melting——

[18] Located a mile south of Alva, Oklahoma, now at the edge of the city limits.

LOCATION AND GROWTH OF TINKER AIR FORCE BASE AND OKLAHOMA CITY AIR MATERIEL AREA

*By James N. Eastman, Jr.**

France and Germany were facing each other in the "sitzkrieg." Japan was driving into China. In America the people were finally awakening to the fact that, if the United States hoped to stay out of war, it could do so only from a position of strength. The nation would have to build up its defenses.

Germany invaded the low countries on May 9, 1940. The same day Congress voted funds for increasing the size of the Navy. But, as many newspapers pointed out, this was not sufficient. The *Daily Oklahoman*, as one of many throughout the nation, began a spirited editorial compaign to impress upon the people the need for increasing the size and striking power of the Army Air Corps. Congress also recognized this need and quickly provided appropriations which allowed the War Department to build thirty new warplane plants and to expand the manpower of the Air Corps.[1]

Initial information indicated that Oklahoma would receive very little of this increased spending. Nevertheless her representatives in Washington went to work. As early as 1935, Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce officials had visualized the capital city as being a mid-continent aviation center. Specifically they had anticipated the need for a military base located midway between the great bases at Langley Field, Virginia and March Field in California. First success in this direction did not come until August, 1940, when the War Department announced that it would take over part of the Oklahoma City municipal airport, enlarge it, and base a bomber squadron there.[2]

Members of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce also saw a chance

* James N. Eastman, Jr., is Director of Historical Research at Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama. This paper has been especially prepared for publication in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, with the co-operation of the Oklahoma Chamber of Commerce and the United States Air Force. Mr. Eastman received his M.A. degree from the University of Nebraska. Later, he served as Assistant Historian at Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area. He began this paper while he was in graduate school at the University of Oklahoma. For these reasons, many facts relating to the history of the Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area are here made public for the first time in Mr. Eastman's paper.—Ed.

1 *Daily Oklahoman*, May 10, 1940, p. 2; May 15, 1940, p. 1; May 18, 1940, p. 2; June 1, 1940, p. 2.

2 Ibid., August 14, 1940, 4; September 26, 1941, 1; "$137,000 Quickly Raised for Air and Industries Site," *Oklahoma, A Magazine of Business*, Vol. XXIV, No. 42 (December 12, 1940), p. 1.

First Structure at Tinker Air Force Base, a shed to protect a pumping station

to further increase the defense facilities in the metropolitan area. They immediately prepared briefs on the community's facilities for accommodating one of the thirty-three planned aircraft factories and sent them to every aircraft manufacturer in the United States.[3]

Twelve city leaders met at the Chamber of Commerce office. Their objective was to form a trust through which the Chamber could purchase land and facilities and thus induce further military establishment in the city area.[4] The group's interest at this time still centered on the possible expansion of the bomber base southwest of the city.[5] E. K. Gaylord, owner of the two major Oklahoma City newspapers, explained:[6]

> The city, like all large governmental bodies, has to move slowly, and doesn't have money it can take out of the bank with which to buy additional land. We found it was absolutely necessary to acquire additional land. . . . and we didn't know how much we could get. We got together a group to option additional ground . . . . The Chamber didn't have the money to put up, and the City didn't have the money. . . .

The organization filed the final articles of incorporation for the trust, Industries Foundation, on December 10. By that time it had raised $137,000 of its $300,000 goal.[7]

Robert Singletary, chief of the Oklahoma City Chamber's "Washington bureau," made a report within the next week which changed the point of

[3] Memorandum, Jack Hull to Stanley Draper, "History of work done by the Chamber of Commerce leading to establishment of aircraft manufacturing plant at Oklahoma City," January 23, 1942, (in Chamber files).

[4] Minutes, Meeting on Proposed Airport Expansion (Executive Committee), October 16, 1940. (in Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce files).

[5] Minutes, meeting of Proposed Airport Expansion Group, November 6, 1940.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Daily Oklahoman*, December 11, 1940, p. 1.

concentration.[8] Through contact with Colonel F. M. Kennedy, Chief of the Buildings and Grounds Division of the Army Air Corps, Singletary learned that the Air Corps was considering the location of an air depot somewhere in the Midwest. Oklahoma City was one of the areas under consideration. Colonel Kennedy outlined the requirements and functions of an air depot. He explained to Singletary that it would be a permanent installation, employing 2,000 to 2,500 people in normal times. The cost would be between ten and fifteen million dollars. It would require approximately 800 or 900 acres of land. At least 640 acres of that should be flat so the government could construct a landing field at a minimum cost.[9]

Singletary quickly pointed out the advantages of an Oklahoma City location to Colonel Kennedy. Not only was the surrounding country flat, but it offered an average of 328 flying days per year. Also fuel costs would be low because of the mild weather which prevailed.[10]

The colonel observed, however, that the city could not have both an air depot and an aircraft factory. It would have to work for one or the other. Singletary passed this information on to E. K. Gaylord, Chairman of the Industries Foundation's advisory committee, on December 20. Gaylord called the subscribers to the trust together three days later. Since it appeared that the depot would be the more permanent of the two facilities, the group chose to pursue it.[11]

As a result, the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce temporarily dropped the attempts to gain a bomber plant for itself and turned its attention to helping some other city in Oklahoma to secure it. Apparently the local organization had played an important part when it was announced on January 3, 1941, that Douglas Aircraft Company would occupy a government-built plant at Tulsa, Oklahoma.[12] Eight days later, without the chamber being involved, the War Department announced the location of a primary training base near Yukon.[13]

Meanwhile, Oklahoma City representatives continued to work with the Air Corps on the depot project. As the air arm expanded, the service needed additional facilities to relieve bottlenecks in maintenance and supply of

[8] Singletary was the lobbyist for the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, having served the interest of Oklahoma City in that capacity since 1934.

[9] Memorandum, Hull to Draper, January 23, 1942; Report, "History of the Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area," July 19, 1954, p. 2 (in OCAMA Historian's Office). Hereinafter cited as "Hist of OCAMA," July, 1954.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Memorandum, Hull to Draper, January 23, 1942; Letter, E. K. Gaylord to Subscribers. Industries Foundation, December 20, 1942. (In Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce files).

[12] Memorandum, Hull to Draper, January 23, 1942; *Daily Oklahoman*, January 4, 1941, p. 1.

[13] *Ibid.*, January 12, 1941, p. 1.

*Table 1 Labor Statistics, Oklahoma City and Wichita, 1940**

Population	*Oklahoma City*	*Wichita*
Metropolitan	221,229	127,308
Employable	161,205	92,377
Employed	89,175	48,350
Seeking Employment	10,088	3,687
Experienced	9,275	3,244
Not in Labor Force	72,030	43,847
Per cent of Labor Force Employed	85.4	88.9

* After statistics in U.S. Department of Commerce, *Population, Third Series: The Labor Force, Occupation, Industry, Employment and Income*, "Kansas" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1942), p. 9; *Ibid.*, "Oklahoma," 9; U.S. Department of Commerce, *Population, First Series: Number of Inhabitants*, "Kansas" (Washington, D.C.: U.SS. Govt. Printing Office, 1942), p. 14; *Ibid.*, "Oklahoma," p. 17.

the new cadet training program. Early in February, the military asked the chamber to submit detailed data on possible sites for the depot. The city group had already picked two possible locations. One was located on Highway 74 in Cleveland County, north of Norman. The other was on Southeast 29th Street, about five miles east of the Oklahoma City limits. The organization submitted this information to the Army on February 13, and began taking options on land, through Industries Foundation, at both sites.[14]

The proposed project became public knowledge on February 26, when Congress released the records of the hearings before the military establishment subcommittee of the House appropriations committee. The representative of the Corps of Engineers had testified on February 13.[15]

> A board of officers is now out planning the location of these depots, being careful not to go into towns where factories are planned so they will not upset the labor situation. However, I will say there will be a northeast depot, a mideast depot and a midwest depot. To approximate it more closely, I will say Albany, N.Y.; Atlanta, Ga., and Oklahoma City.
>
> The midwest depot would take the overflow of work from the other depots. Thus, the Air Corps could balance the distribution of loads placed upon the entire system.[16]

[14] *Oklahoma City Times*, February 26, 1941, 1; Memorandum for Record, Jack Hull, Research Division, Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, "Progressive Steps in Establishment of Air Depot at Oklahoma City," dated: "Late Summer," 1942, (in Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce files).

[15] U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, *Hearings, Fourth Supplemental National Defense Appropriations Bill for 1941*, 77th Cong., 1st Sess., 1941, p. 168–69.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

To this time, the Army had been considering three locations for the midwestern depot. These were Oklahoma City, Muskogee, Oklahoma, and Wichita, Kansas. Testimony indicated that the military actually gave very little consideration to the latter town for the Boeing Airplane Company already had a large plant located there. Not only the question of facility dispersal but the problem of labor as well worked against Wichita.[17] Labor statistics for 1940, as indicated by Table 1, showed that Oklahoma City had almost three times as many employable workers as had Wichita.

Muskogee had a population of only 32,332 at the time. Although statistics are not available, it is probable that there would not have been sufficient excess labor to supply the 2,500 personnel which the Air Corps projected for the work force.[18]

Also Colonel Fred S. Borum, Chief of Field Services Division of the Air Materiel Command, favored the Oklahoma City site. Borum was a native of the state, and, according to the Chamber of Commerce, "was instrumental in its location here."[19] In addition, Senators Elmer Thomas and Josh Lee, and Representative A. S. "Mike" Monroney had been working through Mr. Fred Jones to convince the War Department to locate the aircraft repair center at Oklahoma's capital city. Jones, an Oklahoman, was an official in the Office of Production Management, a part of the President's executive office.[20]

The military service announced on March 2, that it would send a site selection board of four officers to Oklahoma City. This group, headed by Colonel Kennedy, arrived six days later. The board immediately made a series of seemingly unmeetable demands. Among other things, the site board wanted iron clad agreements for land, a water line to the site, and a railroad spur line. And, it wanted these commitments the same day.[21]

Land was the least of the problems. Stanley Draper, managing director of the chamber, Jack Hull, of the chamber staff, chamber members E. K. Gaylord, Frank Hightower, Harvey Everest, and Oklahoma City Mayor, R. A. Hefner, immediately set to work. Gaylord called John Ingersoll, who held controlling interest in the Oklahoma City, Ada, and Atoka Railway. A telegram followed from Philadelphia committing the O.C.A.&A. to build a spur to the site. The group took up the remainder of the requirements with the City Council. Gaylord later recalled: "The idea of doing all this

[17] Memorandum for Record, Hull, "Late Summer," 1942.

[18] *Ibid.*, 12; *Daily Oklahoman*, February 28, 1941, 1.

[19] Memo for Record, Hull, "Late Summer," 1942.

[20] *Oklahoma City Times*, February 26, 1941, 1.

[21] *Daily Oklahoman*, March 3, 1941, 1; March 10, 1941, 1; Memo for Record, Hull, "Late Summer," 1942; Biography, "Edward King Gaylord," in "Recommendation for Air Force Exceptional Service Award," February 16, 1959. (in OCAMA Historian's office files).

so quickly stunned some of those we had to deal with. One councilman insisted that what we were asking probably wasn't legal in the strictest sense. I told him that if he did go to jail we'd be right there with him. This had to be done that day for Oklahoma City and for national defense. They finally agreed."[22]

Even more stunned than the councilmen were the members of the site board that evening when the group presented them with all of the commitments. Industries Foundation promised to provide the 960 acres of land at the site chosen by the committee. The next day, the board indicated that it favored the Southeast 29th Street location. Although the final decision rested in Washington, Colonel Kennedy, speaking before a chamber luncheon on March 10, gave "virtual assurance" that the Army would locate the depot in the city.[23]

Senate approval of the appropriations bill for the construction of the three depots came the same day. Eight days later President Roosevelt signed the bill. Only the official announcement of the award to Oklahoma City from the War Department was lacking. This finally came on April 8, 1941, after Assistant Secretary of War, Robert Patterson, signed the project order.[24]

Between the site board's visit and the announcement, the project had grown. The $12,000,000 facility now would cover 1440 acres with the War Department buying the additional 480 acres. The Air Corps stated at this time that it expected the depot to be complete 120 days after it awarded a contract for the construction. But, before the preliminary engineering began, the Army further expanded the scope of the project. It planned to expend an additional $2,000,000 on the site, which would now cover 1,500 acres and employ 3,500 persons.[25]

Members of the Army Corps of Engineers arrived on April 22, to begin preliminary planning. But contracting for the construction dragged out. Industries Foundation had gained immediate access rights to the property for the engineers. By mid-June, the group had obtained title to all of the land. There was still the problem of condemnation proceedings to resolve controversies over crop valuation.[26]

Settlement of this question did not go smoothly. C. Harold Brand, one of the trust's representatives, met singular resistance in attempts to arrive at agreement with a woman leasee on the Briggs land, where the base head-

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Memo for record, Hull, "Late Summer," 1942; *Daily Oklahoman*, March 11, 1941, p. 2.

[24] *Ibid.*, March 19, 1941, 1; April 9, 1941, pp. 1–2.

[25] *Ibid.*, April 22, 1941, p. 1.

[26] *Ibid.*, April 23, 1941, p. 5; June 13, 1941, p. 3; Memo for Record, Hull, "Late Summer," 1942.

quarters was eventually built. The woman did not want to leave and became so annoyed at the repeated visits that she barricaded the driveway with large timbers and chained a chow dog near the back door. One evening, when Brand climbed over the barricade for another interview, he found the dog loose. Fleeing wildly from the animal, Brand finally took refuge at the top of a windmill. There he stayed until the woman noticed him. The lady found the incident so amusing that she rescued him, took him to the house, and willingly began negotiations over the value of her crops.[27]

Immediately after the Army announced the award of the project, Oklahoma City set a $982,000 bond-issue election. The city would use part of the money to buy the land from Industries Foundation, and then would deliver it to the government "for one dollar and other considerations." The remainder of the bond-issue income would pay the cost of clearing the land of under-ground pipelines. To attain the passage of this question, Mayor Hefner and the City Council accomplished something new to city politics. The city put aside the deep political split which it had suffered in almost every such question in the past. On April 29, the voters of Oklahoma City passed this issue by a margin of more than 19–1. A total of 24,190 residents, more than had voted in any recent city election, cast their ballots.[28]

Tentative though it was, the new bomber facility got a name during this period. The Army, heretofore, had referred to the new bomber base southwest of town as "Oklahoma City Air Field." On May 7, shortly after the first troops arrived at this installation, the local press had begun to call the base "Will Rogers Air Field." However, this did not become official until June 11, when the War Department named the facility.[29]

Before the War Department took this action, however, the Corps of Engineers needed a name for the depot site which would not conflict with the bomber base. Therefore, on May 21, 1941, the construction section of the Corps of Engineers designated the project as "Midwest Air Depot, Oklahoma City." Although the Air Corps had removed the problem by renaming the bomber base, the depot carried the engineer-assigned name for another nine months.[30]

[27] *History of the Oklahoma City Air Service Command, 1943* (Oklahoma City: Tinker AFB, 1944), pp. 5–6. Hereafter cited as *Hist of OCASC*.

[28] *Daily Oklahoman*, April 19, 1941, 1; April 30, 1941, 1; Albert McRill, *Satan Came Also: An Inside Story of a City's Political and Cultural History* (Oklahoma City: Britton Publishing Co., 1955), p. 230.

[29] *Daily Oklahoman*, May 3, 1941, p. 2; May 7, 1941, p. 4; War Department, General Orders, No. 5, June 11, 1941.

[30] Letter, Major E. G. Plank, Asst Chief, Construction Section, Office of the Chief of Engineers, to Division Engineer, Southwestern Division, "New Air Depot to be constructed in the vicinity of Oklahoma City," May 21, 1941. (in the OCAMA Historian's files).

Slowness in awarding a contract led to speculation that the Air Corps planned to expand the depot further. However, the military, in mid-June, announced that it was negotiating a contract. Officials of the Army and three state contractors signed the agreement on July 8. The three were the Charles M. Dunning Company, and Guy H. James of Oklahoma City and the Patterson Steel Company of Tulsa. The owners had pooled their capabilities to enable them to carry out a project of this size. The government awarded a "cost plus fixed-fee" contract, which allowed the contractor to begin construction while negotiations continued. He was sure of recouping his investments, plus a fixed profit decided by the negotiations.[31]

Two days later, the railroad began building the spur line to the site. The next day, the Army awarded a contract for architectural engineering to the E. G. Turnbull firm of Cleveland, Ohio.[32]

Although the War Department did not approve the $14,270,000 contract with Dunning-James-Patterson until July 25, the contractors had started work about a week earlier. The chief of the project, Major T. M. Osborne of the Corps of Engineers, had arrived in the city on July 15.[33]

Workmen had to stop their efforts for a short period on the afternoon of July 30. Following a chamber luncheon, about 300 civic leaders drove to the depot site. Under a blazing sun, which sent the temperature to 104 degrees, W. E. Hightower, chamber president, interrupted the work of a bulldozer operator. Climbing atop the caterpillar, he exclaimed: "Officially, when we have a ground-breaking ceremony we have the mayor or other representatives of the Chamber of Commerce to turn a spade of dirt. But this is too big a project for a hand spade and this is a mechanized age. I think this tractor is the least we should use for an affair symbolizing a project of such magnitude."[34] No earth was actually turned for the officials could not figure out the intricacies of the giant tractor.[35]

The day before this event, the government had taken positive action to assure that nothing else, excepting acts of God, would interfere with the depot's construction. In view of the crippling labor unrest plaguing the country, the War Department had banned the construction workers' right to strike.[36]

City officials, meanwhile, had begun to consider solutions for two other bottlenecks—transportation routes to the depot and training for depot em-

[31] *Daily Oklahoman*, July 9, 1941; p. 1; July 10, 1941, p. 4; July 26, 1941, p. 1.
[32] *Ibid.*, July 11, 1941, p. 1.
[33] *Ibid.*, July 26, 1941, p. 1.
[34] *Ibid.*, July, 1941, 1; Letter, W. E. Hightower to Subscribers to Industries Foundation, "Luncheon Meeting Wednesday Noon, July 30, 1941—14:15—Biltmore Hotel," July 28, 1941; Memo for Record, Hull, "Late Summer," 1942.
[35] *Daily Oklahoman*, July 31, 1941, p. 1.
[36] *Ibid.*, July 30, 1941, p. 2.

ployees. On August 25, chamber, city, state, and federal officials met to discuss the former. State and federal authorities agreed to reconstruct Southeast 29th as a four-lane thoroughfare. The county would pave two miles of Midwest Boulevard north from the depot, while the federal government would pave the remaining two miles north to Northeast 23rd Street. In February, 1942, the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads approved the national share of the project. The county and city called a bond election for April 14, 1942. The voters would approve a $685,000 issue for a water-line to the area and $1,225,000 for access roads.[37]

Training prospective employees in the skills needed at the depot also became a question. Defense industry outside the state was draining off trained laborers while construction was underway. In early August, the city pointed out that present defense training facilities were over-taxed. It asked the federal authorities to set up a special institution for this purpose. The head of the city school system prepared an application for a federal grant to build the facility, and he filed it with the Public Works Administration. The superintendent soon revised this request and adopted the idea of using an existing facility. Further revision followed in November. The city, however, had given up hope of gaining approval when the regional PWA office advised the superintendent of schools, in late November, that it had sent the proposal on to Washington for action. On February 19, 1942, the federal government approved the project and just two weeks later this school opened for classes. Its primary purpose was the training of aircraft workers. Federal authorities directed the institution, and gave financial assistance to the students while they were in training.[38]

Concepts of size and value of the depot had been growing even while the city was solving these problems. On September 3, the Army announced that it had purchased another 960 acres of land adjacent to the project, raising the total to 1,820, although it refused to say why it had taken this step; the reason became clear two months later when Representative Monroney announced that the Air Corps planned a $6,000,000 expansion of the depot. The War Department already had approved the change and sent the request to the Bureau of the Budget. This additional expenditure would make the facility one of the largest and most modern in the United States. The House appropriations committee, on December 2, 1941, passed the expenditure as part of a bill to expand each of the three new depots and House approval followed. After the disruption of business on December

[37] Memo for Record, Hull, "Late Summer," 1942; *Daily Oklahoman*, February 7, 1941, p. 1; April 2, 1941, p. 12.

[38] *Ibid.*, August 5, 1941, 3; September 6, 1941, 1; September 12, 1941, 3; November 11, 1941, p. 2; November 25, 1941, p. 7; February 20, 1942, p. 1; March 6, 1942, p. 1.

8, 1941, the Senate quickly took up the bill and passed it three days later. The amount for the Oklahoma site was close to $7,000,000, raising the total projected expenditure to $21,036,215.[39]

Attempts to further improve the industrial facilities in the Oklahoma City area had occupied the chamber in the meantime. Singletary, despite Colonel Kennedy's pronouncement, had continued to work through Senator Thomas' office for the location of an aircraft plant in the area. The city, in the Spring of 1941, gained a firm friend in the Douglas Aircraft Company. The state sales and use tax had threatened to eliminate any profit the company might make at its Tulsa plant. It appealed to the capital city chamber for help. The group worked diligently during the last days of the state legislative sessions. As a result, the legislature passed a law permitting the state Tax Commission to waive the payment of these taxes on "cost plus fixed-fee" contracts applying to the national defense.[40]

The Office of Production Management, on March 8, asked Singletary to submit complete data on the most desirable sites available for a plant in the capital city area. He gave them information on the area north of Will Rogers Air Base since it was already in the hands of the city. At the same time, he provided information on population and available labor within a thirty-five mile radius of the city.[41]

American Aviation Daily stated, on May 15, that the War Department planned to build four additional aircraft factories in the interior of the nation. "Locations of the four are not definite but are expected to include Oklahoma City as the first site . . . ."[42]

Announcement that Douglas and Lockheed would join in building the Boeing-designed B–17 bomber came from the Army a few days later. The chamber immediately contacted these firms but was not encouraged by the replies. About the same time, Senator Thomas asked the chamber to prepare a digest of the ". . . facilities which Oklahoma City offers for the establishment . . . of any aircraft manufacturing and assembly plant as part of the national defense."[43]

The chamber presented information on three sites. One was north of Will Rogers Air Field, one east of the air depot, and one at the new muni-

[39] *Ibid.*, September 4, 1941; p. 1; November 7, 1941, p. 1; December 12, 1941, p. 1; *Oklahoma City Times*, December 3, 1941, p. 1.

[40] Memorandum, Hull to Draper, January 23, 1942; Telegram, D. W. Douglas, President, Douglas Aircraft Co., to Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, April 15, 1941. (in Chamber of Commerce files).

[41] *Daily Oklahoman*, August 6, 1941, p. 2.

[42] Memorandum, Hull to Draper, January 23, 1942.

[43] Letter, W. E. Hightower, President, Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, and R. A. Hefner, Mayor, Oklahoma City, to Senator Elmer Thomas, May 27, 1941. (in Chamber files).

cipal airfield near Bethany. The Industries Foundation, which already owned the land at Will Rogers, agreed to buy any site the War Department should select.[44]

Local leaders thought the War Department would announce the location of the plant by the first week in June. The Office of Production Management, early in the month, asked Singletary to furnish more information on population, available labor, housing, and transportation facilities within the thirty-five mile radius of the city. Singletary immediately handed this information to the OPM and the Buildings and Grounds Division of the Air Corps. But the government then decided that it would erect no more plants until it had determined the production capabilities of the four plants under construction.[45]

There was a brief flurry of interest after Washington news bureau stated, on August 5, that the government had granted funds for the construction of a large electrical plant at Lawton. This facility, said the news release, would provide power for Will Rogers Air Field and a bomber plant at Oklahoma City.[46]

Though the matter lay dormant for another two months, about October 17, Singletary had a series of talks with William G. Powell, a minor official on the President's executive staff. Powell told Singletary that he was drafting a report to the President recommending five locations for new plants. Oklahoma City headed the list. But, since the government did not want to demand that any company operate these factories, Powell suggested that Oklahoma City officials contact the Douglas, Vultee, and Lockheed companies and secure the consent of one to occupy the facility.[47]

Acting immediately, W. E. Hightower, E. K. Gaylord, Stanley Draper, Jack Hull, Fred Jones, and Virgil Browne, head of the chamber's National Defense Division, left for Los Angeles. Each of the companies agreed that, while they would not take the initiative, they would enter into negotiations if the government invited them to do so. The chamber informed Powell and "other interested parties" of this through Senator Thomas.[48]

With the situation appearing favorable for the city, Singletary learned, on November 13, that the project again was threatened. The chief of the Office of Production Management's labor section, Sidney Hillman, claimed

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] Memorandum, Hull to Draper, January 23, 1941; *Daily Oklahoman*, May 31, 1941, p. 1; August 6, 1941, p. 2.

[46] *Ibid.*, August 7, 1941, pp. 1–2.

[47] Memorandum, Hull to Draper, January 23, 1942.

[48] *Ibid.*; Letter, Stanley Draper, Managing Director, Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, to Senator Elmer Thomas, October 29, 1941. (in Chamber files).

there was insufficient labor in the area. The chamber resubmitted data on the labor situation. Powell, Dr. Glenn McLaughlin of the National Planning and Resources Board, and Colonel R. H. Leavitt of the Secretary of War's office independently checked the figures and found them accurate. As a result, the three offices all recommended the Oklahoma location. Actually, there was more to the labor question than adequate manpower. Chicago also was after the plant and construction men in that area needed new work for they had finished most of the defense projects previously established there. In addition, Singletary heard that the Congress of Industrial Organization opposed the Oklahoma location. The CIO was not strong in the state and had found it extremely difficult to organize.[49]

On December 7, 1941, questions as to "where" and "when" ceased to be important. Now the questions were "how many" and "how fast." Three days after Pearl Harbor, the Office of Production Management announced a program for the manufacture of 1,000 bombers, and a comparable number of other aircraft, each month.[50]

Senator Thomas' personal secretary signed a letter, in mid-December, to Mississippi Representative Ross Collins, a member of the House appropriations committee, stating: "I think the map in the *U. S. News* of November 28, 1941, gives a vivid picture of what is happening in connection with the award of contracts in those states where industrial centers are already located. The comparison between that group of states and the agricultural states in the South is not good."[51]

Obviously, a secretary would not take it upon herself to write such a declaration on a senator's official stationery. One can only conclude that this was the opinion of the senator, himself.

Senator Thomas, about mid-December, contacted Colonel William Volandt, in the office of the Chief of the Air Corps, and Brigadier General O. P. Echols, chief of the Materiel Division of the Air Corps. He pointed out the desirability of the Oklahoma City location for the bomber plant. On December 31, Mayor Hefner sent a copy of the Oklahoma City capabilities survey to M. C. Meigs, chief of the Office of Production Management's aircraft branch. W. E. Hightower and General Echols contacted Douglas Aircraft Company in early January. On January 9, two Douglas officials, Executive Vice-President C. A. Cover and Vice-President for Manufacturing F. W. Conant, arrived in Oklahoma City. After these men had

[49] *Daily Oklahoman*, November 9, 1941, p. 8; Memorandum, Hull to Draper, January 23, 1941.

[50] *Daily Oklahoman*, December 11, 1941, p. 4.

[51] Letter, M. E. Pool to Ross Collins, December 18, 1941. (in Box 310, Thomas Collection, University of Oklahoma).

inspected the three proposed sites, their first choice was the Bethany location and the Will Rogers site was second. They gave the area east of Midwest Air Depot only a cursory inspection, probably because of the problem of underground oil lines which had just been relocated from the depot site. They pointed out, also, that a site at Bethany would relieve the congestion of workers and would be independent of any Army operations after the war. The Army had indicated both the military facilities would be permanent. There was only one drawback to the Bethany location. The plant would require a new north-south runway.[52]

The two men also informed the city officials that the plant would not build bombers. It would manufacture and assemble cargo aircraft, probably the new four-engine DC–6 on which the company had just completed testing.[53]

Singletary phoned the Chamber on January 17, to inform the local officials that three military officers would arrive, incognito, in two days. The Chamber was not to make public their visit. The military representatives met officials from Douglas and inspected the sites without Chamber members accompanying them. Late that day, the group and Colonel H. A. Montgomery, District Engineer for the Corps of Engineers, reported that they had eliminated the Will Rogers and Bethany sites due to engineering difficulties and inadequate facilities.[54]

As in the case of the air depot, they wanted several immediate commitments. The city would have to furnish 480 acres of land, a water main, and a railroad spur, in addition to removing the pipelines which just had been relocated from the depot site. Again the O.C.A.&A. Railway agreed to extend its lines. Mayor Hefner and four members of the City Council agreed to meet the demands and approved the Mayor's commitments.[55] At 11:30 a.m., Friday, January 23, 1942, Senator Thomas telegraphed Oklahoma City. The Air Corps had awarded the plant to the city, and already had begun contract negotiations. The $20,000,000 facility would employ about 24,000 workers. At a minimum, 20,000 would hold jobs.[56]

As a result of the award, the city revised the plans for the bond election of April 14. It added propositions for buying the necessary land and building a water line to the factory, raising the proposed bond issue to $2,089,000.

[52] *Daily Oklahoman*, May 13, 1941, p. 1; April 9, 1941, pp. 1–2; Memorandum, Hull to Draper, January 23, 1942.

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] *Ibid.*; Memorandum for Record, Jack Hull, "Progressive steps in location and operation of Douglas Aircraft Company at Oklahoma City," 1943; Letter, Mayor R. A. Hefner to Colonel R. A. Montgomery, District Engineer, January 20, 1942. (in OCAMA Historian's files).

[56] *Daily Oklahoman*, January 24, 1942, p. 1.

Of the three questions on the ballot, the land proposition received the largest majority, passing by a 19–1 margin.[57]

Not only would the plant assemble aircraft, the government announced, on February 18, it would actually fabricate them. This decision followed consideration of the distances which Douglas would have to ship the subassemblies.[58]

By the first of March, the War Department had awarded a contract to the Austin Company for the construction of the facility. As with the depot, the government gave the company a cost-plus-fixed-fee contract. The contractor's engineers arrived in the city on March 10.[59]

Industries Foundation and the city, meanwhile, had encountered difficulties in buying the needed land. Because the Army had announced the award publicly so soon after the decision on the site, the group did not have the ally of secrecy. Land value suddenly increased. Therefore, the city and county had to turn to the courts, and condemnation proceedings. This went quickly and, by March 20, the city had title to 400 acres. Right-of-entry to the property to begin relocation of the pipelines was granted by the courts on May 20.[60]

Preliminary construction began on March 23. Because of the emergency situation, the Corps of Engineers ignored the normal procedures. It gave the Douglas Company beneficial occupancy as the contractor finished each usable part of the giant plant. Thus, nine months after it began construction, the Austin Company turned over a 300 square-foot area to Douglas. The aircraft manufacturer immediately began fabricating small parts and subassemblies. Newly-recruited workers hand-hammered detail parts for the first 400 airplanes because the presses were not available. As a result of this expedited approach, the factory rolled out its first C–47 during the first week in March, 1943. The plant was not complete until March 26. By this time, the government had prepared plans for adding another 270 acres and an aircraft maintenance center. When finished, the facility comprised 130 buildings and had cost about $24,000,000.[61]

Between March, 1943, and August 17, 1945, when production ceased, the plant turned out another 5,354 cargo aircraft. This was almost half of the

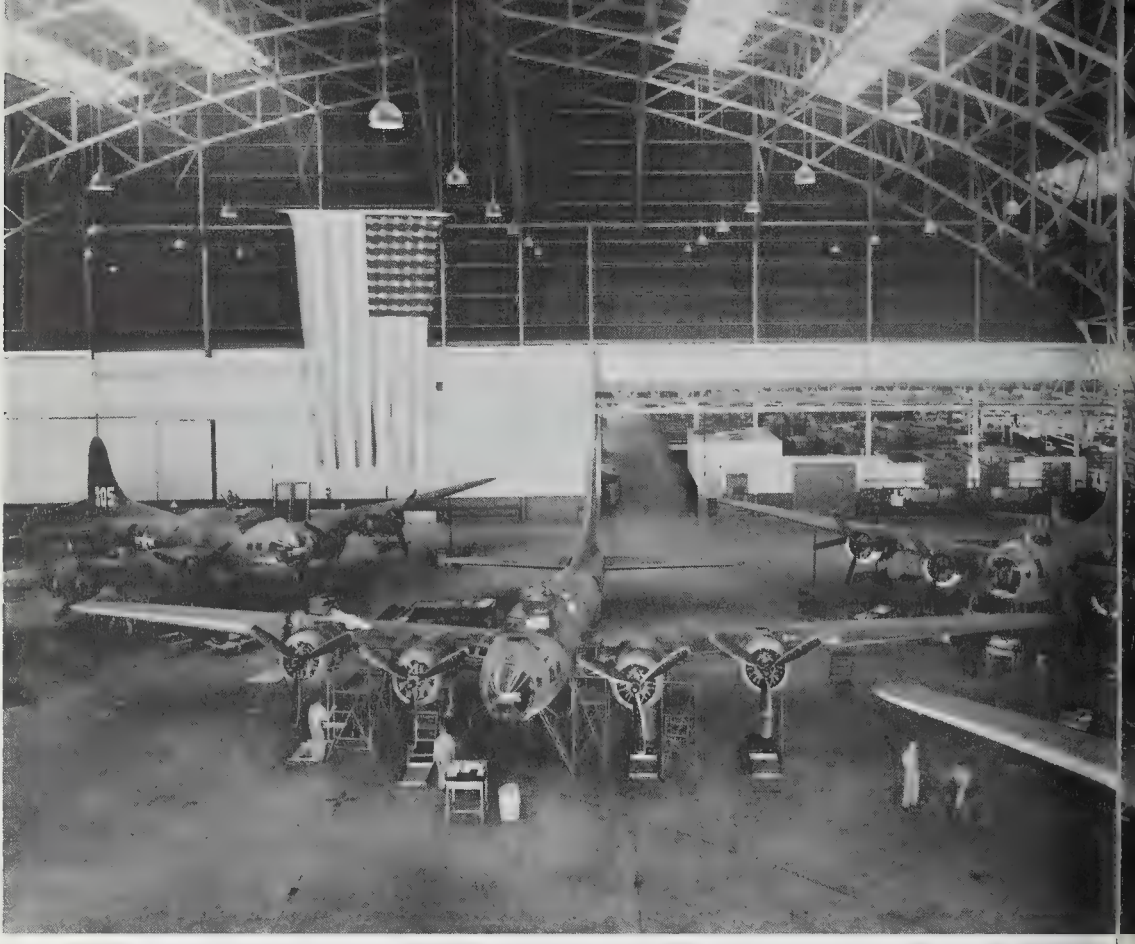
[57] *Ibid.*, April 2, 1942, p. 2; April 15, 1942, p. 1.

[58] *Ibid.*, February 19, 1942, p. 1.

[59] *Ibid.*, March 5, 1942, p. 1; March 11, 1942, p. 2.

[60] *Ibid.*, February 21, 1942, p. 1; March 21, 1942, p. 9; May 21, 1942, p. 1.

[61] *Ibid.*, March 7, 1943, p. 1; March 27, 1943, p. 4; "Douglas Plant Features Natural Breathing Wall," *Aviation*, XLII (May, 1943), p. 323; Memorandum, Major Ivan H. Impson, Air Installations Officer, Tinker AFB, to Commander, Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area, "Brief History of Tinker AFB," April 16, 1948. Hereafter cited as, Memo, "Brief Hist of TAFB." (in OCAMA Historian's files).



Repair Hangar Number 1, with B-17s undergoing repair and modification in October, 1943

C–47 type aircraft produced for the Army Air Force. In addition, the facility fabricated enough spare parts to build another 500 of the "gooney birds." The plant also manufactured, or assembled, parts for 400 C–54 cargo planes and 900 A–26 attack bombers.[62]

By the time the government had sited the aircraft factory, the new Air Force depot had a commander and was ready to begin hiring personnel. Original plans had called for finishing the facility in March, 1942. But expansion of the facility and adverse weather conditions contrived to extend the construction period. Also, there undoubtedly was some loss of enthusiasm among the construction workers as a result of labor union problems on the project.[63]

Air Service Command, during December, 1941, appointed Lieutenant Colonel William Turnbull of the San Antonio Air Depot to take charge

[62] *Daily Oklahoman*, January 15, 1950, E–12.

[63] "History of OCAMA," July, 1954. (in OCAMA Historian's files); *Daily Oklahoman*, March 17, 1942, p. 1; March 25, 1942, p. 9.

of the new facility. He arrived on January 15, 1942, and officially assumed command of the Midwest Air Depot.[64]

Lacking facilities at the site, Colonel Turnbull and his aides set up a temporary headquarters in Suite 718 of the Commerce Exchange Building in downtown Oklahoma City. A small activating cadre arrived on January 19. Operating from the quarters in the Commerce Exchange Building, his group began hiring workers on January 26.[65]

Colonel Turnbull announced, on February 2, 1942, that, henceforth, the facility would be known as "Oklahoma City Air Depot." Shortly thereafter, on March 9, 1942, the War Department activated the base, as of March 1, as the Oklahoma City Air Depot.[66] A long and colorful role in the nation's military history began.

Pearl Harbor was a fresh memory at the time of the base's activation, the Japanese had bombed it less than three months earlier. The new installation outside Oklahoma City was to play an important role in bringing the Japanese to their knees. However, in March, 1942, the depot's headquarters was still in Oklahoma City, construction was incomplete, and most personnel were elsewhere undergoing training. The base was still months away from active participation in the war.[67]

Personnel officers had hired between 2,600 and 2,800 civilians by June 15, and sent them to San Antonio Air Depot. About 2,400 returned during August. With another 300 from San Antonio, and other installations and government agencies, they formed the nucleus of the depot's work force.[68]

It soon became obvious that local training facilities were inadequate to handle the increasing demands. By August, the city school system opened classes at another high school, and the government set up training facilities in the State Armory. Governor L. C. Phillips agreed to rent the latter facility to the government for one dollar per year. The Army also made arrangements for Oklahoma A. and M. College and Oklahoma University to conduct additional mechanics' classes on their campuses.[69]

Rapid growth and heavy hiring quickly had made the Commerce Exchange quarters inadequate. It became especially crowded after the headquarters had activated the supply function on March 11. On April 5, the

[64] Report, "Training of Civilian Cadre by San Antonio Air Depot for Oklahoma City Air Depot," September, 1944. Hereafter cited as "Training Report." (in OCAMA Historian's files); *Daily Oklahoman*, January 17, 1942, p. 3; "History of OCAMA," July, 1954; *Hist of OCASC, 1943*, p. 14.

[65] *Ibid.*; "Training Report."

[66] Air Service Command, General Orders, No. 24, March 14, 1942.

[67] *Hist of OCASC*, 1943, pp. 2–16.

[68] "Training Report."

[69] *Hist of OCASC, 1943*, Pers & Trg–6.

group moved to the Bass Building, where it occupied all six floors. Here the headquarters established its maintenance division and staff offices.[70]

Premature shipments of supplies to the new depot by other Army installations had forced the lease in March of a small warehouse on West Ninth Street. Shortly, the headquarters was leasing more warehouses, some in surrounding communities. As early as mid-January the Air Corps had made provision for this contingency. It had asked the Chamber of Commerce to locate available warehouse space, and within two weeks, that organization had pinpointed 304,324 square feet of available storage area.[71]

The first official shipments arrived in June, 1942. Six weeks later, on July 20, with supply buildings only 85 per cent complete, the supply division moved to the depot site. The 1,820 acre area contained 420 unfinished buildings at this time.[72]

Military units first arrived on April 1 and settled in a temporary "Tent City" north of Will Rogers Air Field. The Air Force, after ironing out some heated differences with the city over this land, had begun construction of this facility on March 16. It was not complete until late April. Troops remained in these temporary quarters until August 3, 1942, then transferred to the depot site.[73]

Contractor work was 85 per cent finished in mid-August, and the Corps of Engineers gave the maintenance and headquarters activities beneficial occupancy of their facilities. The maintenance group moved to the depot on August 15. By the end of the month, all the staff offices had followed.[74]

Civilian employees at the depot numbered 9,000 by January 13, 1943; this had grown to 13,000 at the end of the month. In October, 1943, the depot reached its World War II high of 14,925 employees. Subsequent wartime employment stabilized at about 13,000 civilians.[75]

Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce officials, in August, had sug-

[70] *Ibid.*, 14–15, Sup–1; *Daily Oklahoman*, April 5, 1942, A–4; August 23, 1942, pp. 1, 10; "Hist of OCAMA," July 1954.

[71] *Ibid.*; *Daily Oklahoman*, January 28, 1942, p. 2; March 8, 1942, p. 1; *Hist of OCASC, 1943*, Sup–3.

[72] *Ibid.*, 16; *Daily Oklahoman*, August 23, 1942, pp. 1, 10, says the depot at this time occupied 2,400 acres, but the author has been unable to substantiate a figure this large. It is possible the newsman was also considering the Douglas area. On the other hand, Tinker AFB records indicate the area was 1,660 acres. This also does not match announced Army purchases and gifts of land at the site up to this time.

[73] *Ibid.*, February 25, 1942, p. 1; February 26, 1942, p. 1; February 27, 1942, p. 1; February 28, 1942, p. 16; March 3, 1942, p. 1; March 17, 1942, p. 1; August 23, 1942, pp. 1, 10; "Hist of OCAMA," July, 1954.

[74] *Ibid.*; *Hist of OCASC, 1943*, p. 16; *Daily Oklahoman*, August 16, 1942, A–4; August 23, 1942, pp. 1, 10.

[75] Report, "OCAMA Civilian Personnel Strength." (maintained semiannually by OCAMA historian).

B-17s and B-24s stand in front of the two major hangars; repair and modification work was commonplace by July, 1943

gested that the War Department name the depot's airfield facility "Tinker Field."[76] Major General Clarence L. Tinker had been a native Oklahoman. The one-eighth Osage Indian had lost his life on June 7, 1942, while leading his bomber command on a strike against the Japanese at Wake Island.[77]

Believing that it would take the perspective of time to determine which individuals merited such honor, the War Department was naming bases by geographical location. After some discussion, however, the department made an exception. On October 14, the Air Service Command, by direction of General H. H. Arnold, designated the base as "Tinker Field."[78]

During 1943 and 1944, the parent command redesignated the depot three times. On January 20, 1943, as the depot assumed control of sub-depots and detachments, it became "Oklahoma City Air Depot Control Area Command," and then four months later, "Oklahoma City Air Service Command." The next year, in mid-November, the newly-redesignated Headquarters, Air Technical Service Command renamed the depot "Oklahoma City Air Technical Service Command."[79]

[76] Letter, W. E. Hightower, President, Chamber of Commerce, to Chief of Air Forces, "Recommending 'TINKER FIELD' as the name for Air Force Air Port at Oklahoma City Air Depot," August 21, 1942.

[77] First Endorsement (Letter, Major O. S. Beeney, Information Office, OCAMA, to Director, USAF Historical Division, Research Studies Institute, Air University, July 19, 1957), Captain A. K. F. Liu, Asst. Chief, Personnel & Administration Division, RSI, AU, to Commander, OCAMA, July 24, 1957. (in OCAMA Historian's files). There long has been a misunderstanding on this point. Tinker was not killed during the Battle of Midway, as has been repeated so often, even by his biographer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. His death followed this battle, and came during an unsuccessful attempt to further shatter the Japanese forces after their losses at Midway.

[78] Telegram, Chief of Field Services, Air Service Command to Oklahoma City Air Service Command, October 14, 1942; Oklahoma City Air Service Command, General Orders, No. 21, October 15, 1942; *Oklahoma City Times*, October 10, 1942.

[79] Air Service Command, General Orders, No. 4, January 20, 1943; No. 15, May 22, 1943; Air Technical Service Command, General Orders, No. 7, November 16, 1944.

Commanders also came and went during these years. Brigadier General A. W. Vanaman assumed command on April 9, 1943, replacing Colonel Turnbull. Colonel Thomas R. Lynch took General Vanaman's place slightly less than a year later; five months thereafter he gave over command to Colonel Leslie G. Mulzer. On July 15, 1945, Brigadier General Fred S. Borum, who had played a part in the depot's original location, began a nine-year period of command. Each commander left behind lasting contributions to the growth of the depot.[80]

The first aircraft descended for repair soon after maintenance moved to the base, and after the War Department had spent some twenty-five million of the thirty-three million dollars expended to complete the facility for the Army. A Navy SO3C–1, from Norman Naval Air Training Station, was forced to make an emergency landing by an engine fire on August 28. Although without adequate equipment, the maintenance personnel set to work and repaired the motor and aircraft fuselage in eight days.[81]

Installation of tow-target releases on four BT–13 aircraft was the first assigned work. The project began the first week in September, 1942.[82] When other Army bases learned that the new depot was ready for operation, they began shipping everything imaginable. One base sent several carloads of obsolete materiel.[83] Apprised of this fact, Colonel Turnbull ordered: "Send the damn things back and tell 'em we're going to overhaul the big bombers, the B–17 and B–24."[84]

Air Service Command did assign work on the two latest Air Force weapons to the Oklahoma City depot before the end of the year. The facility began modifying the armament on sixty-five B–24 "Liberators" in mid-1943,[85] and also completed an engine change project on several hundred B–17 "Flying Fortresses." The first engine which the depot completely overhauled was a Wright R–1820 for the B–17. By the end of the war, Oklahoma City had reconditioned 12,178 of these powerplants. The depot also overhauled more than 2,000 aircraft; 90 per cent were bombers.[86]

Boeing Airplane Company delivered the first production B–29 "Super-

[80] *Hist of OCASC, 1943*, 19; *History of OCASC, 1944* (Oklahoma City: Tinker Air Base, 1945), p. 1. Hereafter cited as *Hist of OCASC, 1944;* Oklahoma City Air Service Command, General Orders, No. 34, September 1, 1944; Oklahoma City Air Technical Service Command, General Orders, No. 49, July 15, 1945.

[81] *Hist of OCASC, 1943*, Maint–5.

[82] *Ibid.*; *Daily Oklahoman*, September 6, 1942, pp. 1, 2.

[83] *Daily Oklahoman*, January 15, 1950, E–12.

[84] *Ibid.*

[85] *Hist of OCASC, 1943*, pp. 9–10, 12, Maint–8.

[86] *Ibid.*, Maint–11, Maint–13, Maint–28; *History of Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area, January 1—June 30, 1947* (Oklahoma City: Tinker Air Base, 1947), p. 13.

fortress" to the Army in July, 1943.[87] This aircraft soon became the big workload at Oklahoma City. In November, 1943, the depot assumed responsibility for providing intensive depot-level B–29 maintenance training for personnel of tactical organizations. These groups could then accomplish such work in the field. The Oklahoma City-trained units became the nucleus of the 20th Bomber Command.[88]

Air Service Command assigned the first major B–29 modification, Project XXBC (20th Bomber Command), to Tinker in late 1943. The depot was to install extra fuel tanks on 104 aircraft. This would enable the first Pacific-assigned Superfortresses to fly "over the hump" from India to China.[89]

Work on the Wright R–3350 engines came with the aircraft. The powerplants initially were most unsatisfactory. Oklahoma City maintenance helped remove one of the most dangerous deficiencies, as it designed and installed an air scoop which adequately cooled the inner bank of cylinders and prevented it from burning up. Depot overhaul grew and by V-J Day the engine repair section was renewing about 1,000 of these engines each month.[90]

Eagle Project, the modification of radar on B–29 aircraft to enable high-altitude precision bombing through heavy overcasts, began in February 1945. The facility modified 143 aircraft by May 12.[91]

A little over a month later, the depot began one of the most important projects it ever accomplished. Late in June, 1945, the B–29 "Enola Gay" arrived at Tinker where, only a few months before, it had received the *Eagle* modification. Now began the changes to the aircraft's electrical equipment necessary to enable it to drop the first atomic bomb at Hiroshima. Workmen on the project were told that the purpose of the changes was to allow the aircraft to drop supplies to soldiers in Japanese prisoner-of-war camps.[92]

Demobilization of forces began with the subsequent conclusion of World War II. In Oklahoma City, the big question was what would happen to the base off 29th Street. The answer was not long in coming. While over 7,000 military and civilians lost their jobs, the base area expanded. Military planners intended to find new uses for the installation.[93]

Annexation of the adjacent Douglas maintenance center, which was no

[87] Gene Gurney, *Journey of the Giants* (New York: Coward-McKann, 1961).

[88] Report, Military Personnel Division, OCASTC, "History of the OCASTC Military Training Section in the B–29 Program," 1945, p. 2.

[89] *Hist of OCASC, 1943*, Maint–8, p. 11.

[90] *Ibid.*, Maint–28; *History of Oklahoma City Air Technical Service Command, July 1–September 30, 1945* (Oklahoma City, Tinker Air Base, 1945), 32.

[91] *History of Oklahoma City Air Technical Service Command, April 1–June 30, 1945* (Oklahoma City: Tinker Air Base, 1945), p. 40.

longer in use, had been accomplished in June, 1945. In early August, the commander recommended that the Air Force take over the Douglas factory as part of the military facility. On August 17, Douglas announced that it was closing the plant. This should have come as no surprise for as early as August, 1942, there had been indications that the plant would not be permanent.[94]

Personnel from the Air Technical Service Command at Wright-Patterson Air Field, Ohio arrived in late August 1945. This group revealed that, although the site board had considered other locations, it had picked the area east of the depot in order that that facility could utilize the additional structures in the post-war period. Air Force headquarters approved the transfer and on October 18, the Air Technical Service Command gave the Oklahoma City headquarters authority to assume jurisdiction for the plant. The depot took this step on November 1, and assumed accountability for the property on March 11, 1946. The maintenance activity moved to the enclosed forty-four acre building between May and November, 1946.[95]

Earlier, on November 18, 1945, Army Air Force and local officials dedicated the base as "Tinker Field." On July 2, 1946, the Oklahoma City Air Technical Services Command became the "Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area."[96]

Including the Douglas assets, the installation had a value of $56,914,000. It occupied 2,825 acres. The expanded depot was among the largest in the continental United States.[97]

The war years had seen the depot grow from open prairie land to an important logistics center. In the years which lay ahead this phenomenal growth, which slowed for awhile immediately following the end of hostilities, would continue. The depot would become one of the most important facilities in the Air Force logistical operations.

[92] *Hist of OCATSC, July 1–September 30, 1945*, 30; Interview with L. P. Carter, April, 1962.

[93] Report, "Civilian Personnel Strength," (maintained in OCAMA Historian's office); *History of Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area, April 1–September 30, 1946* (Oklahoma City: Tinker Air Base, 1946), 100–101; *History of Oklahoma City Air Technical Service Command, April 1–June 30, 1945* (Oklahoma City: Tinker Air Base, 1945), p. 1.

[94] *Hist of OCASTC, April 1–June 30, 1945*, p. 1; *Douglas Airview News*, August 17, 1945, p. 1; *Daily Oklahoman*, August 4, 1942, p. 4.

[95] *Ibid.*, August 24, 1945, p. 1; *Hist of OCAMA, April 1–September 30, 1946*, pp. 98–99, 101–105; Oklahoma City Air Technical Service Command, General Orders, No. 95, October 31, 1945.

[96] *History of Oklahoma City Air Technical Service Command, October 1–December 31, 1945* (Oklahoma City: Tinker Air Base, 1946), p. 5; Air Materiel Command, General Orders, No. 61, July 11, 1946.

[97] Memo, "Brief History of TAFB," 1948.

JOHN COLLIER AND THE OKLAHOMA INDIAN WELFARE ACT OF 1936

*By Peter M. Wright**

The election of 1932 foreshadowed change for the United States. In November, the people went to the polls and repudiated the Republicans, clearing the way for Franklin D. Roosevelt and the promised New Deal. Yet, the nation had to wait four months for the new regime to take over, and the period preceding the inauguration "proved the most harrowing of the depression. . . ."[1] In Oklahoma, Roosevelt defeated the incumbent President Herbert Hoover by a vote of 516,464 to 188,165. Democrats swept into majorities in both houses of the Oklahoma State Legislature, and voters sent Ernest W. Marland and Will Rogers, a Moore school teacher, to Congress. The senior senator from Oklahoma, Elmer Thomas, was reelected for his second term in Washington.[2]

Elmer Thomas was born in Indiana of Yankee stock and attended the public schools of Putman County. He taught school to put himself through Central Normal College and earned a law degree at DePauw University in 1898. Two years later, he migrated to Oklahoma, briefly teaching English in Oklahoma City before moving to Lawton where he practiced law, sold real estate, and entered politics. Politics proved rewarding, and Thomas served in the Oklahoma Senate from statehood to 1920, when he resigned to run for Congress. He was defeated, ran again in 1922, and was elected. Thomas remained in the House of Representatives until elevated to the Senate in 1926. In the Senate, he served on several important committees, including agriculture and Indian affairs. Thomas came from a staunch Democratic background and had supported William Jennings Bryan in 1896. "His political beliefs were solidly identified with . . . the principles of Jefferson, Jackson, and Bryan."[3]

* Peter M. Wright prepared this paper on John Collier in his study on the "New Deal," under Dr. Gilbert C. Fite at the University of Oklahoma. He is at present working on his graduate degree (Ph.D.) with Professor Arrel M. Gibson at the University. He has previously contributed articles published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* and in the *Journal of the West*.—Ed.

[1] William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (Harper Torchbook Edition; New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 18.

[2] Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries* (Norman, Oklahoma: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1965), p. 376. Oklahoma's junior senator was Thomas P. Gore, elected in 1930, and defeated by John Lee in the 1936 Democratic primary.

[3] Eric Manheimer, "The Public Career of Elmer Thomas" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1952), p. 27; *Congressional Directory*, 73 Cong., 2 Sess., 1934 (Washington: Government Printing Office), pp. 93, 189.

After the election in 1932, but before the new president-elect took office, the interest of Oklahomans turned to the distribution of the patronage. Senator Thomas announced that his position during the interregnum would be that no Republicans would be confirmed for any office or any vacancies filled prior to March 4. He called for consultation between state officials and the congressional delegation on filling federal positions with Democratic party supporters and predicted Oklahoma would get its fair share of offices. Thomas felt an Oklahoman should fill the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs since almost one-half of the total Indian population of the country resided in the state.[4]

The Indians of Oklahoma asserted a desire to have a voice in the selection of the commissioner and other officials in the Bureau of Indian Affairs (B.I.A.), who they hoped would be Indians. Meetings took place throughout the state, and the names of several men were put forward for the commissioner's office. The Choctaw and Chickasaw League endorsed Gabe C. Parker of Tulsa, a Democrat and "a well qualified man of Indian descent. . . ."[5] In January, 1933, a meeting of 300 Indians in Oklahoma City resulted in an open fight over supporting A. F. Snyder of the Pawnee Indian Agency or Everette B. Howard of Tulsa, a former Oklahoma congressman. The Osage Tribal Council endorsed Thomas J. Leahy of Pawhuska. The Pawnee Indians met at Pawnee and recommended Edgar B. Merritt of Fayetteville, Arkansas, as assistant commissioner from 1913 to 1928, but Pawnee unity evaporated when a small group bolted and threw their support to Parker.[6] Members of the Creek Nation wrote to the Oklahoma delegation protesting support for either Merritt or Parker. Division among the tribes and lack of united support for one man diminished the chances for the appointment of an Indian, and Congressman Wesley Ernest Disney, in a telegram to Parker, concluded, " 'I and other members of the Oklahoma delegation are convinced that no Oklahoman has any chance.' "[7]

Edgar B. Merritt became the most likely candidate for the office since he had the support of Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, Democratic floor leader in the Senate. When Robinson endorsed Merritt, Thomas and the Oklahoma delegation turned their support to him.[8] Senator Robinson

[4] *Harlow's Weekly*, XXXIX (November 12, 1932), pp. 9–10; XXXIX (December 3, 1932), p. 3.

[5] *Ibid.*, XL (February 11, 1933), p. 6.

[6] *Ibid.*, XL (February 4, 1933), p. 7; XL (February 11, 1933), p. 6; XL (February 18, 1933), p. 13; XL (March 11, 1933), p. 14; XL (March 18, 1933), p. 14; XL (March 25, 1933), p. 10.

[7] *Ibid.*, XL (April 1, 1933), p. 11.

[8] Elmer Thomas to Daisy E. Richard, April 15, 1933. Elmer Thomas Papers, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, Oklahoma, Box 408. Hereinafter this MSS collection is cited as Thomas Papers.

met with President Roosevelt to discuss the appointment on Tuesday, April 11, 1933, and Roosevelt informed him John Collier of California was the choice of the administration. The next day, Roosevelt asked Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes to wait twenty-four hours and then send the nomination to the Senate.[9]

The nomination, backed by both Roosevelt and Ickes, was delayed in the Senate while the administration pacified Senator Robinson. Oklahoma's Thomas P. Gore and Elmer Thomas both opposed Collier, and Thomas had stated he would do all in his power to prevent the appointment, and, if Collier was nominated, "oppose his confirmation."[10] Thomas believed Collier was not familiar with the Oklahoma Indians and their problems, and wanted Senator Gore and Representative William W. Hastings, a Cherokee, to question him, conceding, however, that he would support the administration nomination if Collier's answers were satisfactory.[11] A partisan opponent of Collier described him as "a radical who wished to disrupt the whole Indian Bureau . . . ,"[12] and Frank O. Jones, Chairman of the Business Committee of the Sac and Fox Indians of Oklahoma, said he was "nothing but a lobbyist . . . who says he will control the policies of the Indian Office no matter who is appointed."[13] The opposition gave way without hearings, and the Senate unanimously confirmed the nomination on April 21.[14] Later, Thomas explained he agreed to the nomination since continued opposition was futile, and he had to work with the new commissioner in the future.[15]

John Collier took office in April of 1933. He was fifty-one years old, a Georgian by birth, and had studied at Columbia and the College de France, Paris. He exhibited an early interest in social work by helping immigrants and working as civic secretary of The People's Institute of New York. In 1919, he moved to California and became director of the Community Organization. For two years, he worked as director of social science training of State Teachers' College, San Francisco,[16] and, in 1923, became executive secretary of the American Indian Defense Association, working in behalf of the Indians. Most of his Indian work was in New Mexico with the Pueblos

[9] Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes, the First Thousand Days* (3 vols.; New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), vol. I, p. 20.

[10] Elmer Thomas to Daisy E. Richard, April 15, 1933. Thomas Papers, Box 408.

[11] *Harlow's Weekly*, XL (April 22, 1933), p. 6.

[12] Lillie McKinney to Elmer Thomas, February 9, 1933. Thomas Papers, Box 408.

[13] Frank O. Jones to Joe T. Robinson, March 29, 1933 (copy). Thomas Papers, Box 408.

[14] New York *Times*, April 21, 1933, p. 8, cols. 5–6; *Congressional Record*, 73 Cong., 1 Sess., April 20, 1933, p. 2010.

[15] Elmer Thomas to O. K. Chandler, February 5, 1937. Thomas Papers, Box 67.

[16] *Who's Who in America* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Co., 1934), p. 576.

where he agitated for more land and irrigation water for them.[17] Collier was especially interested in the relation of land to the Indians and was impressed by the Mexican *ejido* system, not unlike the Pueblos of New Mexico, based on communalism and cooperation.[18] He was a severe critic of the Indian policy which had destroyed the Indian-land relationship, and, in the late 1920's and early 1930's, was so unyielding in his attacks on the B.I.A. (Bureau of Indian Affairs) that, for two years prior to his taking office, he was not permitted to testify on Indian bills before the House Committee on Indian Affairs.[19]

As Commissioner, Collier was officially responsible for "the Indians of the United States, their education, lands, moneys, schools, and general welfare. . . ."[20] At the time he took over the B.I.A., it was a highly centralized, inefficient, and bureaucratic adjunct of the Interior Department. The B.I.A. had been insulated from modern developments in medicine, anthropology, education, sociology, and psychology, and "it continued to exist and work not even in the nineteenth but in the eighteenth century."[21] The Indian Service became a "callous, hardened, and solidified system," unresponsive to the needs of its wards in the enforcement of policy.[22]

American Indian policy was based on the General Allotment Act of 1887 and was designed to make the Indians landholding Christian capitalists.[23] Each Indian received 160 acres from the reservation with surplus lands sold to whites. Full citizenship went with the allotment, and, to protect their property, land titles were held in trust twenty-five years by the United States. The Indian became an occupant of the soil, could become

[17] New York *Times*, April 16, 1933, p. 10, col. 1.

[18] John Collier, "Indians at Work," *Survey Graphic*, XXIII (June, 1934), p. 264.

[19] *Harlow's Weekly*, XL (April 8, 1933), p. 7.

[20] *Congressional Directory*, 73 Cong., 2 Sess., 1934 (Washington: Government Printing Office), p. 446.

[21] Oliver La Farge, ed., *The Changing Indian* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), p. vii.

[22] Brother Rudolf Xavier Foley, "The Origins of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Fordham University, 1936), p. 75.

[23] *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 388–391. The General or Dawes Allotment Act of 1887 was not applicable to the Five Civilized Tribes, the Osages, or the Sac and Fox; however, a similar policy of allotment was forced upon them by the (Henry L.) Dawes Commission between 1897 and 1905, and legalized in the Curtis Act of 1898. See *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXX, pp. 495–519. The General Allotment Act placed the Indian's land in trust for 25 years, preventing alienation. The Curtis Act placed the 160 acre homesteads under restrictions against alienation for the lifetime of the allottee, and any land beyond the homestead, which some Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes received, were restricted for 21 to 25 years against alienation, depending on the tribe. In the case of the Osages, their subsoil minerals, especially oil, remained tribal property although the surface was allotted. See Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, pp. 317 ff.

an active citizen as a farmer or stockman, and would assimilate into the dominant culture. Official policy disbanded tribal governments, forbade Indian religion, and discouraged the old arts and crafts. Well intentioned, this policy proved devastating.[24]

The Indian was quickly separated from his land and relegated to an inferior position in the economy and society. He was not familiar with private ownership or farming, and a major shortcoming in the allotment policy was that no provision was made for training the Indians in agriculture or providing credit facilities for livestock, feed, or implements.[25] Land hungry whites quickly developed methods to either obtain ownership or use of Indian allotments and surplus lands. Whites used leasing methods in which real estate agents took most of the lease money, gave the Indian allottee a minimal amount, and permitted the leaseholder to strip the property of its natural resources. White men became guardians for Indians who were not of legal age or not yet declared competent and then manipulated the Indian property to their own advantage. "One white man [even] tried . . . to secure guardianship of a group of 161 children whose allotments he had planned to select so as to cover a valuable tract of timber."[26] The methods differed, but the result was always Indian exploitation.

The government tried to throw safeguards around the Indians. The Burke Act of 1906 amended the Dawes Act and withheld citizenship in future allotments until the trust period expired, but permitted the Secretary of the Interior to issue a fee patent whenever he was satisfied the Indian allottee was competent to manage his own affairs.[27] Under this act, thousands of patents were issued before the trust periods expired. A competency commission began operations in 1917, and in the next four years somewhere between 10,000 to 20,000 fee patents were issued, making the land available to white expropriation.[28] A later critic of this practice described the process. A white man came to town, located the land he wanted, saw the local lawyer "fixer" who saw the local Indian superintendent. He had the Indian declared competent. The fee patent was issued, and the white loaned money to the Indian for some immediate want, taking a

[24] William T. Hagan, *American Indians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 141 ff.

[25] William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle, comps, *The Indian: America's Unfinished Business* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), pp. 19–20.

[26] Hagan, *American Indians*, p. 145.

[27] *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, pp. 182–83.

[28] Lawrence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs: Its History, Activities, and Organization* (Batlimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins Press, 1927), pp. 88, 152–54; Angie Debo, *A History of the Indians of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), p. 266.

mortgage as security. Foreclosure ended the relationship.[29] Competency related only to the Indian's power in regard to the sale of his land, not his capacity to support himself or his dependents. Once free of Federal supervision, the Indian lost his land and frequently became a charge of the state.[30]

So complete was the misunderstanding of fee simple ownership, that by 1933, there were 150,000 Indians landless. In the jurisdiction of the Kiowa and Comanche agency of western Oklahoma, about sixty out of every one hundred Indians were landless, and all but a few were in poverty. On the eastern side of the state, 72,000 out of the 100,000 Five Civilized Tribes Indians were landless, and of 15,000,000 acres held twenty-five years before, only 1,500,000 acres remained. Plagued with tuberculosis and trachoma, the Indian death rate was twice the death rate of the general population, including the Negroes. Surveys among the Indians of South Dakota, North Dakota, California, Kansas, Montana, and Oklahoma disclosed that the per capita annual Indian family income for 38,772 individuals was $48.78. The total effect of the depression and old Indian policy was to degrade the Indian socially and psychologically drive him to escapes and rationalizations for his misery. Collier believed conditions demanded action and was prepared to lead the fight for the revivification of the American Indian.[31]

Collier found that groundwork for a new policy had already been laid. In 1926, Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work authorized the Institute for Government Research (the Brookings Institution) of Washington, D.C., to make an investigation of the Indian problem. The Institute was a non-governmental agency with a grant of $125,000 from private sources,[32] and Lewis Meriam of the University of Chicago headed the survey staff. Experts in law, economics, health, and agriculture were involved, including Dr. Edward Everett Dale of the University of Oklahoma history department.[33]

Meriam and his staff completed the report in February, 1928, and concluded the Indians needed additional help. Health and living conditions, including diet and housing, and sanitary conditions were found shocking.

[29] U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, Hearings on S. 2047, *A Bill to Promote the General Welfare of the Indians of the State of Oklahoma and for Other Purposes*, 74 Cong., 1 Sess., April 10, 1935, p. 73. Hereinafter this hearing is cited as Senate, Hearings on S. 2047.

[30] Foley, "The Origin of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934," pp. 2, 20, 23.

[31] Collier, "Indians at Work," pp. 264–65, 302–303.

[32] John Collier, *The Indians of the Americas* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1947), p. 257.

[33] Lewis Meriam, *The Problems of Indian Administration* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), pp. 59, 79–85.

Economic conditions were even worse, and the survey group disclosed "that many of them [the Indians] . . . [were] living on lands from which a trained and experienced white man could scarcely wrest a reasonable living."[34] In its recommendations, the report called for the B.I.A. to halt allotment and to devote its main energies "to the social and economic advancement of the Indians, so that they may be absorbed into the prevailing civilization or be fitted to live in the presence of that civilization at least in accordance with a minimum standard of health and decency."[35] The survey report went further and called for "generous" expenditures over a substantial period of time to wind up the national administration of Indian affairs.[36]

With these recommendations, Charles J. Rhodes, Commissioner of Indian Affairs under Herbert Hoover, worked for change. Rhodes wrote many policy statements describing the negative effects of the allotment system and called for tribal corporate organization and more rapid and equitable adjudication of tribal claims against the government. None of Rhode's recommendations were turned into legislation, and the drift of Indian affairs went on; however, the foundation for reform was there when Collier took over.[37]

Under Collier, for the first time, the B.I.A. consulted the Indians before policy was promulgated. Questionnaires went to the many tribes and asked them for their ideas. Collier also acted in accordance with his own concepts of restoring land to the Indians and reinvigorating Indian activism through the creation of tribal governments which would permit the Indians to run their own affairs. The developing program had three objectives: "Economic rehabilitation of the Indian, principally on the land. Organization of the Indian tribes for managing their own affairs. Civil and cultural freedom and opportunity for the Indians."[38]

Collier decided to incorporate the objectives into a single congressional bill. With the advice of members of the B.I.A., the Interior Department Solicitor, Nathan P. Margold, and his legal staff drafted a department bill.[39] The bill proposed six major changes, increasing protection of the B.I.A. over Indian property, but decentralizing its operation. First, land allotments were to be stopped, and landless Indians were to be revested with land. Then, Indian societies were to be recognized and empowered

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[37] Collier, *The Indians of the Americas*, pp. 259–60.
[38] John Collier, *From Every Zenith: A Memoir* (Denver, Colorado: Sage Books, 1963), p. 173.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 173–74.

to incorporate to undertake political, administrative, and economic self-government. Third, the Indians were to have preference in the civil service positions of the B.I.A., and there was to be more training of Indians in administration, the professions, and other vocations. Also, to assist economically, a system of agricultural and industrial credit was to be established with federally provided funds. Fifth, civil and criminal law enforcement, below the level reached by federal court jurisdiction, was to be set up under a system of courts operating with simplified procedures and ultimately responsible to the tribe. Lastly, there was to be a consolidation of fractionalized allotted lands with their return to the tribal estate.[40] When completed, Burton K. Wheeler of Montana introduced the bill into the Senate, and Edgar Howard, Chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee of the House, did likewise in the House of Representatives.

The Wheeler-Howard bill (Indian Reorganization bill) received endorsements from the Commissioner and the Bureau, the Secretary of the Interior, the Bureau of the Budget, and, finally, the President of the United States. Franklin D. Roosevelt described it as "a measure of justice that is long overdue," and "It allows the Indian people to take an active part in the solution of their own problems."[41] He called for its approval by the Congress; however, the bill had to be sold to the Indians and a rushing tide of opposition.

After Collier announced that nine boarding schools maintained by the B.I.A. would be closed on July 1, 1933, Oklahomans watched the development of Indian affairs with interest.[42] Indians participated in New Deal relief activities, including Civilian Conservation Camps. Oklahoma A. and M. College, working with county agents, began distributing seeds to Indians for fall gardens, and federal funds were released for improvement of the Kiowa Indian hospital at Lawton and for building a new auditorium and gymnasium at the Riverside Indian School at Anadarko.[43] Awakening Indians responded to gardening, raised cows and hogs, produced dairy products, and took an interest in adult and 4-H clubs.[44] In September, the first disclosures about the finalized Wheeler-Howard bill circulated in Okla-

[40] Collier, *The Indians of the Americas*, pp. 264–65. Fractionalized lands were those of Indians who had died and many heirs were involved. Death of the original allottee ended the restrictions on the land. Administration of these lands by the B.I.A. was extremely costly. In the final bill, the last two proposals were lost, including consolidation of these lands.

[41] Franklin D. Roosevelt to Burton K. Wheeler, April 28, 1934. Found in Franklin D. Roosevelt, *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, edited by Samuel J. Rosenman (13 vols.; New York: Random House, 1938), vol. III, pp. 202–203.

[42] *Harlow's Weekly*, XL (June 24, 1933), p. 7.

[43] *Ibid.*, XLI (August 15, 1933), p. 16; XLI (August 26, 1933), p. 16; XLI (November 18, 1933), p. 10.

[44] *Ibid.*, XLII (January 6, 1934), p. 16.

homa when the B.I.A. began sending out drafts of the proposed legislation to obtain Indian opinion on it and their support.[45]

John Collier visited Oklahoma in February, 1934, stimulating comment when he appeared before a meeting of the Oklahoma Education Association. He outlined the new program, suggesting in his speech that the initial steps to regenerate the Indians would be to have them organize, be given land " 'fit to live on . . . ,' " and then for "credit for rehabilitation [to] be provided.' "[46] The *Daily Oklahoman* objected to the idea of communal ownership of land by the Indians which would result in isolation from the white race and alluded the Wheeler-Howard bill would create a number of Indian soviets similar to the soviets of Russia.[47]

In March, 1934, Collier planned to visit Muskogee, Anadarko, and Miami in a tour of the country to generate support for the bill. Oklahoma Indians met in advance of his arrival and were unsure about whether or not to accept the change in policy. One hundred delegates of the Indian National Confederacy Convention gathered at Muskogee and adopted a resolution opposing the legislation. The Quapaws voted against the bill, as did the Kiowas, Caddos, Comanches, and Tonkawas. Joseph Bruner of Sapulpa, Chief of the Indian National Confederacy, spoke against the bill, commenting, " 'I don't like the idea of a man coming 1500 miles to tell us what to do.' "[48] The *Daily Oklahoman, Oklahoma City Times, Tulsa Tribune,* and *Bartlesville Examiner* all cautioned against Collier and the bill.[49]

Collier arrived in Oklahoma and met with tribal representatives at day long gatherings. He felt the Indians came to meet him with preconceived opposition to the bill, based on the "many betrayals of past years—betrayals whose consequences were matters of daily experience,"[50] and, as he talked and explained various aspects of the bill, little Indian opposition gave way. At Muskogee, he reportedly won over groups of the Five Civilized Tribes, including at least a portion of the influential Kee-Too-Wah Society of the Cherokees. At Anadarko, 3,000 members of sixteen tribes were present. When asked what would happen if they did not take out a community charter under the bill, Collier warned, " 'They [the Indians] will continue as they are, until they lose all their lands and then I suppose they will come in and ask for a charter and some more land.' "[51] Collier tried to

[45] *Ibid.*, XLI (September 2, 1933), p. 10; XLI (September 23, 1933), p. 10.
[46] *Ibid.*, XLII (February 17, 1934), p. 11.
[47] *Daily Oklahoman*, February 28, 1934, p. 8, vol. 2. Also in *Harlow's Weekly*, XLII (March 3, 1934), p. 12.
[48] *Harlow's Weekly*, XLII (March 17, 1934), p. 15.
[49] *Ibid.*, XLII (March 10, 1934), p. 15.
[50] Collier, *From Every Zenith: A Memoir*, p. 174.
[51] *Harlow's Weekly*, XLII (March 24, 1934), p. 9.

assure the Indians that the bill was in " '[no] way connected with communism.' "[52] The Indians divided. Some decided to support the bill, and others refused, such as the Sac and Fox whose leadership was afraid that under reorganization they would be put out of control of remaining tribal business and a new group put in.[53] Though Collier made slight inroads on Indian opposition, he still had a long way to go to obtain unanimous support. An agency employee at Kiowa who attended the meeting at Anadarko confided, "it is my personal opinion that . . . [the Wheeler-Howard bill] is vaguely understood as to its merits or demerits. . . ."[54]

In April, Collier charged that " 'the center of the opposition to the Wheeler-Howard . . . bill is a small group at Muskogee.' "[55] No doubt, the reference included Congressman Hastings of Tahlequah and Joseph Bruner, a Creek, both of whom raised loud objections to the bill and remained consistently hostile. Hastings asserted the pending legislation placed too much power over Indian affairs in the B.I.A. and Secretary of the Interior. Specifically, he argued against the continuation of restrictions on any Indians or Bureau control of the leasing of their lands. He also objected to proposed Bureau control of appointments of guardians, and, especially, the removal of Indian affairs from the state courts to the Interior Department regarding the determination of heirs, probate of wills, and the method of partitioning restricted lands. The bill, he argued, would invalidate restricted Indians' wills not drawn with Interior Department approval and would require Department approval of all lawyers representing Indians. Hastings said "that in his judgment it was not for the best interests of the Indians that they be prejudiced . . . against the courts of the state, the officials for whom they voted and helped to elect," and felt the bill would "arouse a suspicion in the minds of the Indians against their own county and state governments."[56]

Joseph Bruner's opposition centered on the proposed reestablishment of reservations and tribal governments. Indian leaders of his Indian National Confederacy believed these aspects of the bill would "prohibit Indians taking an active part in county, state and federal governmental

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[53] Jerry Whistler Snow, "Sac and Fox Tribal Government from 1885 through Reorganization Under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act in 1937" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1970), pp. 54–55.

[54] Luther M. Brace to Elmer Thomas, April 16, 1934. Thomas Papers, Box 46.

[55] *Harlow's Weekly*, XLII (April 21, 1934), p. 12.

[56] *Ibid.*, XLII (March 17, 1934), p. 15. For eighteen years, Hastings represented the Second District which included Adair, Cherokee, Haskell, McIntosh, Muskogee, Okmulgee, Sequoyah, and Wagoner counties. He was replaced in the election of 1934 by Jack Nichols of Eufaula.

affairs."[57] Bruner also charged Collier failed to adequately interpret the bill to the Indians and demanded his resignation, sending a protest to the House and Senate. The protest reportedly concluded, " 'We do not want—we will not voluntarily or cheerfully accept separate schools, separate communities, separate courts or additional impeding obnoxious interference from Washington.' "[58]

Protests from Oklahoma found favorable reception in Washington. Senator Thomas concluded the bill was "not meeting with general favor among our Indian citizens . . . ,"[59] was not suited to Oklahoma, and would not pass Congress.[60] Thomas' opposition increased after Collier disclosed the B.I.A. contemplated buying white holdings in allotted areas of Oklahoma and consolidating them, returning the Indians to a reservation system in chartered communities.[61] Thomas believed the Indian population of Oklahoma was in the main settled on allotted land, being assimilated, and the reimposition of reservations would set them back forty years and segregate them. Should restrictions be continued, Thomas also complained, "many millions of acres of land in my State would never become taxable."[62] He also feared the bill was an attempt to perpetuate the B.I.A. and decided to prevent its application to Oklahoma except for the extension of the economic and welfare benefits.[63]

As the administration bill worked through the committees on Indian affairs in the spring of 1934, it underwent many modifications. One of the most important changes was by an amendment of Senator Thomas which excluded the Oklahoma Indians, tribe by tribe, from the provisions permitting creation of new reservations and formation of Indian corporations and tribal governments.[64] When the bill came to the floor of the Senate, Thomas amended it again to help Oklahoma Indians by permitting the B.I.A. to purchase land for the landless Indians on an individual basis.[65]

[57] *Ibid.*, XLII (May 12, 1934), p. 6.

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] Elmer Thomas to James Duncan, April 11, 1934, Thomas Papers, Box 46.

[60] *Harlow's Weekly*, XLII (April 28, 1934), p. 13.

[61] U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Indian Affairs, Hearings on H.R. 7902, *A Bill to Grant to Indians Living Under Federal Tutelage the Freedom to Organize for Purposes of Local Self-Government and Economic Enterprise; To Provide for the Necessary Training of Indians in Administrative and Economic Affairs; To Conserve and Develop Indian Lands; and to Promote the More Effective Administration of Justice in Matters Affecting Indian Tribes and Communities by Establishing a Federal Court of Indian Affairs*, 73 Cong., 2 Sess., February 23, 1934, Part II, pp. 61–62.

[62] *Congressional Record*, 73 Cong., 2 Sess., June 12, 1934, p. 11126.

[63] *Harlow's Weekly*, XLII (May 5, 1934), p. 13; XLII (June 23, 1934), p. 14.

[64] *Ibid.*, XLII (June 2, 1934), p. 15.

[65] *Congressional Record*, 73 Cong., 2 Sess., June 12, 1934, pp. 11125–11126.

Thomas felt "Under the amendments passed in the bill, the Oklahoma Indians get all of the benefits of the legislation and are not required to suffer any of the objectionable features."[66]

The amended bill had been cut from forty-eight pages to five and become law on June 18, 1934. Section thirteen excluded the tribes of Oklahoma and their affiliated bands from five sections.[67] The Oklahoma Indians, under the act, were subject to the provisions which halted the allotment of all lands, authorized a fund of $2,000,000 a year for acquisition of land for landless Indians, promoted conservation practices, authorized a revolving fund of $10,000,000 for loans for economic development, and authorized an annual fund of up to $250,000 for loans to Indians for payment of tuition in vocational and trade schools. Also applicable was the provision which exempted qualified Indians from general civil service competition in appointments to positions in the Indian service, and the bill specifically did not impair or prejudice any of the many claims and suits the Indians had against the United States.[68]

Despite its far reaching economic effects for the Indians of Oklahoma, the law carried no appropriation, and it excluded them from the main tenets of the Collier Indian policy, collective land holding and corporate organization of the tribal government.[69] And in fact, Collier concluded it would do little for Oklahoma Indians since the B.I.A. would not buy land on an individual basis for them when they had no capital to develop it, and only tribal corporate organizations could have access to the $10,000,000 revolving fund.[70]

Jasper Saunkeah, full-blood chairman of the council of the Kiowa tribe which had rejected the original Wheeler-Howard bill,[71] continued the movement for further protection of the property of Oklahoma Indians. In 1934, he wrote in *Harlow's Weekly*:[72]

66 "Memorandum on Wheeler-Howard Bill—Dictated by Senator Thomas" (nd). Thomas Papers, Box 46. Although undated, this memorandum is found in material for June, 1934, and was presumably written at about the time of the passage of the act.

67 These are: Cheyenne, Arapaho, Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, Delaware, Wichita, Osage, Kaw, Otoe, Tonkawa, Pawnee, Ponca, Shawnee, Ottawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte, Iowa, Sac and Fox, Kickapoo, Potawatomie, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole.

68 *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XLVIII, Part I, pp. 984–88.

69 Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run* (Princeton, New Jersey; Princeton University Press, 1940), pp. 369–70; *Harlow's Weekly*, XLII (June 30, 1934), p. 14.

70 *Ibid.*, XLIII (October 20, 1934), p. 4; *Congressional Record*, 74 Cong., 1 Sess., April 16, 1935, p. 5739.

71 "Minutes of Kiowa Council, Called for the Purpose of Discussing the Bills S–2755 and HR 7902 Sponsored by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier," March 5, 1934. Found in "Meeting of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Hon. John Collier, with the Indians of Western Oklahoma at Anadarko, March 20, 1934, for the Purpose of Discussing the Wheeler-Howard Bill," unboxed typescript in the Thomas Papers.

We have seen our brothers and sisters declared competent; watched them sell their lands, or trade them for temporary benefits. We have seen them fleeced by the ever greedy land-grafters who swarm the country of the Indians. We have seen young Indian men and women placed in compromising situations from which they issued without their property or anything to show for having owned that property. Unprincipled white persons have profited. They have invited our people into business propositions of all kinds, and seldom if ever have our tribesmen come out with any of the profits of the business. In most cases they have come out suffering the loss of their entire resources.

Saunkeah pointed out the trust period ended in 1936, and unless the government continued its protection of the Kiowas, most would wind up "in county homes, where they would be additional burdens on the taxpayers of the counties."[73] He went on that the only hope of the Kiowas was "governmental supervision until such time as our people become capable of handling their property wisely, and conducting business for themselves."[74]

John Collier pushed to get the Oklahoma Indians to accept the total New Deal policy by writing a series of articles for local consumption between July and August, 1934. The articles traced the history of the Five Civilized Tribes under federal tutelage from removal to the 1930's, described the situation among the Indians, and what the B.I.A. was doing for them.[75] Collier had not given up in Oklahoma, and some Indians remained interested in government protection. As Oklahoma's Indian population began to have a better understanding of the Wheeler-Howard Act, and their suspicion of another betrayal diminished, they began to conclude that the whole New Deal would benefit them. The *Ada News* commented, "That John Collier . . . is rapidly gaining the full confidence of the Indians . . ."[76] and the *Daily Oklahoman* editorialized, "The more the Indians of Oklahoma think about the New Deal offered them by the Roosevelt administration . . . , the more they are coming to believe the plan will work to their betterment."[77] The changing atmosphere did not escape the notice of Senator Thomas.

Thomas decided to tour Oklahoma himself, to talk with Oklahomans,

[72] Jasper Sunkeah, "Kiowas Fear They May Lose Allotted Lands," *Harlow's Weekly*, XLII (June 16, 1934), p. 12.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] John Collier, "Present Status of Oklahoma Indians," *Harlow's Weekly*, XLIII (July 14, 1934), pp. 14–15; XLIII (July 21, 1934), pp. 7–8; XLIII (July 28, 1934), p. 13; XLIII (August 4, 1934), pp. 12–13; XLIII (August 11, 1934), pp. 14–15; XLIII (August 25, 1934), p. 15.

[76] *Ibid.*, XLIII (October 6, 1934), p. 2.

[77] *Ibid.*

and to try to decide what the Indians of the state really wanted. Thomas invited John Collier to join him, and the Senator's office released their itinerary, disclosing they would visit Muskogee, Miami, Pawhuska, Pawnee, Shawnee, Concho, and Anadarko during the week of October 15 to 23, 1934. One of the main objectives of the tour was simply to explain further what the Wheeler-Howard Act involved.[78] Before the party arrived, Collier, Thomas, the Indians, and Oklahoma newspapers got into an imbroglio over remarks Collier made while speaking in Georgia. He reportedly said Oklahoma Indians were " 'suffering cruel and devastating wrongs' and that this subject . . . [would] become a 'political battleground' in the next Congress, . . . [declaring] that the Wheeler-Howard law opened the 'gate to future life' for all Indians in the country except those in Oklahoma."[79] Thomas answered in a blast at the B.I.A. and charged it had failed in its responsibility to the Indians. The editor of the *Tulsa Tribune* called on Collier to stop "trying to steamroller his bureaucratic Utopia into being . . . ," and defend "the rights of Oklahoma Indians. . . ."[80]

The tour of Oklahoma proved lively and produced a compromise. At the first meeting with Indians at Muskogee, Thomas blasted the reservation concept embodied in the Wheeler-Howard Act, saying: "The whole theory and intent is to get the Indians off their present lands and into a solid block on a reservation. They would put you on the poorest land that the white man can buy, for that's the kind of land they always buy for you. Oklahoma is the Siberia of the Indian race."[81]

Thomas charged Collier was trying to perpetuate the B.I.A., but straddled the issue over putting lands of Indians on the tax rolls by saying he did not want to put them on, but wouldn't promise "they will never go on. . . ."[82]

Collier responded that the purpose of the Wheeler-Howard Act was to liberate American Indians. He declared, " 'the white man is organized for mutual benefit,' " and asked, " 'Why can't the Indians?' "[83] He insisted the Indians should at least have a chance to vote on incorporation, something they could not do under the existing legislation. At Muskogee, the Indian division was between full-bloods and mixed-bloods. Full-bloods accepted Collier's ideas as a return to tribal life, self-government, and independence. Mixed-bloods opposed, and, according to most reports, were in the majority.[84] When the party reached Pawhuska, the joint debates

[78] *Ibid.*
[79] *Ibid.*, XLIII (October 13, 1934), p. 10.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[81] *Ibid.*, XLIII (October 20, 1934), p. 4.
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] *Ibid.*
[84] *Ibid.*; Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, p. 370.

Senator Elmer Thomas at Glacier Park Station, Montana, 1936 (*Courtesy Western History Collections, OU Library*)

halted, and Collier conceded the Wheeler-Howard Act would have to be amended to fit the Oklahoma situation. Thomas still opposed Collier on making Indian lands a perpetual trust and on the tribal self-government idea.[85] Before returning to Washington, Collier again charged, as he had before, that opposition to the New Deal policy was centered in the northeastern part of Oklahoma, and: [86]

> It's not the general run of white people in Oklahoma who are fighting the bill. It's the small clique of lawyers and guardians who have profited in the past from the Indians and who hate to be separated from a nice source of revenue. Most of the opposition is centered at Muskogee. Elsewhere it has been lack of understanding which caused hesitance, not malice.

As the tour closed, Thomas and Collier had reached agreement on several points. First, the existing legislation was not satisfactory for Oklahoma; second, effective legislation providing for purchase of land and credit for individual Indians was needed; and third, additional legal safeguards protecting Indians from white encroachments were necessary.[87]

When Congress assembled in 1935, for "the first time in history," the Oklahoma delegation captured three committee chairmanships. Congressman Wilburn Cartwright became chairman of the House Roads Committee, Congressman-at-Large Will Rogers became chairman of the House Indian Affairs Committee, and Elmer Thomas moved to the chairmanship of the Indian Affairs Committee of the Senate.[88] Fresh from his trip to Oklahoma, Thomas began work on a bill for Oklahoma Indians, and Congressman Rogers joined him in the project. Thomas reported, " 'The idea is that the Wheeler-Howard bill is for reservation Indians . . . and it doesn't fit our tribes. Our bill would give our Indians advantages in the way of lands, loans, schools and hospitals. I believe that we can draw up a bill which will benefit both Indians and white people.' "[89] Congressman Rogers, speaking at Tulsa before the annual meeting of the Oklahoma Education Association, described the new measure as a " 'newer new deal' for the Oklahoma Indian. . . ."[90]

The Thomas-Rogers bill (Oklahoma Indian Welfare bill) divided the Indians of Oklahoma into two degrees. The first degree was those of one-

[85] *Harlow's Weekly*, XLIII (October 20, 1934), p. 4.

[86] *Ibid.*, XLIII (October 27, 1934), p. 6.

[87] *Ibid.*, p. 7; XLIII (November 10, 1934), p. 6; XLIII (December 1, 1934), pp. 14–15. Collier returned to Washington without visiting Concho or Anadarko, but was represented by A. C. Monahan, assistant to Collier in charge of Indian property relations.

[88] *Ibid.*, XLIV (March 2, 1935), p. 11.

[89] *Ibid.*, XLIV (January 12, 1935), p. 13.

[90] *Ibid.*, XLIV (February 16, 1935), p. 10.

half Indian blood or more. These Indians would have their property held in trust, while Indians of the second degree, less than one-half blood, were to have their restrictions removed as rapidly as their ability to manage their affairs would permit. To determine competency, a commission would be formed each four years to examine adults of the second degree. The Secretary of the Interior was given a preference right to purchase Indian lands for landless Indians with the title vesting in the United States and exempt from state jurisdiction or taxation. The President was given the power to extend trust periods at his discretion, but with a provision the trust could be terminated by the request of an Indian with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. Section eight of the bill was the most controversial and especially affected the Osages and Five Civilized Tribes. It placed Indians of the first degree under the Secretary of the Interior in the matter of administration of their estates, determination of heirship, and approval or disapproval of wills, partitions of land, funds or other restricted property.[91] And even more important, "no guardian . . . [could] be appointed by the courts of the State of Oklahoma for any person of one-half or more Indian blood except on petition approved by the Secretary of the Interior."[92]

The bill went on to commit the United States to provide for the welfare of the Indians, including such things as schools, hospitals, and care for the aged. Voluntary organization was authorized, and the Secretary of the Interior empowered to issue charters carrying with them all powers properly vested in a body corporate under the laws of the state of Oklahoma. Corporate bodies received the right to participate in the $10,000,000 credit fund created under the Wheeler-Howard Act.[93] Also, the Secretary was to establish an "Oklahoma Indian Credit Association . . . authorized in its charter to purchase stock in and make loans to Indian cooperative credit, consumers, marketing, and land-management associations, and to individual Indians. . . ."[94] Finally, the bill guaranteed all present and future benefits under the Wheeler-Howard Act to Oklahoma Indians.[95] Secretary Ickes endorsed the bill,[96] and Collier described it as "epoch making."[97] Both put their influence behind it, and Thomas introduced it into the Sen-

[91] Senate, Hearings on S. 2047, April 8, 1935, pp. 1–3.

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 4. Indians of less than one-half blood were to be within the jurisdiction of the state courts, but whose actions would be closely regulated in the handling of the estates by the Secretary of the Interior.

[93] *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 6. It would have a fund of $2,000,000.

[95] *Ibid.*, pp. 6–8.

[96] Harold L. Ickes to Elmer Thomas, February 23, 1935. Found in *ibid.*, p. 8.

[97] *Harlow's Weekly*, XLIV (March 2, 1935), p. 11.

ate on February 26, 1935, as S. 2047, and the next day Rogers sponsored it in the House as H.R. 6234.[98] Thomas explained:[99]

The whole plan of the bill is intended to extend to the Indian citizens the fullest possible opportunity to work out their own economic salvation.

The lands which the Indians now hold will be protected and additional lands will be provided for those without homes and without a place to reside. Indian children will be extended school facilities. The health of the Indian citizens will be protected by adequate hospital facilities. Indian citizens who desire to get out from under the maangment [*sic*] of the Federal Bureau will be enabled to make application and, upon proper showing, they may secure title to their lands and thereafter they may assume their place as full and free citizens of the state of Oklahoma.

Many Indians, victims of the existing system, signalled their interest and their support. Requests arrived at Thomas' office for copies of the Thomas-Rogers bill and for explanations of it since Indian councils were going to meet to discuss it.[100] Individual Indians expressed their appreciation, and a Kiowa reflected, "I am no attorney, neither do I . . . know the law, still I have the power to sense both right and wrong from my moral disposition" and called for the passage of the bill since "no Kiowa Indian . . . is ready to take care of his own business. . . ."[101] Rufus Test, a Kaw Indian, endorsed the bill, "Oklahoma Indians were needing protection to their life and property. Just like our Blanket Indians used to say, "Our government is fast asleep now, someday our Government is going to wake up, and I guess the day has come now."[102] Whole tribes met and expressed their thanks for what Thomas was doing "in our behalf."[103] Obviously, Indian attitudes were changing; changing as they learned that other groups were accepting and organizing under the Wheeler-Howard Act, and small points were being cleared up.[104]

One problem had been the idea of freedom of religion, which the Indians

[98] *Congressional Record*, 74 Cong., 1 Sess., February 26, 1935, p. 2611; February 27, 1935, p. 2697.

[99] Elmer Thomas, "New Deal for Oklahoma Indians," *Harlow's Weekly*, XLIV (April 13, 1935), p. 9. Ultimate assimilation remained the principal goal though through a gradual process. See Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Indian Heritage of America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), pp. 252–53.

[100] Mike Tahdocahnippah to Elmer Thomas, March 2(?), 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 66.

[101] Jack Doyeto to Elmer Thomas, March 23, 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 66.

[102] Rufus Test to Elmer Thomas, March 4, 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 66.

[103] Joseph Proctor, Gus Hummingbird, J. B. Sixkiller, Charley Bearpaw, George Haynes, and Noah Bunch to Elmer Thomas, April 7, 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 66.

[104] *Harlow's Weekly*, XLIII (December 1, 1934), p. 14. The Wheeler-Howard Act was not funded until March, 1935, and then only in amounts far below authorizations.

believed was only freedom to be a Christian. Thomas clarified this point by stating it meant complete freedom even to the revival of native religion and "the use of peyote in the religious ceremonies."[105] Sol Ketcham, however, warned Thomas there was "lots of kicking ... going on in Osage County by a few unscrupulous white men: such as traders, merchants and oil men against your bill and they still want to beet [*sic*] the Indians for what little they have left."[106]

The northeastern section of the state and especially forces in Osage County opposed the bill. A broadside appeared with the objections of the Osage County Bar Association, *Pawhuska Daily Journal-Capital*, and Osage County Chamber of Commerce. The broadside complained the bill took away from the courts of Oklahoma all authority in the matter of probate jurisdiction over the lands, property, and funds of Indians and vested it exclusively in the Secretary of the Interior, removed property from the tax rolls of the state and increased taxes on whites, segregated the Indians, and was "a step backward. . . ." It ended with the admonition, *"Do you favor this bill?—Then wire or write your Congressman and Senator."*[107]

On March 16, 1935, the Osage County Bar Association formally served notice on Thomas of its position including a resolution stating "Senate Bill No. 2047 and House Bill 6234 . . . affecting all Indians in Oklahoma are objectionable to the people of Oklahoma and every county . . . wherein Indians are located. . . ."[108] Thomas received a comment on the situation from "An Osage Indian," who pointed out that the lawyers of Osage County, of whom there were many, "make most of their fees off the Osage Indians," and went on, "most of their practice is being guardian, attorney for a guardian, or suits filed against or between Indians." The letter concluded, "Of course . . . you will understand that the Bar would be against taking any Indian business out of the county court where you can get an order of court for most anything under the sun, including unreasonably large attorney fees."[109] Judge L. F. Roberts of the County Court of Osage County, in a letter marked "Personal," wrote Thomas his "friends and Citizens of

[105] *Ibid.*, XLII (June 2, 1934), p. 15; Elmer Thomas to Bill Johnson, February 26, 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 70.

[106] Sol Ketcham to Elmer Thomas, March 3, 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 66.

[107] "Senator Thomas' New Deal for Oklahoma Indians" (nd.). Thomas Papers, Box 66. The broadside apparently appeared just after March 17, 1935. No doubt, this legislation was viewed as a threat by guardians, lawyers, and business interests. The Osages received $220,000,000 in oil royalties in the 20 years prior to 1929. This was the "Great Barbecue" of the Osages by the whites. In 1933, after the collapse of oil prices, most had nothing left.

[108] "Resolution of Osage County Bar Association," appended to J. L. Howard to Elmer Thomas, March 16, 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 66.

[109] An Osage Indian to Elmer Thomas, March 18, 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 66.

Osage County" were amazed at his introduction of the bill, and they relied on him to "see to it that the bill in its present form is killed. . . ."[110]

In April, hearings on the bill began in Washington and the Indian tribes elected and sent delegates. The bar associations sent representatives, and other Oklahoma citizens attended. The hearings disclosed the evils of the guardianship system. Testimony indicated white lawyers secured the legal limit of five Indian guardianships in their own name and five more in that of their wife or other relatives. In addition, lawyers augmented their incomes by exploiting Indian claims and based fees on a good percentage of the funds collected. " 'If this bill passes,' " Senator Thomas declared, " 'these practices will cease and I hope forever.' "[111] If the bill passed, the Federal government would handle the Indian estates with minimal fee collections. The hearings further disclosed the Indians wanted the proposed "newer new deal" and favored the bill becoming law.[112]

A citizen also charged, "in no other state in the Union than Oklahoma will there be found . . . a like number of probate cases where the cost of administration approaches [Oklahoma]," and called on Congress to end "this orgy of legalized robbery."[113] Thomas concluded, "I realize that attorneys who have heretofore made their living out of the Indians are opposed to the legislation and, while I do not blame the attorneys being opposed to the bill, yet the members of Congress having Indian constituents have a responsibility which they cannot shirk."[114] Thomas guided the bill

[110] L. F. Roberts to Elmer Thomas, April 3, 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 66.

[111] *Harlow's Weekly*, XLIV (April 10, 1935), p. 13; Senate, Hearings on S. 2047, April 9, 1935, pp. 42–43. G. B. Fulton, tribal attorney for the Osages, testified attorneys received $300 to $1,000 per year for each ward and could also collect attorney's fees "all the way from 50% up to equal the guardian's fees." He also disclosed attorneys who were guardians for one Indian would take another Indian's suit against his own ward and collect fees from both, despite the conflict of interest.

[112] *Ibid.*, April 8, 1935, p. 19; April 9, 1935, p. 37. Virtually every Indian delegate who testified endorsed the bill.

[113] Jimmy Rogers to Jack Nichols, April 22, 1935 (copy), Thomas Papers, Box 66. Case after case was presented to the House Indian Affairs Committee illustrating this point. See U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Indian Affairs, Hearings on H.R. 6234, *A Bill to Promote the General Welfare of the Indians of the State of Oklahoma and for Other Purposes*, 74 Cong., 1 Sess., May 7, 1935, pp. 208–15 (hereinafter this hearing is cited as House, Hearings on H.R. 6234): (e.g.: p. 208)—"Lena Yahola Alexander, a full-blood Creek, died in 1926 and left as her sole and only heir, her daughter, Hannah Anderson. After her death numerous persons claimed to be her husband and several persons claimed to be her son. Litigation followed which was not concluded until 1933 and during the period of 7 years the estate suffered to the extent of $60,000, which was paid out for court costs, attorney fees, and expenses incident to establishing the rights of Hannah Anderson to inherit the estate. Forty-five thousand dollars of the above sum was paid for attorney fees. The remainder was utilized as expenses" (70690–1925, Creek 310).

[114] Elmer Thomas to L. F. Roberts, April 10, 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 66.

through the Senate, but major opposition appeared in the House of Representatives.

In the House, Congressman Wesley E. Disney of Tulsa, representing the First District which included Osage County, and Jack Nichols, backed by ex-Congressman Hastings and Oklahoma business groups, stood opposed to the bill without substantial amendment. They opposed the power the Secretary of the Interior would have over Indians and estates, and the destruction of the jurisdiction of the courts of Oklahoma. Disney specifically charged the bill would deplete tax rolls, while retaining the state's police protection, schools, and roads for the Indians, while they made no tax contribution.[115] The state legislature of Oklahoma reenforced these objections,[116] and, in May, the House Committee, over the objections of Will Rogers, tabled the bill indefinitely.[117] Congressman Roy E. Ayres of Montana introduced the motion to table and explained "he wished 'to kill this bill as far as the 74th Congress . . . [was] concerned.' "[118] The American Indian Defense Association of Washington, D.C., complained "The committee's action was taken without previous notice, without discussion or debate of the bill, without considering any amendments, without waiting for the Public Hearings to be published, and without a quorum being present, a fact to which noone [*sic*] present called attention," but went on to predict: *"The bill is not dead!* The propagandists and big business interests which have been opposing this desperately needed measure have only won the first round . . . Senator Elmer Thomas can be counted on to fight for a just settlement of the issues which the bill raises."[119]

Despite the optimism of the Association, on May 10, the original Thomas-Rogers bill was dead. Opposition in the House had killed it, and Congressman Rogers conceded it could not be passed without significant changes.[120] In June, Thomas stated, " 'The bill will be changed materially from the original form,' " and began work with John Collier on a new draft that

[115] *Harlow's Weekly*, XLIV (May 11, 1935), p. 13; XLIV (May 25, 1935), p. 12; XLIV (June 8, 1935), p. 15; W. W. Hastings to Will Rogers, April 31, 1935. Found in *Congressional Record*, 74 Cong., 1 Sess., April 25, 1935, pp. 6380–6382; House, Hearings on H.R. 6234, May 3, 1935, pp. 154–55. This is Disney's statement, and he concluded all of northeastern Oklahoma was against the bill, including 19 local bar associations. For business opposition see G. K. Sutherland to Elmer Thomas, April 8, 1935. Found in Senate, Hearings on S. 2047, April 11, 1935, pp. 152–53.

[116] "Memorial of the Senate of the State of Oklahoma," April 5, 1935. Found in *ibid.*, pp. 136–37; "Memorial of the House of Representatives, State of Oklahoma," April 5, 1935. Found in *ibid.*, pp. 139–40.

[117] American Indian Defense Association, Inc., "General Bulletin No. 34," May 29, 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 65.

[118] *Ibid.*

[119] *Ibid.*

[120] *Harlow's Weekly*, XLIV (May 18, 1935), p. 9.

would satisfy the House opposition and local interests in Oklahoma.[121] C. W. Miller, the United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Oklahoma, urged Thomas to retain section eight of the bill which curbed the probate courts of Oklahoma and placed Federal legal protection over the Indians, but noted it would be opposed "by those who opposed the provisions of the [original] bill."[122] Collier, however, predicted the redrafted bill would be approved.[123]

The Senate Committee on Indian Affairs reported the amended Thomas-Rogers bill on July 29, 1935, and it retained some of the initial provisions. Section eight of the first bill was struck out, leaving the Indians under the jurisdiction of the state. The bill prevented the Secretary of the Interior from continuing restrictions on Indians of less than one-half Indian blood, with the added provision that no property previously freed of restrictions could be restricted again. The Secretary was also allowed to remove restrictions on Indians without their making application and permitted appeal to the Federal courts if an application made by an Indian was refused, making the decision of the court binding on the Secretary. It also permitted Indians to create private trusts of their property, removing them from the jurisdiction of the Interior Department. The competency commission was required to have at least one Indian member from the tribe of the Indians being examined. The commission would also include the local Indian superintendent and a third member appointed by the Secretary. In sum, the amended bill returned the Indians to state court jurisdiction and liberalized the provisions for declaring the Indian competent, which would speed the lifting of restrictions over his property. The welfare, economic, and organizational aspects of the original bill remained,[124] and the redrafted bill passed the Senate on August 16, 1935.[125]

The bill moved to the House, but was never considered before Congress adjourned. *Harlow's Weekly* reported Congressmen Nichols and Disney still objected to the legislation and decided to let it go over to the next session.[126] Between the closing of Congress in 1935 and its reassembling, Oklahoma congressmen made the rounds of the Indian agencies and

[121] *Ibid.*, XLIV (June 8, 1935), p. 14; John Collier to Elmer Thomas, May 23, 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 70.

[122] C. W. Miller to Elmer Thomas, June 25, 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 70.

[123] *Harlow's Weekly*, XLIV (June 29, 1935), p. 15.

[124] "Welfare of Indians of Oklahoma." *Senate Report No. 1232*, 74 Cong., 1 Sess., 1935 (Serial 9880), pp. 1–7; "Committee Report—S. 2047," n.d. Thomas Papers, Box 70.

[125] *Congressional Record*, 74 Cong., 1 Sess., August 16, 1935, p. 13380; *Harlow's Weekly*, XLV (August 24, 1935), p. 12.

[126] *Ibid.*, XLV (August 31, 1935), p. 10.

:hools, "obtaining all possible information upon the operation of present ıws and needs for further legislation. . . ."[127]

In December, representatives of the American Indian Federation made neir last vitriolic blasts at the Thomas-Rogers bill. The Federation claimed he legislation had its origin in the American Civil Liberties Union which ontrolled the B.I.A. The B.I.A., in the opinion of the Federation, was ıromoting a "communistic, irreligious, unAmerican program . . ." for the ndian. [128] In early 1936, O. K. Chandler, chairman of the Americanism Committee of the Federation, charged the bill had as its goal "to *Establish Communism in the United States of America,*" and he too condemned the Christ mocking communist aiding...." American Civil Liberties Union.[129] Thomas brushed these protests aside since Collier had exposed Bruner and he Federation as representing no Indian tribe, but a small group in Cali- ornia "seeking legislation which would entitle various lawyers to receive arge payments, for services of no measurable value, out of . . . [a] forth- oming award by the Court of Claims to the Indians of California," split- ing the legal fees obtained.[130]

Still the lobbyists worked on the bill. Oklahoma lawyers pressured Thomas to see the bill carried a provision permitting appeals to the courts on Interior Department allowances of fees for attorneys,[131] and urged this portion of the bill be made retroactive, offering to apply pressure on others o get it passed if it would help.[132] Judge Thomas W. Leahy at Muskogee ndorsed this idea and thanked Thomas for keeping "the faith for myself nd other attorneys interested in Indian litigation."[133] Just before Congress reassembled in January, however, Choctaw Chief Ben Dwight wrote Thomas and gave a ringing endorsement to the bill.[134]

After the Second Session of the Seventy-fourth Congress convened, the House and Senate reached a final disposition on the Thomas-Rogers bill.

127 *Ibid.*, XLV (September 28, 1935), p. 4.

128 Joseph Bruner to Elmer Thomas, December 3, 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 70.

129 O. K. Chandler to Henry M. Stubbs, M.C., April 17, 1936 (copy). Thomas Papers, ox 67. Similar statement in O. K. Chandler to Elmer Thomas, June 27, 1936. Thomas Papers, ox 67.

130 *Congressional Record*, 74 Cong., 1 Sess., April 2, 1935, p. 4874; Elmer Thomas to oseph Bruner, December 10, 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 70; Elmer Thomas to O. K. Chandler, ıne 29, 1936. Thomas Papers, Box 67.

131 Thomas J. Leahy to Elmer Thomas, June 8, 1936 (telegram). Thomas Papers, Box 67.

132 Hagan and Gavin to Elmer Thomas, June 8, 1936 (telegram). Thomas Papers, Box 7; T. Austin Gavin to Elmer Thomas, June 16, 1936 (telegram). Thomas Papers, Box 67.

133 Thomas W. Leahy to Elmer Thomas, December 8, 1936 (telegram). Thomas Papers, ox 67.

134 Ben Dwight to Elmer Thomas, December 3, 1935. Thomas Papers, Box 70.

The bill came to the floor of the Senate on June 15, 1936, and all of the previously amended provisions were struck out, and seven new ones drawn by the House Committee on Indian Affairs substituted. The House version eliminated the Osage County opposition since a new section eight read, "This act shall not relate to or affect Osage County, Okla."[135] The House bill authorized the Secretary of the Interior to acquire agricultural and grazing lands of good character for landless Indians, and the Secretary would have preference rights on any Indian land offered for sale. Any tribe or band of Indians could organize "for its common welfare" and adopt a constitution and bylaws conveying all powers of any body corporate under the laws of Oklahoma. The corporation could obtain Federal credit under the Wheeler-Howard Act and maintain its funds in any national bank in Oklahoma. It authorized $2,000,000 for loans to "individual Indians and to associations or corporate groups organized pursuant to this act."[136] The House bill said nothing about the continuation of restrictions and provided none of the earlier safeguards for Indian property, leaving Indians within the courts of the state in regard to probate and heirship matters.[137]

On June 18, following agreement to the House amendments, the House version of the Thomas-Rogers bill cleared the Senate.[138] The next day, the Speaker of the House and Vice-President signed the bill, and it was presented to the President. Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the "newer new deal" for Oklahoma Indians and the bill became law on June 26, 1936.[139] Thomas telegraphed a constituent, "Oklahoma General Welfare bill passed both Houses before Congress adjourned and was signed by the President. . . . It will become effective immediately."[140]

Most Oklahomans never shared the view of the solution to the Indian problem held by John Collier. Working from the vantage of the social scientist and anthropologist, he hoped to return the Indians to the only land system they had been successful with. Organized on communal land, the Indians would learn to compete economically with the white man, to become active in the running of the tribal government, and to take care of themselves. Then the Indian would be ready to assimilate. As Meriam had seen, and Collier said, it would take time to imbue the Indians with

135 *Congressional Record*, 74 Cong., 2 Sess., June 15, 1936, p. 9450.

136 *Ibid.*

137 *Ibid.*

138 *Ibid.*, June 18, 1936, p. 9885.

139 *Ibid.*, June 19, 1936, pp. 10107, 10278; June 20, 1936, pp. 10359, 10552; *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XLIX, Part I, pp. 1967–68.

140 Elmer Thomas to John Hugh Chambers, June 27, 1936 (telegram). Thomas Papers, Box 70.

he self-confidence necessary to be successful in American society. This was he road away from economic and social segregation, not into it.

The new policy was thrown at the Indians in a brief span of time, and, t first, they refused to accept it, having experienced numerous shifts in olicy which usually led to something worse than what had existed before. t is unlikely the Indians even understood the original Wheeler-Howard ill, and so they resisted it until its broader implications became known. hen, by 1935, evidence indicates the Indians, almost a majority and espeially those in western Oklahoma, wanted the organization, land, and proection offered in the first Thomas-Rogers bill. However, forces, both honest nd venal, emasculated the protective features of the legislation. Why hould not the Osages have been able to organize to produce, refine, and listribute their own oil?

Elmer Thomas played a restrained role. He was above all a successful artisan politician and knew when to compromise, as he had done on the ppointment of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1933. He worked gainst the Wheeler-Howard bill when the local winds blew against it. When the winds shifted in 1934 and 1935, he rode the prevailing current, ut seriously considered what the Indians needed. The original bill remelied the problems exposed by past experience and the public hearings. Howver, Thomas, the politician, compromised away the protection first enisioned. The final bill was a House bill, limitedly resembling the original neasure, and might well have carried another designation than "Thomas-Rogers."

Just as Franklin D. Roosevelt laid the cornerstone of a new Interior Deartment in Washington in 1936, the finalized bill laid a new foundation or Oklahoma's Indian affairs and held out the hand of hope to the landless, overty, and disease ridden first occupants of the American Continent. They could organize for mutual benefit and there would be credit facilities nd welfare services. The regeneration was to take time. The hand of hope as held out less than twenty years when action at Washington began eversal of the New Deal Indian policy and moved to terminate all Federal ssistance and relations with Indians as rapidly as possible. The first step oward this, however, revealed that termination would be fatal to the Indian tribes. They had seen hope in John Collier's program. Termination ow has been stopped, and the Indians are moving forward again to new rograms against poverty and disease. They are coming to the realization f their own part in the great American dream.

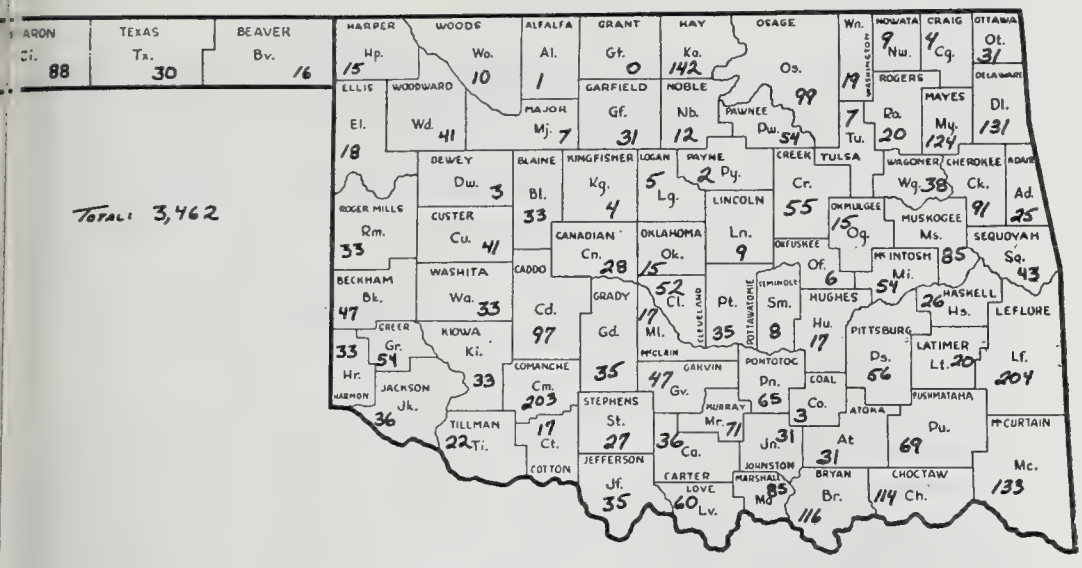
RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEYS OF HISTORIC SITES IN OKLAHOMA

The following paper by Dr. Don G. Wyckoff, State Archaeologist, of the Oklahoma Archaeological Survey, appeared in the "Newsletter" of the Oklahoma Anthropological Society (Vol. 20, No. 1) for January, 1972. The paper is of special interest to members of the Historical Society and is presented here in *The Chronicles* by permission of Dr. Robert Bell, Director of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma. "Preliminary Summary of Archaeological Investigations . . . Fort Washita" in Bryan County, by Dr. Don G. Wyckoff and Towana Spivey appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Vol. XLIV, No. 4) for winter, 1971–72. This issue of *The Chronicles* (Vol. L, No. 3) for fall, 1972, presents recent archaeological investigations at the site of Fort Towson in Choctaw County.

Oklahoma's Archaeological Site File

Oklahoma is a state blessed with many natural resources. A visitor who spends several days in our state quickly learns of our pride in Oklahoma's mountains, lakes, forests, and prairies. Oil is a natural resource for which Oklahoma has become famous; out-of-state visitors have carried descriptions of the oil wells around our capitol building far and wide. Usually, such visitors also learn something of Oklahoma's people, their origins, history, and heritage. Oklahoma's past is also a natural resource, and in many ways one more unique and interesting than those usually considered for the state.

To think of Oklahoma's prehistoric and historic sites as a natural resource is perhaps unusual, but it deserves consideration. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary defines *resource*, "a new or reserve source of supply or support," and such a definition does apply to Oklahoma's archaeological sites. They represent a source of supply, in particular a new supply source for information about people, most with ways of life different than our own, who have lived in our Oklahoma in the past. Though these people had cultures different than our own, we share many of the same problems which they faced, including complexly changing political, religious, and social situations as well as the myriad of problems of living on the land



Number of archaeological sites in Oklahoma (*From Oklahoma Anthropological Society* Newsletter, *Vol. 20, No. 1, January, 1972*)

without destroying it and ourselves. Given the fact that prehistoric people lived here for some 11,000 years while we and our ancestors have been here about 100 years, surely there is much we can learn to appreciate and even apply to some of our problems.

If we are going to continue to learn about these past people and their ways of life, it is then extremely important that we know where those resources occur which contain pertinent information. We need to learn where sites are located and what kinds of materials are found on them.

Since the 1950's, the University of Oklahoma has maintained a file on the sites which are known in each county. As of November 1, 1971, there were 3,462 sites reported for the state in the Oklahoma Archaeological Site file; the county breakdown for this total is shown in the accompanying map. A study of this will quickly show that there is considerable diversity in the number of sites known for each county. Such diversity reflects in large part the lack of systematic survey work in any of the counties. For instance, Comanche County has 203 reported sites while neighboring (and about equal size) Kiowa County has only 33. This difference represents the fact that the Museum of the Great Plains and the old Oklahoma Archaeological Salvage Project have conducted extensive surveys throughout much of Comanche County while Kiowa County has only been investigated in the Lake Altus area. As a second example of a lack of systematic county-wide survey, some 133 sites are recorded for McCurtain County, but a hundred of these are located in valleys now flooded by the Broken Bow and Pine Creek reservoirs.

While thorough county surveys are lacking, the Oklahoma Archaeological Site file represents the only compilation of archaeological resources we have for the state. This file is now maintained by the Oklahoma Archaeological Survey and is currently in the process of being retyped onto a standardized form. When possible and practical, the site file is being supplemented by photographs of the sites and of artifact collections from the respective sites. A second copy of the file is being made, and this will be kept in locked files at the Department of Anthropology of the University of Oklahoma.

The Archaeological Site file is considered to be confidential, but information about sites is provided to professional archaeologists and a few other individuals involved in the responsible study and preservation of Oklahoma's prehistoric and historic sites. There are several important features about the Oklahoma Archaeological Site file, but one of the most significant is that the majority of these recorded sites were first reported by members of the Oklahoma Anthropological Society.

Don G. Wyckoff, State Archaeologist

NOTES ON THE BUILDING OF OKLAHOMA'S STATE CAPITOL

The AGC News for September 5, 1972, published by the Oklahoma Chapter of the Associated General Contractors of America, adds some notes to the well-known story of the removal of the capital from Guthrie in 1910 and the building of the new statehouse in Oklahoma City:

Oklahoma's State Capitol

With the fate of the Huckins Hotel in Oklahoma City long since settled by the dynamiter (1972), remembering the venerable old building brings to mind its historic role as temporary state capitol.

June 11, 1910, Oklahoma's voters approved moving the capital from Guthrie to Oklahoma City. That very night the state seal was moved to the Huckins. According to Lawrence B. Swansburger, his mother, tending the lobby cigar stand, took it in personal charge. "Let me have it," she said, ". . . and it will be safe tonight."

She set it under the counter among a number of cigar cutters (which it resembled) and there it stayed until state officials reclaimed it next day. Thus Beulah Swansberger played her part in maintaining the capital in Oklahoma City, for where the state seal is, there is state government.

And recalling the Huckins participation in this historical drama recalls to mind other events involving our later-to-be-built domeless job out on East 23rd Street. Previously we have recorded Sol Layton's frustration that in the need for economy the dome he had so lovingly conceived had to suffer the fate of a deductive alternate. He abhorred the necessity to the day he died.

But what of the building itself, a gem despite the lack of a dome?

Harlow's Weekly of June 7, 1915, records the taking of bids:

"The state capitol commission, the governor presiding as chairman and the seven members of the advisory committee met in the banquet room of the Lee-Huckins Hotel on Monday noon and opened six general bids on the construction of the state capitol. The occasion was treated as one of great importance and conducted with an air of solemnity marking a great event. The room was crowded by a large number of representatives of bidders, material, men and interested citizens. The commission will contemplate several days arriving at the low bidder."

The economies were the culprit which forced the "several days arriving at the low bidder."

"Those bidding were: James Stewart and Company, New York; A. O. Campbell, Oklahoma; Pelligreen Construction Company, St. Louis; Manhattan Construction Company, Muskogee; John Gill Construction Company, Jefferson City, Missouri; and Holmboe Construction Company, Oklahoma City. The basic bid however stands for very little as the alternate combinations affect it so that it will be several days before the commission will arrive at the low bidder.

"Some have figured that the Stewart Construction Company may have the low bid, while almost every contractor is contending that by using certain combinations he would be lower than his competitors. It is probable that the attorney general will be asked for an opinion as to the authority of the commission to award the contract for an unfinished building. Should the attorney general hold that the contract must be for a completed building the commission will probably adopt Bedford stone which is from eighty to four hundred dollars cheaper according to the various bids than Oklahoma granite, marble or limestone. Use of Georgia marble, which appears to have a shade over other marbles, for an interior finish, will make it difficult to award the contract for a finished building, and get within the money appropriated, of which approximately $25,000 was spent before the building will be turned over to contractors for completion (concrete construction up to mezzanine floor by day labor). Should the capitol commission fail to figure this out satisfactorily to themselves it is possible that no contract will be awarded on the present bids."

But the commission found a way. *The Daily Oklahoman* reported on August 6, 1915, over two months after the bidding date, "August 21, 1917, is the date set for the final completion of Oklahoma's statehouse. . ." That was 750 days for James Stewart and Company to build the building. In the event the date wasn't met the penalty in liquidated damage was set at $300 per day. The account continued:

"With the affixing of the state officials' and contractors signatures to the contract Thursday, a matter that has kept the state in a turmoil for the past few years has been settled forever. Ever since statehood there has been bickering and agitation, first relative to the location of the state capitol and later on to the building of the capitol. Now the question is apparently fixed for all time."

Architect Sol Layton could attest to the turmoil: He was in over his boots in both battles.

The article went on to report that the Stewart company held the unique distinction of already having built two other statehouses, that of Idaho and Utah. "No other construction company in the United States has ever contracted for the building of as many as two statehouses, and the Stewart people have gone one better in taking over the contract for the Oklahoma building."

The capitol's denuded topknot was recorded, "Oklahoma's capitol will be one of the few, if not the only state building in the United States minus a dome . . . Lack of sufficient funds is one reason for the dome shyness. To properly equip the building with the said dome would cost approximately an extra $300,000." (Today—1972—that cost would considerably exceed $1,000,000.)

As Stewart's outfit moved in, some $300,000 had already been spent on the structural frame which had been built up to the mezzanine floor, forty feet above the grade by day labor. Ground breaking ceremonies were held on July 20, 1914, and Stewart's crew took over on August 1st.

The contract was awarded finally by means of a small compromise. The basement on ground floor was faced with Oklahoma granite and the remaining exterior (equivalent of 5 stories) of Bedford stone.

Stewart brought in as their representative J. H. Fredrickson. When the job was finished Fredrickson stayed and formed his own company, J. H. Fredrickson & Company.

When the various state departments moved into their new quarters it was the first time [January 2, 1917] since the capital was moved from Guthrie to Oklahoma City that they all were housed under one roof.

By Walter Nashert

Churches in Cultural Captivity: A History of the Social Attitudes of Southern Baptists. By John Lee Eighmy. (The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 1972. Biblio, Pp. xvii, 249. $11.50.)

Of the many areas within the discipline of history, the study of intellectual history is perhaps the most challenging—yet also one of the most rewarding. The portrayal of the Southern Baptists that Eighmy wrote is an excellent example of the fruitful insights that can result from a well-organized, well-written, and superbly researched investigation. Not only does this book follow the development of Southern Baptist social thought since the inception of the church in 1845, but also it examines the social impact that the members have had on the church and the struggle within the church over the proper role for the denomination to fulfill in its responsibility to society. Because the author died before the publication of this book, Samuel S. Hill, Jr. completed the final organization of the text by writing an introduction, epilogue, and completing bibliographic details; fortunately, the main text had been completed by Eighmy before his death. It is indeed a tragedy that John Lee Eighmy, former professor of history at Oklahoma Baptist University, will no longer provide students of intellectual history with his incisive analysis and thought-provoking ideas.

As the subtitle of the book suggests, Eighmy believed that the Southern Baptist church forfeited its leadership role concerning social responsibility within the Southern culture. Furthermore, in spite of some "social gospel" thought, local sentiment greatly influenced the expression—or lack of expression—of the social attitude of the church. These two conditions were brought about by the highly democratic organization of Southern Baptist churches which made them responsive to the conservative philosophy of their white lower and middle class members.

Pastors showed great zeal for converting individuals and policing morality but assumed little responsibility for the larger problems of society. These characteristics were the logical result of the isolation in which the South both endured and glorified from the years after the Civil War to the early twentieth century. In spite of these tendencies, the author sug-

gests that certain elements within the church attempted valid contributions in the area of social responsibility and social reform through the efforts of the Social Service Commission, The Joint Committee on Public Relations, and other "social gospel" programs.

Yet the divided mind of the Southern Baptist church concerning its responsibilities to social reform is the underlying theme throughout the book. Despite Eighmy's examples to the contrary, the reader realizes that not until recent years has the Southern Baptist leadership practiced social responsibility—as opposed to social awareness. The basic inconsistency of Southern Baptist social thought lies in admitting that personal religion alone cannot achieve suitable standards of public morality, but then arguing that an individual ethic can somehow solve all social problems.

Eighmy did not resolve this struggle within Southern Baptist thought, but it clearly troubled him. He concluded that if Southern Baptists have made advances, they have done so only within an institutional and ideological framework that remains unchanged. Conservative theology, religious individualism, and congregational government continue to restrict progressive social expression within the church.

The only grounds that Eighmy found for optimism lay with an ever-growing number of enlightened leaders who might become influential leaders in years ahead. Whether the reader agrees or disagrees with Eighmy's views and interpretations, he cannot ignore the impact of this work and is forced to re-evaluate his thinking about the social and cultural role that the Southern Baptist church has played in the development of the South.

—Charles R. McClure
University of Oklahoma Library

Soldier in the West: Letters of Theodore Talbot During His Services in California, Mexico, and Oregon, 1845–53. Edited by Robert V. Hine and Savoie Lottinville. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972. Pp. xxv, 210. $7.95.)

The letters of Theodore Talbot reflect the thoughts of a junior officer in the United States Army during the period when the borders of the United States were expanded to include the territory within the lower forty-eight states. Professors Hine and Lottinville did not choose a famous figure to illuminate the panorama which evolved in this period. Instead, Talbot played a minor role in the taming of the West, but his detached letters to his mother and sister include personal observations of many of the noted individuals who led the American drive to conquer the West.

A part of the American Exploration and Travel Series, this volume is important in that Talbot was present during several of the major events in the history of the American Frontier. In 1845, Talbot accompanied John Charles Fremont on the "Pathfinder's" expedition to California. The American conquest of California during the Mexican War saw Talbot performing yeoman service as a commander of detachments of United States troops.

Following the subjugation of California, Talbot was assigned to duty at Vera Cruz, Mexico, but he arrived too late to participate in any of the major campaigns in the Mexican theater. The cessation of hostilities brought a new assignment in Oregon. An ocean voyage around Cape Horn and a detour to Hawaii preceded his arrival in Oregon. Here he related the problems of an army officer assigned to a lonely post on the frontier. His boredom and disenchantment with government policies are brought forth in his letters. Talbot strips the veneer of glamour from the events and the reader is given another perspective. Stark reality dominates his epistles because Talbot has no illusions about his position in life.

Many of Talbot's letters appear in print for the first time in this volume. Talbot died of tuberculosis in 1862 at the age of thirty-seven. Although he continued to write long letters after 1853, he was assigned to various army posts in the eastern United States and these letters are not included in this volume. The publication of Theodore Talbot's letters is a significant contribution to an understanding of the history of the American Frontier. Hine's and Lottinville's competent editing have established the value of the book to scholars and students.

—Robert E. Smith
Missouri State College

In Pursuit of American History, by Walter Rundell, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970, Pp. 445. $7.95.)

For several generations, professional historians have been teaching, writing, and imparting their methods to students; and the cycle continues. Rundell has investigated the training given in graduate schools and his findings are interesting and illuminating. His work was sponsored by the National Historical Publications Commission. The project took five years, from conception to finished book. During the investigation, the author visited campuses, interviewing students, faculty, and librarians, and corresponded with those he could not visit personally.

A work of this type shows that the training of historians is similar, but

different, at each institution. In discussing historical methodology, Rundell found that some schools offer a course in historiography and methods at the graduate level, while others do not. Those that didn't, however, expected the student to be proficient when entering graduate school. One professor is quoted as saying, "As far as methodological training in seminars goes, I don't do anything except assign papers and make faces over the results," (p. 9). All too often Rundell found that this was the rule and not the exception.

Much the same reaction can be found in analyzing less traditional approaches to history. Rundell found that historians' attitudes range from enthusiasm to disdain and contempt for the social sciences and the computer. There was little discussion of oral history, except for two mentions and one note of a minor problem area.

The bulk of the work is concerned with sources, their collection, storage and use. Perhaps giving the biggest boost to the historian has been photocopy, either film or paper. Its value has been and will be debated. Some historians think that microfilm slows them down, others complain of eye strain, and many think that each institution should have more extensive facilities.

The concluding chapter mentions three specific problem areas and Rundell offers suggestions for improvement. Readers may disagree with one or more of the suggestions, but will find much that is useful. Rundell is to be congratulated for producing a solid work and it should be on each professor's and graduate student's list of required reading.

—Donald E. Houston
Oklahoma State University

J. Sterling Morton: Pioneer, Statesman, Founder of Arbor Day. By James C. Olson. Reprint of 1942 edition, originally published by University of Nebraska Press. (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society Foundation, 1972. Pp. xvi + 451. Preface, illustrations, bibliography, index. $7.95.)

The Nebraska State Historical Society Foundation has reissued *J. Sterling Morton: Pioneer, Statesman, Founder of Arbor Day*, as a tribute to a distinguished Nebraskan whose name is associated with tree planting throughout the world. First published in 1942, this book is the definitive work on Morton.

Born in New York, J. Sterling Morton made his way to Nebraska in

1854 and quickly became a territorial leader. Alternately a journalist, farmer, railroad promoter, and politician, Morton always said what he thought and did what he believed to be right; in a sense he was a radical for what he conceived to be righteousness. A firm devotee to a laissez faire system, he unsurprisingly advocated an extremely abbreviated curriculum for Nebraska's higher education. As a tariff reformer, he aligned himself with the economists of the free trade school.

In 1893, Grover Cleveland, President-elect, asked Morton to become his Secretary of Agriculture. As a member of the cabinet, Morton's major concern was to keep his department addressed solely to tasks which were narrowly defined by law and to return to the treasury as much as possible of the annual appropriation. Yet he expanded the scientific work of the department and especially promoted the Weather Bureau, agrostology, crop production, road improvement, and the study of foreign markets. Additionally, he urged zealously the cause of forestation and his efforts eventually won him the paternity of Arbor Day. His conservative nature, however, caused him to denounce the free distribution of seed to farmers—a suggestion which he considered a form of public bribery. Similarly, he distrusted the leadership of the Grange and, instead, placed his faith in the *Wealth of Nations*. Morton frequently failed to perceive the root causes of agrarian discontent and his insistence upon individual initiative and enterprise limited his effectiveness.

While this is essentially a biographical study, the volume also contributes to the greater understanding of an important pioneer state in the trans-Mississippi West. Moreover, this investigation serves to shed light on the political, economic and, to a lesser extent, the social currents of Morton's time. The book is a credit to the author, to the University of Nebraska Press which first issued the study, and to the Nebraska State Historical Foundation which has reissued it.

—Donovan L. Hofsommer
Oklahoma State University

Monroe Country, 1821–1971. By Howard C. Hosmer. (Flower City Printing, Inc., Rochester, New York, 1971. Illus. Pp. 327. $3.00.)

Published as a part of Monroe County's Sesquicentennial celebration, this book portrays the birth and growth of the area of New York bordering on Lake Ontario. First occupied by settlers in the late 1780s, the principal city of the county received its name from Nathaniel Rochester who settled along the Genesee River during the first decade of the nineteenth century.

The county itself was officially formed in 1821, and named after President James Monroe.

While lacking in organization, the book covers all aspects of the people —farmers, pioneers, aristocrats, workers, industrialists, and politicians— who made the area grow and prosper. It describes the emergence of a growing city and a thriving countryside. The lush farmland and increased industrial growth created a manufacturing center, which made the area a hub for the early canal system, and later the railroads, which brought the country into the forefront of the Industrial Revolution, a position it still occupies with its vast industrial capabilities and higher education facilities.

However, the book is not just a history of a geographical area, but a story of people—the early leaders and the plain folks who contributed to the growth of the county. Included are the stories of the people who helped make the area famous—Susan B. Anthony, an early leader of women's rights; Chester F. Carlson, who developed the Xerox process; George Eastman, whose Kodak cameras spread throughout the world; Walter Hagen, perhaps the greatest professional golfer of all time; and many others. The book portrays the development of a growing city: the early police force and fire fighters, the coming of the first gas and electric lights, the trolley and the automobile, and all the other things which led the county into the twentieth century.

The book is vividly illustrated with early portraits and photographs picturing historical development of the area. Though seeming to lack in organization, this deficiency is overshadowed by the wealth of material presented. It is an interesting and readable account of an important aspect of American heritage.

—Kenny A. Franks
Oklahoma State University

Arthur E. Stilwell; Promoter with a Hunch. By Keith L. Bryant, Jr. (Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, 1971. Illus. Maps. Note on sources. Pp. x, 256. $10.00.)

Working from a scarcity of sources on Stilwell himself, Bryant wove an intriguing account of this midwestern promoter and confirmed optimist. The author discovered the theme of Stilwell's career in the concept of "entrepreneurial error." By the use of "heroic promotional efforts," Stilwell created an empire that included over two thousand miles of railroad and the establishment of several villages in the Southwest. Using the great railway center of Kansas City as a base, his lines fanned out into the adjoining

states over the Kansas City Southern and the Kansas City, Mexico and Orient projects, the latter being Stilwell's dream to catch the elusive China trade.

Yet Stilwell's forte was not in the building of lines, but in the creation of an idea and, more important, its promotion. Such was his magnetism that he could captivate corporate finance for one scheme at the same time another was crumbling. Only inestimable optimism buoyed his spirits as he continued to underestimate costs and overestimate earnings. Stilwell had the markings of a self-made man and forcefully defended the railroad interests against government regulation, but he vigorously opposed monopolies and trusts in his popular book, *Cannibals of Finance*. This opposition may have been more an example of envy than of reform sentiment, as the established lines refused to deal with him, and some of his more impetuous "hunches" did not materialize.

Bryant's book is smoothly written, although one can get lost in Stilwell's economic and financial maneuvers. A few more well-placed maps would have provided a further key to understanding the promoter's intentions.

—Gary E. Moulton
Oklahoma State University

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: July 27, 1972

President George H. Shirk called the quarterly meeting to order at 10:00 a.m.

Those members present were Lou S. Allard, Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Q. B. Boydstun, Harry L. Deupree, M.D., W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Bob Foresman, Mrs. John D. Frizzell, Nolen J. Fuqua, Sen. Denzil D. Garrison, Dr. A. M. Gibson, W. E. McIntosh, Dr. James Morrison, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, H. Merle Woods. Dr. Muriel Wright was also in attendance. Joe Curtis and Earl Boyd Pierce had asked to be excused and their requests were honored. John E. Kirkpatrick was absent.

Members of the Board joined with President Shirk in paying tribute to the late Dr. E. E. Dale, for forty-two years a member of the Board. Mr. Shirk read the note sent by Mrs. Rosalie Dale to the Board members and the Staff, "—he has loved you so much for so long." Dr. Gibson said Dr. Dale was one of the most active persons he had ever known, and told of the devotion of Mrs. Dale in reminding the Doctor each evening of the writing he should do the next day. "His awareness of his commitment to her kept him going." Although Dr. Dale lived to be ninety-three, Dr. Fischer said Dr. Dale felt that time was his most precious possession. That he used it carefully was told by Mr. Muldrow who said that Dr. Dale dictated every afternoon at 2:00. Miss Seger spoke of the friendliness and warmth of the entire family, and Mrs. Bowman generously offered to present to the Society an album of records made by Dr. Dale. Dr. Morrison observed that Dr. Dale had influenced several generations of people who love Oklahoma history.

The Board requested that an article in depth be written for "The Chronicles" on Dr. Dale, who authored one of the first articles for the publication, "The Spirit of Soonerland," found in Volume I, and reprinted in Volume 49, No. 1, Spring, 1971.

Another beloved member of the Board passed away during the past quarter, Mr. Morton R. Harrison. Mr. Shirk asked Mr. Phillips to pay tribute to this gentleman who had been so proud of his Cherokee heritage and who had served his country so devotedly during World War I. Mr. McIntosh recalled that he and Mr. Harrison had shared the same desk in

a little schoolhouse in Checotah in 1901. Mr. Harrison excelled in everything he undertook, and more than any other person was responsible for promoting financial support for the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art in Tulsa. Mr. Harrison was equally responsible for the development of the Will Rogers Memorial in Claremore.

Much progress is evident in many areas of the Society as reported by Dr. Easterling. He thanked each Board member and Society member and members of his staff who are making the program successful.

In commenting on the "New Look" in the Board Room, Dr. Easterling called attention to the fact that there are seven present members of the Board whose photographs are not displayed. These members were urged to bring their photographs to Mrs. Manon Atkins, Photo Librarian, who would have them framed.

Dr. Easterling presented the list of gifts received in the Library, Archives, and Museum. Miss Seger moved, seconded by Mr. Woods, that the gifts be accepted. The motion passed.

Ninety-five new members joined the roster of the Society, four of them becoming Life Members. These were Mrs. Jean Merrill Barnes, M. M. Brisco, Roy P. Stewart and James R. Voss. Dr. Morrison moved to elect the applicants to membership. The motion was seconded by Dr. Fischer and was passed.

In her Treasurer's report Mrs. Bowman reviewed the receipts and disbursements of the past quarter. Discussion then followed in which the Board was reminded that the Endowment Fund contract states that the Fund pays to the Oklahoma Historical Society the interest earned on bonds and savings account, plus $1.50 for each Life Member for operational fees. This year the figure amounted to $2,373.45. Mr. Phillips moved that the amount due the Oklahoma Historical Society from the Endowment Fund for interest and operational fees be forgiven for the fiscal year 1972 and that the amount be left in the Endowment Fund. Mr. Muldrow seconded this motion and it was carried.

Historic Sites Committee Chairman McIntosh reported on the findings of the Sam Houston Wigwam Neosho Committee regarding the location of the site. Mr. McIntosh read to the Board the detailed letter from Mr. Boydstun wherein he told of his knowledge of the Fort Gibson area and the residents and old settlers of the area. Wigwam Neosho was located in this vicinity. There has been much uncertainty about the location of the exact site, but after thorough investigation it is the opinion of the committee that the site of Wigwam Neosho is in the Southeast Quarter of Section 34, Township 16 North, Range 19 East, in Wagoner County, Oklahoma, known as the Scott place. Mr. McIntosh moved that it be the consensus

of the Board that the report of the committee is correct, that the Board concurs in the opinions of the committee, and that in the light of present knowledge, the aforementioned Scott place be determined as the site of Wigwam Neosho. Mr. Phillips seconded this motion and all were in favor.

Dr. Fischer reported on the developing exhibits in the Museum and the general refurbishing of the Historical Building.

The archaeological work at Honey Springs has been completed under the direction of the Thomas Gilcrease Institute and the University of Tulsa. Dr. Fischer said the report of the findings will be out in several months. Additional plans will be made for the site by the Honey Springs Commission which will meet in September.

The Education Program will be enlarged during the coming school year. Mr. Foresman said that Education Director Bruce Joseph will continue to assist with Heritage Clubs in schools throughout the state and that he is planning a materiel center on the first floor of the Historical Building. Projectors, slides, movies, books, and various study aids will be available through a Federal grant. The Junior League of Oklahoma generously contributed $2,925 for this program. Mr. Joseph is planning to encourage school children not only to view the building, but through volunteers and visual aids to study what they are viewing. The Education Committee will meet August 22 to formulate its plans.

The Publication Committee met on July 11 at which time a decision was made to have the University of Oklahoma Press publish "The Chronicles of Oklahoma." Mr. Shirk asked the Board's acceptance of this decision. Dr. Gibson moved to approve the findings of the Committee and Mr. Muldrow seconded. The motion passed. The Committee believes that placing the publication with one institution will make for more consistent publishing dates and better quality printing.

Dr. Easterling reported that a copy of an opinion by Attorney General Derryberry was mailed to the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation in the United States Department of the Interior. The opinion states that Oklahoma and the agencies of state government are in full compliance with the Uniform Relocation Assistance Act (PL–91–646). The opinion has been accepted and matching funds for Fort Towson have been received.

President Shirk, as a member of the Board of Trustees of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, urged each Oklahoma Society Board member to subscribe to the publication, "Preservation News." Each member was handed a copy of the May, 1972 issue. The monthly newspaper reports on preservation efforts being made throughout the country. The rate is $10.00 per year and is tax deductible.

Mr. Phillips advised the Board members of a museum being developed in Chandler by former Governor Roy Turner and the Lincoln County Historical Society. Mr. Phillips has assured Mr. Turner that the Oklahoma Historical Society will cooperate in every way. The Cimarron Valley Historical Society is also developing a museum.

Mrs. Bowman distributed copies of a letter she had received from Otey G. Johnson, M.D., describing the historic significance of the discovery well of the Healdton oil field. Dr. Johnson has asked the Society's assistance in erecting a marker at the site.

A museology seminar was conducted by the Oklahoma College of Liberal Arts in Chickasha July 24 through August 4. The Historical Society was asked to participate in the program. One of the principal speakers at the seminar was Dr. William T. Alderson, Director of the American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, Tennessee. Dr. Alderson was honored at a reception and dinner held at Val Gene's Restaurant in Oklahoma City. He also was a guest at a seminar session given at the Society's Murray Mansion at Erin Springs.

The first public hearing on the Red River Waterway (PL–90–438) will be held early in August. Mr. Shirk asked Dr. Easterling to attend one of the public hearings. There are important artifacts along this river and it is vital that the Oklahoma Historical Society make its purpose felt in the development of the waterway. At the time the McClellan-Kerr Waterway was developed, the Society took no such action and the remains of Fort Coffee were completely destroyed. Mr. Phillips also suggested that Dr. Easterling should go to hearings on the Deep Fork, Arcadia, and Sac and Fox projects.

Preparations are beginning for the American Revolution Bicentennial celebration to be held in 1976. One of the nation's most prestigious mints, the Franklin Mint of Philadelphia, offered to strike a commemorative medal representing each of the states for the occasion and conducted a nationwide contest for suitable designs. Judging for the Oklahoma design, for which there were 210 entries, was held in the Historical Building. Miss Wright acted as hostess for the judging. Four winners were ultimately chosen; the first prize of $5,000 was won by Garland N. Taylor of the University of Oklahoma. The second prize was $2,500, the third, $1,500, and the fourth, $1,000.

Miss Wright advised that the medals will be struck off in small coins and will also be available for purchase in different metals. Each member of the judging committee will be given a complete set by the Franklin Mint.

The Bicentennial Commission has established three basic themes to be carried in the celebration: Heritage '76, Mr. Shirk, Chairman; Open House

USA, Dr. Don Dillon, Chairman; and Horizons '76, Mr. James C. Leake, Chairman. Each state has been granted $50,000 as seed money for the program. Mr. Shirk urged the Historical Society to emerge as the dominant supporting factor for the Commission and to furnish incidental support. Miss Seger so moved, motion seconded by Mrs. Bowman, and all agreed.

Miss Wright asked that the Society take the opportunity to adopt one of the designs submitted to the Franklin Mint as a model for a new official Society seal. The company has advised they will assign full title to the design chosen, with the exception of Design No. 1.

A special committee was appointed to select the design for a seal. Members to serve on the committee are Mrs. Frizzell, Chairman, President Shirk, Dr. Fischer, Mr. Foresman, and Executive Director Dr. Easterling. A report of the decision will be made. Dr. Gibson moved that the Board concur in this action, Mr. Fuqua seconded, and all agreed.

Mr. Shirk reported to the Board the preservation efforts with respect to the Baum Building in Oklahoma City. He laid before the Board the Urban Renewal Plan of Oklahoma City regarding parcel #101–16 (Baum Building), the letter of the Oklahoma City Urban Renewal Authority dated 18 May 1972 and the plan of the City of Oklahoma City for the preservation of artifacts from the building which plan is dated 5 June 1972, and whereby the three cupolas, one from each corner of the structure, four of the intervening turret capitals, and the interior mural depicting the development of Oklahoma, become the property of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Phillips moved that the artifacts be accepted from the Oklahoma City Urban Renewal Authority, and that the two cupolas be placed on permanent loan to the City of Oklahoma City and the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, one each; that the four turret capitals be placed on permanent loan to the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce; and that the mural be placed on permanent loan to the Fidelity Bank, N.A. of Oklahoma City. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Bowman, and upon a vote, was adopted unanimously. Dr. Easterling advised that the third cupola would be installed on the grounds of the Society with an appropriate plaque honoring the architect, the late Sol A. Layton.

Mr. Boydstun moved, Dr. Fischer seconded, and all agreed to confirm the action taken by the officers of the Society in proceeding with the work on the Old Central project at Stillwater.

The Board's next order of business was the election of a new member to fill the vacancy left by Mr. Joe McBride. The qualifications of the various nominees were considered, ballots were cast and tallied, and Mr. O. B. Campbell of Vinita was announced as the new member of the Board.

Mr. Phillips asked the Board for suggestions for a tour to be held in the

Spring of 1973. Since the beginning of the tour program in 1956 most of the State has been visited, but Mr. Bass pointed out that many areas have changed considerably during this time and that possibly there would be those on future tours who had not made the previous ones. Mr. Phillips reminded the Board of the difficulties involved in conducting the tour.

Mr. Bass advised the Board that Mr. Ed Fleming of Enid had offered to present to the Oklahoma Historical Society the original of the present state flag. Senator Garrison moved that a letter be sent to Mr. Bass to present to Mr. Fleming accepting the flag and inviting him to attend the October meeting for a formal presentation. Mr. Bass seconded the motion and it was passed.

A motion was made to consider the two remaining vacancies on the Board; one vacancy to be filled in an October election, and the other in January. Mr. Phillips made a substitute motion requesting that both vacancies be filled at the October meeting. Mr. Muldrow seconded, and upon a vote the substitute motion carried.

A film depicting 50 years in the life of Mr. C. R. Anthony, Oklahoma merchant, was shown following the meeting at a luncheon hosted by the C. R. Anthony Company. The film was presented to the Society. Mr. Woods moved that Mr. Anthony be given the Society's Certificate of Commendation. The motion was unanimously seconded by the Board and adopted.

Upon a motion by Mr. Phillips and seconded by Mr. Finney, the Fidelity Bank, N.A., was also awarded the Certificate of Commendation for its role in the preservation of the heritage of Oklahoma. The motion carried unanimously.

The following committee changes were made by Mr. Shirk: Library Committee—Mr. O. B. Campbell, replacing Dr. Dale; Newspaper Committee—Mr. Woods, replacing Mr. Harrison; Publications Committee—Sen. Garrison, replacing Dr. Dale; and Tour Committee—Mr. Campbell, replacing Mr. Harrison.

The Historical Society Newsletter, August 1972 issue, was distributed to each Board member.

There being no further business before the Board, Dr. Gibson moved and Dr. Fischer seconded that the meeting be adjourned. The motion carried.

V. R. EASTERLING
Executive Director

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

Gift List for Second Quarter, 1972

LIBRARY:

Index for the Neal, Harbison, Snodgrass, Miller and Related Families by Thomas Howe R. Neal, 1972.

Donor: Author-Compiler, Knoxville, Tenn.

Thesis: *Old Fort Supply* by William Hankins Hughes, 1931.
Donor: Mike Bureman, Edmond.

The Pioneers Were Our Ancestors, Vols. 1 & 2 by Irwin Anderson Watson, 1971.
Donor: Author (Mrs. J. Travis Watson), Tulsa.

Directory of First United Methodist Church, Ponca City, Oklahoma.
Donor: First United Methodist Church, 6th at Central, Ponca City.

John Harvey Woods—His Genealogy and Descendants, compiled by John Powell Woods, Sr., 1971.
The Gaines Family, compiled by Mabel Fairfax Hon Woods, 1971.
Donor: Penn Woods, Oklahoma City.

An Open Door to New Horizons, Douglass High School, Oklahoma City, 1971–1972.
Donor: Audrey Ellis, Oklahoma City.

Localized History of Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma to 1907 by Charles W. Mooney, autographed.
Donor: Milt Phillips, Seminole.

Pierce City (Missouri) *Centennial*—100th Birthday August 6–9, 1970 containing "The Story of Pierce City, Missouri 1870–1970" by Miriam Keast Brown.
Donor: Centennial Committee, Pierce City.

Release of Mortgage in Oklahoma Territory, Sept. 16, 1898 of Anton Krajicek to Elise Henrikke Krup, May 15, 1909.
Donor: St. Augustine Historical Society, Florida.

"Indian Territory Towns—Hughes County and Vicinity" by Armand E. Gibson, 1972.
Donor: Author, Wewoka.

United States Official Postal Guide Part I Domestic, July 1945.
Donor: Harold H. Beck, Bethany.

True Tales in Oklahoma by Gene Aldrich and Royce H. Peterson, 1971.
Donor: Dr. Aldrich, Edmond.

"Long Family Records" by J. Montgomery Seaver, 1927.
"Families of the Pilgrims" by Richard More, 1955.
Little Bear Tracks, 1871–1971 Neodesha, Kansas.
Georgia Genealogical Magazine, Vol. 42, Fall, 1971.
Donor: Mrs. Alice Voris, Edmond.

My Ancestors—Families of Richardson, Megginson, Parsons, Hudgins, Skelton, Lanier and Bennett by Eula Richardson Hasskarl, May 1972.
Donor: Author, Ada.

The Balliet, Balliett, Balliette, Balyeat, Bolyard and Allied Families by Stephen Clay Balliet, 1968.
Donor: Given in memory of Roy Harrison Balyeat, Oklahoma City.

Roster of Revolutionary Soldiers in Georgia, Vols. 1 & 2 by Mrs. Howard H. McCall, 1968 edition.
Donor: Mrs. Adelia S. Sallee, Norman, Oklahoma.

Driggs Family History—Beginnings in America by Howard R. Driggs, 1959.
Donor: Driggs Family Association of Phoenix thru' Oklahoma State Library.

The Lyon's Tale of The Lyon(s) Families Association of America, 1964–1971; 15 back issues.
Donor: Rev. Clifford R. Lyon, Sand Springs.

Talley's Northeastern Kentucky Papers by William M. Talley 1971 edition.
Donor: Mitzi & Travis Barnett—American Reference Publishers, Fort Worth.

Index—Rose Hill Cemetery Records of Ardmore, Oklahoma.
Confederate Pension Applications 1861–1865 From Oklahoma.
Index to the 1890 United States Census of Union Veterans and their Widows in Oklahoma and Union Soldiers' Home and Cemetery.
The Prairie Gleaner, Vol. 2 and Index 1970–1971.
The East Kentuckian, Vol. 7, 1971–72.
Kentucky Ancestors, Vol. 7, 1971–72.
The Tallow Light, Vol. 6, 1971–72.
The Georgia Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 7, 1971.
Rogue Valley Genealogical Society, Vol. 6, 1971.
The Kansas City Genealogist, Vol. 12, 1971–72.
Wisconsin Helper, Vol. 5, 1971–72.
Genealogical Tips, Vol. 8, 1970; Vol. 9, 1971.
The Scottish Genealogist, Vol. 18, 1971.
The Lindlys and Allied Families by Horace Lindly.
The Duckwalls and Allied Families—A Family History of Clyde Mitchell Duckwall, Jr., 1972.

Parkers of North Carolina by Frances Elizabeth Parker, 1971.
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City.

History of Newton County, Arkansas by Walter F. Lackey, reprint of 1950 edition.
Donor: Donald E. Brasel, Oklahoma City.

Sooner Yearbook Annual 1934 from University of Oklahoma.
Donor: Mel Roberts, Oklahoma City.

The Victory Sooner (Yearbook) *1919.*
The Sooner Yearbook *1922.*
The Redskin 1915.
Donor: Vernon H. Fielding, Midwest City.

Where The Money Went by Willis E. Stone.
Donor: Alice R. Kulasavage, Portland, Ore.

Telephone Directory: Greater Kansas City, Missouri-Kansas, July 1971.
Sample hand-out folder of Topeka Genealogical Society Workshop—May 20, 1972.
Donor: Mrs. I. L. Marshall, Midwest City.

"Indian Territory Towns—Hughes County and Vicinity" by Armand E. Gibson, 1972.
Donor: Editorial Dept., Okla. Historical Society.

The Collectors' Encyclopedia of Dolls by Dorothy S., Elizabeth A. and Evelyn J. Coleman, 1968.
Donor: The Treasured Doll Club of Oklahoma in Memory of Mrs. Frank Buttram.

A History of Oklahoma Biology, Manuscript, Compiled and written by Kara Fullerton Holcomb & Dr. A. O. Weese, 1937–38.
Donor: Mrs. J. H. Bragg, El Paso, Texas.

"This Is Oklahoma" pamphlet of First National Bank, Oklahoma City, Dec. 1949.
Donor: Mrs. Lucile Laws, Oklahoma City.

"My Prayer" by Jimalee Burton (Ho-chee-nee).
Program of The First Inaugural Ceremony of the State of Hawaii, Aug. 1959.
"The First Talking Man" from the St. Louis World's Fair, 1904.
Article: "Jimalee Burton's Pen Tells Indians' Opinion" from *Sarasota Journal*, March 22, 1972.
"Creek Indian Stomp Dance, or Green Corn Dance."
Donor: Mrs. Jimalee Burton, Sarasota, Florida.

Lt. A. W. Whipple's Railroad Reconnaissance Railroad Survey Across Panhandle of Texas, 1853, edited by Ernest R. Archambeau—a reprint bound from *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, Vol. XLIV, 1971.
Panhandle-Plains Historical Review, Vol. 27, 1954 containing "The Fort Smith-Santa Fe Trail Along the Canadian River in Texas" by Ernest R. Archambeau.
Donor: Author-editor, Amarillo, Texas.

Early Oklahoma City-Ada-Atoka Railroad Information.
Early Fort Smith and Western Railroad Information.
Early St. Louis-El Reno and Western Railroad Information.
Contract of Kansas City-Mexico and Orient Railroad, Jan. 15, 1908.
Agreement of Clinton and Oklahoma Western Railway Co. and United States Express Co., March 19, 1910.
Donor: John Moore, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Oklahoma Lodge of Research, Vol. I, 1971 of Order of Masons of Oklahoma.
Donor: Carl J. Cowell, Jr., Chandler, Okla.

German Names by Dr. Rudolph Homburg, 1926. Printed in German.
German Families by Prof. Albert Heintze, 1922. Printed in German.
Donor: Mrs. Robert Hasskarl, Ada.

Yearbook—*The Womens' Dinner Club, Oklahoma City—Nineteenth Season.*
Focus—Fall 1966.
America's Newest Vacationland—Oklahoma!
Donor: Mrs. T. J. Laws, Oklahoma City.

Memoirs by Charles A. Long.
Donor: Author, Placentia, California.

English-Choctaw Dictionary, compiled by Will T. Nelson for Oklahoma City Council of Choctaws.
Donor: Compiler and Council, Oklahoma City.

Alfalfa Bill Murray by Keith L. Bryant, Jr.
Fort Griffin on the Texas Frontier by Carl Coke Rister.
Dream and Deed—The Story of Katharine Lee Bates by Dorothy Burgess.
Army Life on the Western Frontier edited by Francis Paul Prucha.
Hans Christian Anderson—A Biography by Fredrick Book.
Born in a Bookshop by Vincent Starrett.
The Western Journals of Washington Irving edited by John Francis McDermott.
Roads, Rails and Waterways by Forest G. Hill.
Donor: Gary Don Campbell, Oklahoma City.

Drumbeat, Vol. 1, nos. 8 & 10, 1965.
Treasury of Frontier Relics—A Collector's Guide by Les Beitz.
Miss Oklahoma City Pageant Program, April 23, 1969.
Donor: The Robert L. Atkins, Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma's Buried Millions by Bob Turpin, 1972.
Donor: Author, Cashion, Oklahoma.

The Parry Family of New Hope, Pa. by Richard Randolph Parry, Oct. 1901.
"Parry Family"—xeroxed copy from unidentified source.
Donor: Mrs. Otis Duran, McAlester.

Community Services Survey—Greater Oklahoma City, March 29, 1972.
Oklahoma Philatelic Society Membership Directory, 1969.
Pioneers in Public Service—The Story of Oklahoma Gas and Electric Co., by Donald S. Kennedy, 1972.
Military Collector and Historian, Vol. 23, Nos. 3 & 4, 1971; Vol. 24, No. 1, 1972.
Program of 12th Annual Western Heritage Awards—National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center, April 22, 1972.
Midland Bank Review, May 1972.
Military and Naval History—Including Aeronautics Catalogue Eleven, 1971.
The Civil War by James I. Robertson, Jr. of U. S. Civil War Centennial Commission, Wash. D.C., 1963.
"Homesteading Past and Present," 1959.
The Bicentennial Chronicle, Vol. 3, Nos. 3 & 4, 1972.
Plats of: Babbs, Kiowa County, Okla.
Gansel, Noble County, Okla.
Kellond, Pushmataha County, Okla.
Wadena, Pushmataha County, Okla.
Oklahoma Today Magazine, 13 back issues.
Hood's Nashville Campaign, editors of *Civil War Times Illustrated*, 1964.
"Educating Indian Lawyers is Not Enough" by Dr. Rennard Strickland from *Student Law Journal*, 1967.
"Indian Art: An American Heritage" by Dr. Rennard Strickland and Jack Gregory from *St. Mary's University* (San Antonio) *Bulletin*, Vol. 5, No. 2, April
"Lee & Jackson—Kindred Spirits" by LeRoy H. Fischer in *United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine*, March 1972.
Names—Journal of the American Names Society, Vol. 20, No. 2, June 1972.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

PHOTOGRAPH SECTION:

Mrs. James Menefee (nee Vivian Peoples) wife of 1st State Treasurer of Oklahoma.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Hess Greathouse, Lewisville, Texas.

Wetumka Boarding School—photograph of original oil done by the late Vinson Lackey at Gilcrease Institute, Tulsa.
Alice M. Robertson, Oklahoma's first and only Congresswoman.
Donor: Irwin Anderson Watson, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Group at Fort Towson, May 24, 1968 includes Walter B. Hall, Chairman of Fort Towson Commission; Dorothy J. Orton, Sec. of Fort Towson Commission; George H. Shirk, Pres. of Oklahoma Historical Society; and Frances Imon, columnist-free lance writer of Hugo, Oklahoma.
Color print of George H. Shirk, Ann Miller and family at Annual Meeting, 1971.
Color print of late Gov. William Miller Jenkins oil portrait with his granddaughter standing beside it—annual meeting, 1971.
Color print of George H. Shirk and the oil portrait of the late Charles F. Colcord—annual meeting, 1971.
Color print of George H. Shirk and D. K. Higgenbotham, editor-compiler of C. F. Colcord autobiography, annual meeting, 1971.
Large, unidentified photograph of couple in front of home; their dress and model car indicates date to be ca 1917–1920.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Negative of photograph of William Jennings Bryan.
Donor: Keith Whiteley, Admin. Assist. to Gov. David Hall.

An unidentified girl performer—bareback rider—connected with the famed 101 Ranch of the Miller family.
Donor: Sally Gray, 1900 Lawrence Road, Ardmore, Oklahoma.

Public Supply's Fire in Oklahoma City, April 1972—5 large photographs.
Donor: Fred Huston, Oklahoma City.

Group of 89'ers and builders of Oklahoma Territory containing Jim Chitwood, C. A. Compton, Judge Beattie, Frank Gault and Jack Love.
The James A. Chitwood store in Minco, Oklahoma Territory.
Donor: Mrs. Jimalee Chitwood Burton, Sarasota, Florida.

Twelve black and white glossy photographs of Fort Washita and surroundings.
Donor: Tom Quaid, photographer and Dr. Morrison, Durant by Wendell Howell, Oklahoma City.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION:

Map of Indian Territory 1898 by U.S. Geological Survey.
Brochure "Old Wetumka Creek Nation Mission 1880–1910" by Irwin Anderson Watson.
Donor: Irwin Anderson Watson, Tulsa, Okla.

Xerox copies: Charter dated Nov. 23, 1888, of Three Bar Ranch Co. of Parsons, Ks.; 3 envelopes addressed to Mrs. C. W. Turner: Letterhead, Turner's C A Bar Ranch.
Donor: Mrs. Manon Atkins, Oklahoma City.

Typescript "Officials Connected with History of Nuyaka Mission 1885–1905" by Oakla Mount Spears, Okmulgee, Okla.
Donor: Author.

Report of quarterly meeting of Inter-Tribal Council of Five Civilized Tribes, April 13 & 14, 1972.
Donor: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Muskogee, Okla.

Brief for Appellee in case John M. Grady v. Chas. Newman, No. 1, U. S. Court of Appeals for Indian Territory, Jan. 1897 term.
Donor: James Neill Northe, Oklahoma City.

"English-Choctaw Dictionary."
Review of "Life & Letters of Oscar Gardner Fiery Little Indian Apostle" by Walter A. Bennett.
Donor: Will T. Nelson.

Reprint from *Science*, Nov. 30, 1951, Vol. 114, "Statement on Peyote."
Donor: Dr. Omer C. Stewart, Boulder, Colo.

Xerox copy of letter of Apr. 11, 1972, from Rev. Charles A. Long to *Daily Oklahoman*, in re Grand, ghost town.
Donor: Kent Ruth, Geary, Okla.

Typed genealogy of Mildred Groom Collins, mother of Daniel Collins who married Sarah Potts, daughter of Rhoda Potts, Chickasaw.
Donor: Julia B. Smith, Norman, Okla.

Tlingit & Haida Indians of Alaska v. U. S., Docket No. 278: Order granting defendant's motion to dismiss.
Tlingit & Haida Indians of Alaska v. U. S., Docket No. 278a: Order granting defendant's motion to dismiss.
Lipan Apache tribe, Mescalero Apache Tribe, v. U. S. Docket No. 22C: Order granting part and denying part of motion of second applicant to intervene.
Jicarilla Apache Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 22A: Findings of fact on allowance of attorney fees; order allowing reimbursable expenses.
Minnesota Chippewa Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 18–T: Opinion; Additional findings of fact; Final award.
Creek Nation v. U. S., Docket No. 167: Order allowing attorney fee.
Delaware Tribe v. U. S., Docket Nos. 27A & 241: Order allowing attorney's fees; Order allowing reimbursement of attorney's fees.
Fort Peck Indians v. U. S., Docket No. 184: Opinion; Order.
Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community v. U. S. Docket No. 228: Order denying plaintiff's motion for rehearing on date of taking.
Kikiallus Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 263: Additional Findings of Fact; Final Award.
Seminole Nation v. U. S., Docket No. 204: Opinion; Preliminary Statement; Order vacating Commission's Findings of Fact; Opinion; Interloctory Order; Order dismissing Petition.
Seneca Nation v. U. S., Docket Nos. 342–A, B, C, E, F and I and 368 and 368a: Opinion; Findings of Fact.
Seneca Nation v. U. S. Docket Nos. 342A & 368A: Order vacating findings of fact and interlocutory order.

Seneca Nation v. U. S., Docket Nos. 342B & C and 368: Interlocutory Order.
Seneca Nation v. U. S. Docket No. 342E: Final Order of Dismissal.
Seneca Nation v. U. S., Docket No. 342F: Interlocutory Order.
Seneca Nation v. U. S., Docket No. 342–I: Order denying motion to dismiss; Interlocutory Order.
S'Klallam Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 134: Opinion; Order denying defendant's motion for rehearing, etc.
Donor: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D.C.

MUSEUMS & HISTORIC SITES:

Three Semi-Centennial automobile license plates.
Donor: State of Oklahoma, Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Early 20th century shotgun, which belonged to donor's father, A. H. Coffey.
Donor: N. E. Coffey, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Articles of clothing which belonged to Miss Janie Hagar, Guthrie, Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. James C. Petty, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Personal items; household items.
Donor: Mrs. Eva Davis, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Maps; documents; magazine.
Donor: Bill Lehmann, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

"The Oklahoma State Capitol Art Addition," published May 26, 1900.
Donor: Miss Dot Cooper, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Articles of clothing; doll and doll clothes; christening dress and robe; personal items.
Donor: Mrs. Heinz Braun, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Baby clothes; articles of clothing; photographs.
Donor: James Brooks, Ponca City, Oklahoma.

Handmade nails; automobile license plates; all from building site in Midwest City, Oklahoma.
Donor: The Reverend F. W. Sprague, Midwest City, Oklahoma.

Early 20th century corn sheller.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Hubert Mullikin and Marie Loughman Mullikin, Enid, Oklahoma.

Photograph of chuckwagon gang in Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory; photograph of James Wellington Harris; photograph of Tipton Shirlye Harris; all copies of original photographs.
Donor: Bernie B. Wyatt, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Rough draft of concession speech delivered by the Honorable Dewey F. Bartlett following the Oklahoma gubernatorial election, November 4, 1970.
Donor: Channel 9 KWTV, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, by Mike McCarville, Assistant News Director.

Corn cultivator sled.
Donor: Ray Smith, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Drawing of layout of City of Guthrie, January 22, 1890.
Donor: Vernon Warner, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Framed photograph of U. S. Marshal William (Bill) Tilghman, uncle of donor.
Donor: Frank W. Tilghman, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Square headed nails; bolts; harness parts; all from stock of Sessions Hardware Store, Guthrie, Oklahoma.
Donor: Sessions Hardware Store, Guthrie, Oklahoma, by Mrs. Spencer Sessions.

Book, "Prairie City," deals with settling of Marshall, Oklahoma.
Donor: Audrey M. Ellis, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Personal items; medicine bottle; seal; dog tags; license plates; clothing.
Donor: Mrs. John Powers, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Book, *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, 1836; Books, set of five commentaries by the Reverend Joseph Benson, 1850.
Donor: Mrs. Clyde M. Duckwall, Sr. and Clyde M. Duckwall, Jr., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Holy Bible, 1666, handed down in donor's family for generations.
Donor: Edward Wilkinson, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Early 20th century forge.
Donor: Ralph Blair, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Framed document, Certificate appointing William H. McCarver, donor's father, attorney and councelor at law, June 19, 1893.
Donor: Mrs. Alice McCarver Jackson, Spencer, Oklahoma.

Oak library table, originally belonged to the Peter Conser family.
Donor: Charles Johnston, Heavener, Oklahoma.

Padlock, used in the federal jail in early day Guthrie.
Donor: Laurence Parker, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Permanent wave machine.
Donor: James L. Holland, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

United States flag, 48 star, presented to donor by the City of Purcell, Oklahoma.
Donor: The Honorable Tom Brett, Court of Criminal Appeals, State Capitol, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Tools used by J. P. Fisch, grandfather of donor, in the late 19th century and early 20th century.
Donor: A. J. Fisch, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Early 20th century typewriter; crystal radio.
Donor: Myrle Case, Fairview, Oklahoma.

Diorama of early Guthrie townsite, made by the Oklahoma history class at Guthrie; door handle from the main door of the Brooks Opera House in the Old Royal Hotel,

Guthrie; door from Governor Haskell's suite at the old Royal Hotel; vent from old Guthrie city hall, used as Convention Hall for the Constitutional Convention in 1906; can; revolver, bullets, and brass knuckles (used by Deputy Marshal A. W. Platt); stereoscope; booklet.
Donor: Don Odom, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Tobacco plug cutter, from early statehood days; Telegraph sending key from Santa Fe Depot in Coyle, Oklahoma, installed in 1899.
Donor: Joe W. Smoykefer, Coyle, Oklahoma.

Quaker lace bedspread, with skirt; early 20th century.
Donor: Mrs. Lula B. Young, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

April 28, 1972 to July 27, 1972

Arnold, Paul W.	Tulsa
Arrington, Veneta B.	Oklahoma City
Baker, Mrs. Richard J.	Dallas, Texas
Beal, J. Wayne	Oklahoma City
Blackmore, L. V.	Guthrie
Branson, J. W., Sr.	Oklahoma City
Brown, H. T.	Oklahoma City
Browning, Betty J.	Midwest City
Burr, Gladys J.	Tonkawa
Byers, Mrs. Virginia	Tulsa
Carpou, Peter C.	Santa Cruz, California
Casbeer, Mrs. Martha	Oklahoma City
Clapper, Robert A.	Waynoka
Clark, Bill W.	Okemah
Cole, Charles	Sand Springs
Coleman, F. G.	Oklahoma City
Cox, Virgil L.	Palmdale, California
Cox, Willie Ruthelle	Palmdale, California
Craft, Guy	Dallas, Texas
Crowder, Mrs. Ola	Oklahoma City
Davis, Major Glen C., Ret'd	Paden
Dickey, Loris	Sallisaw
Drake, Mrs. Fred P.	Edmond
Eastern Oklahoma Historical Society	Poteau
Ellis, Beatrice E.	Oklahoma City
Everett, Mrs. Alice Allen	Oklahoma City
Fleischaker, Mrs. Richard	Oklahoma City
Franklin, Ben	Oklahoma City
Hampton, Opal McSpadden	Sacramento, California
Hipp, R. W.	Midwest City
Ives, Nell	Alva
James, Bobby	Moore
Janes, Mrs. D. H.	Oklahoma City
Johnson, Mrs. Anderson	Oklahoma City
Julian, Marvin L.	Bethany

Keesee, Bobby E.	Oklahoma City
Kerr, Albert L.	Madill
King, Trudy	Rogers
Kirsten, Wilma	Oklahoma City
Koch, Winona	Stillwater
Lance, H. L.	Oklahoma City
McWilliams, D. N.	Tonkawa
Manning, William J.	Wauwatosa, Wisconsin
Martin, A. O.	Stillwater
Maulden, Mrs. Dorthy	Tulsa
Mears, Ethel	Oklahoma City
Melson, Jack G., DDS	Stroud
Meradith, Paul W.	Chandler
Michalicka, John	Coalgate
Milner, Mrs. M. P. "Noda"	Oklahoma City
Mitch, Mary	Oklahoma City
Montgomery, C. P.	Cashion
Morrison, Mrs. Deana	Chattanooga
Murray, Hubert J.	Lawton
Murray, Sr. Mary Clement, RSM	Oklahoma City
O'Connor, Mrs. C. G.	Apache
Orebaugh, James L.	Oklahoma City
Paine, Mrs. Kathleen E.	Oklahoma City
Perkins, J. F.	Muskogee
Putnam, Mrs. Jack W.	Shawnee
Richardson, W. M. Claire	Oklahoma City
Robertson, Dr. William R.	Stroud
Roger, Eldon A.	Tulsa
Rogers, Murl R.	Stillwater
Rowles, John T.	Tulsa
Rudd, Mrs. Floyd	Kingfisher
Shipley, Mrs. Wanda	Alva
Shorter, Daniel, Dr.	Alva
Simmons, Fern J.	Apache
Stephens, William M.	Oklahoma City
Switzer, Martha Mae	Midwest City
Sykora, Joe	Stroud
Thomas, Mrs. R. B.	Oklahoma City
Tice, James H.	Oklahoma City
Todd, Jack	Bartlesville
Toler, George G.	Oklahoma City
Tucker, Wallace H.	Lincoln, Massachusetts
Tyler, Mrs. Julius M.	Tulsa
Wagner, Anita	Alva
Walker, Mrs. C. E.	Crescent
Walls, Haskell	Oklahoma City
Wann, Inez	Kinta
Ward, R. F.	Lindsay
Watson, Joe Francis	Norman

Whiteley, Keith	Wagoner
Wiley, Mrs. Mildred M.	West Covina, California
Williams, Mrs. Stanley	Okmulgee
Winbray, Mrs. J. D.	Oklahoma City
Windrow, Georgia Marie	Oklahoma City
Worthy, L. F.	El Reno
Wyatt, Mrs. Beverly J.	Tishomingo

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

April 28, 1972 to July 27, 1972

Barnes, Mrs. Jean Merrill	Edmond
Brisco, M. M.	New York, New York
Stewart, Roy P.	Edmond
Voss, James R.	Oklahoma City

*All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

New Annual Members	91
New Life Members	4
Total New Members	95

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

the chronicles

BLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF OKLAHOMA

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A home on a claim in Payne County,
in the Cherokee Outlet

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

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Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be sent to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, 2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

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the
chronicles
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MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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Cover: Print from original photograph of the B. R. Tankersley family home on their land claim ating from the Cherokee Outlet run of September 16, 1893. The log house with its small arn and its board fence is typical of houses on homestead claims in the first years after the un into the Cherokee Outlet.

MEMORIES OF AN OKLAHOMA TEACHER

By Pat A. Tankersley

At the time of my birth in Geuda Springs, Kansas, in 1887, Father was caring for the springs, selling milk from three cows, and teaching school. When Oklahoma was opened to settlement in 1889, he homesteaded a claim southwest of Stillwater in Payne County. Our postoffice was Marena.

The farmers who had homesteaded in Oklahoma Territory were dependent on their land for their living. Because of the lateness of the season when the territory was opened, very little could be raised during the first spring. The crops planted on sod the next spring, 1890, were ruined by drought and hot winds. When the fall rains started, there was one crop that could still be planted—turnips. They grew as well as young Longfellow's turnip, and everybody was eating turnips and feeding them to the livestock.

In the fall of 1890, Father was teaching the local school. It was the custom to invite the teacher to take a meal at the home of the children. Father had accepted such an invitation from the Hatchers. After grace they passed an attractive dish that looked like fried potatoes. He took a generous helping, but to his disappointment they were fried turnips.

There was an organization called the Farmers Alliance that helped the new settlers by furnishing seed, feed, clothes, and shoes. Father was an organizer for the Farmers Alliance and helped in the distribution of the needed articles. As a token of appreciation for his work, he received a sack of flour. We had been eating cornbread made with meal and water. Light bread was a rare treat. When one of our horses died, Father bought a yoke of oxen to use in breaking the sod.

The Cherokee Strip was about to open by run in the fall of 1893. Father's brother, Uncle Rush, had come from Nebraska to make the run for a claim. The location where he hoped to find his claim was near the present town of Jennings. Uncle Rush was riding a horse known as an Indian Pony. Indian Ponies are rather small, rough looking, but tough and capable of great endurance. Father was to follow in the race at a slower pace to insure fair play. To mark the way, Uncle Rush tore strips from his red bandana handkerchief and strung them on tree limbs and brush. Uncle Rush had staked his claim when Father overtook him. A man riding a

MR. AND MRS. B. R. TANKERSLEY

The Tankersley family lived on their homestead claim southwest of present Stillwater in Payne County. B. R. Tankersley staked the 160-acre claim in the Cherokee Outlet run on September 16, 1893. (Original photos taken by Cimarron Gallery, Perkins, Oklahoma Territory.)

fine race horse was there accusing Uncle Rush of being a "sooner." To prove his point, the man said that he had passed Father about four miles back, that Father's and Uncle Rush's horses were both plug horses, while his own horse was of a racing breed. Father remarked that he remembered the man's passing him, but this other man (Uncle Rush, Father's brother) had passed him first.

Mother's father, Michael Bixler, was living with us at the time of the opening of the Cherokee Strip. He and Mother wanted to see the start of the race but the only remaining transportation was the oxen. Grandfather yoked them up and hitched them to the wagon. The nearest point for seeing the race was northwest of Stillwater, now covered by Lake Carl Blackwell. Because of the slowness of the oxen, we had to start at six o'clock to get there by noon. We arrived about eleven-thirty. After watering the oxen from a water barrel on the wagon, Grandfather turned the oxen loose to graze. The line of people waiting for the starting signal extended over the hill out of sight. There were people on horseback, in buggies, carts,

surreys, and wagons. Some of the wagons were fully loaded, including the whole family. There were generally at least two people in each vehicle as a matter of precaution and protection.

Mother set out the lunch but the race started before we had eaten. The people were soon out of sight. As a six-year-old boy, I did not know what it was all about until it was explained to me.

Father taught rural schools, kept up the farm, broke new land, cared for the livestock and other regular farm duties. His experience with the Farmers Alliance made him aware of the needs of the farmers and the working man. The new People's Party seemed to have the answers for remedying the conditions. A paragraph is quoted here from one of Father's speeches that reveals what some of the historians have overlooked about the beginning of the Populist Party:

"In consequence of the depressed conditions of the country there was a convention of representative farmers and laborers in the city of St. Louis in December, 1889. Never since the convention that gave us our National Constitution has there been a body of men in this country who were actuated by purer motives or more patriotic purposes. After a careful, calm, and deliberate consideration of the causes that have produced the wide spread depression of the laboring people, they outlined what they believed to be a means of relief. . . . They sent men to Washington to ask for legislation for the producer but all in vain. Then they said they would elect men who would do it . . . . Hence the birth of the Populist Party."

Representatives of the Farmers Alliance were leaders in the Party movement. Party names were Alliance Party, People's Party, and Populist Party. Father was active in the politics of early Oklahoma. He was elected as a Populist to the Senate in the Third Territorial Legislature, at that time called the Council. A Republican, Robert A. Lowery, of Stillwater was elected to the House of Representatives. They worked in harmony in retaining the A. and M. College at Stillwater. The towns of Perkins and El Reno were contenders for the college. Father refused a bribe of $1,000 and a corner lot in a contending town for his vote to move the college. A. C. Scott of Oklahoma City, a fellow Senator, cooperated in keeping the A. and M. College at Stillwater. He was later made its president.

The Populist Party advocated free enterprise based on fair play. Its members were against favoring special interest groups if such favoritism was at the expense of the general public. Father worked for the Initiative and Referendum but that was too advanced for the time. After the Territorial legislature adjourned, the business and professional men of Stillwater held a banquet honoring their returning legislators. Father was presented a silver Waltham watch, and Mr. Lowery a gold-headed cane. Mr.

owery liked to dress in fashion. As a boy, I remember seeing him at a olitical meeting wearing a plug hat.

In the fall of 1896, James Y. Callahan was running for Representative to Congress from Oklahoma Territory against Dennis Flynn. He ran on a usion ticket, Democrat and Populist. At a political rally at Stillwater, my ister, Lola, and I sang a song in his behalf that Father had composed. It vas to the tune of "Wait for the Wagon." I hesitate to say that our song vas the deciding factor in Mr. Callahan's election. He gave us a bag of eanuts after the rally.

Father's health was failing so he could not do the heavy farm work. He eft the farm and ran country general stores. In 1901, he moved the family o Stillwater so that the children could have the advantage of a college ducation. There were five children in the B. R. Tankersley family. My rother Benjamin Arlyn and I are the only ones of the family living today. Father passed away in 1905 on his forty-sixth birthday. Mother taught chool after Father's death. Sister Lola and I made teaching our career. My teaching included two years in rural schools; superintendent at Tryon and Ralston; summer school at North Fork; principal in grade schools in Enid and Muskogee; superintendent of Putnam City Schools; high school principal at Lamar, Oklahoma; and instructor of apprentice trainees at Tinker Field.

Getting My First School

When I was looking for my first rural school to teach I encountered an area fifteen miles east and south from Stillwater, Oklahoma, in Payne County where the roads did not follow the section lines.

Before Oklahoma Territory was opened to settlement the land was surveyed and laid out in sections one mile square with four farms of one hundred sixty acres each to the section. The roads followed the section lines, north and south, and east and west. However, in the early years the roads often cut across farms to avoid steep hills or to go around curves in creeks. Sometimes it saved distance.

A friend who was also looking for a school was with me, and we were traveling by horse and buggy. Not being sure of our road we decided to make inquiry. We saw a man operating a mowing machine near the road and asked him for directions. The directions he gave were unique, such as: "Follow this road to the fork, about a mile. Take the right fork to a cross road, about a half mile. Turn left on this road to a large walnut tree and right one mile and you are there." With these directions we couldn't miss it. We thanked him and started on when he called to us. We stopped

and he gave us some valuable advice. He said "Young fellers, the next time you come down here you'd better bring your dogs along so when you get lost you can whip them and follow them out." We located the people we were looking for, but they had already employed their teacher, so we went home to Stillwater.

The next day I started out alone. There were two prospective schools. One was about six miles east of Perkins on the north side of the Cimarron River, the other on the south side. The one on the north side did not need a teacher so it was necessary to cross the river to see about the other one.

I could have driven back to Perkins and crossed on the bridge, but it was closer to ford the stream. I was told by a family near the river that fording it was safe. A team and wagon had crossed during the day, from the other direction. The river was up and very wide with a steep bank on the other side. A road was cut in this bank as the only exit from the water.

I crossed about fifty feet of water to a sand bar the same width. On leaving the sand bar my pony struck quicksand. When a leg went down into the quicksand she lunged forward, pulled it out and another leg went down. She made it across the quicksand. Then the buggy wheels were in the sand. They jolted as if going over rocks. They sank into the sand and the pony lunged forward to pull them loose. Again they sank and again were pulled out. We made it across the quicksand but the water kept getting deeper. When water came up into the buggy bed I sat on the back of the seat with my feet on the cushion. When the water covered the seat I stood up in the buggy and the cushion floated off.

Just then my pony struck the deep main current and went clear under. She came up swimming. The water was up around my chest. By that time we were below the only road where we could get out. I let my pony head downstream hoping we could get turned around and head back. She reared up on her hind legs, made a quick turn and we were out of the deep water.

It was fortunate that the buggy had no top, as the current would have turned it over. My next worry was crossing the quicksand again. The sun was just going down when we got out of the river.

Father's uncle lived twelve miles away, six miles west of Perkins, at old Cimarron City. I drove there to spend the night. Losing the cushion in the river made it necessary to sit on the narrow front edge of the seat. I was almost dry when I arrived in town.

The next day I drove to a school in the southwest corner of Payne County. The school board had a called meeting to consider me. To prove my qualification as a teacher I presented my county teacher's certificate. It was folded in a long envelope and in my inside coat pocket when I was in the river. The lower part showed muddy water marks. I was instructed

to sit in the buggy while the board members sat on the wood pile to discuss me. In due time the spokesman came over to the buggy and told me they approved of me on one condition—that I promise to leave the girls alone.

On the first day of school, I was there early when a little boy came in. He looked around for awhile and asked why the teacher was not there. He thought I was one of the big boys.

Just After Statehood at North Fork School

The North Fork store and school were on the Missouri, Oklahoma and Gulf (now Kansas, Oklahoma and Gulf) railroad in Okfuskee County about halfway between Henryetta and Dustin, Oklahoma. I made application to teach this summer school. I met with the school board, helped them make their annual report, and signed the contract to teach. We were through by noon and went to the store where we ate our sardines and crackers. The train was due about three o'clock. The crowd was gathering to buy groceries and supplies and get their mail.

While waiting in the store, I listened to the talk. A man had been accused by a husband of molesting his wife. The husband had threatened to kill him and he left the country. A white man had been injured during the "clean-up" at Hickory Stomp Grounds and was still in critical condition. An Indian at Dustin got drunk and was causing trouble. The deputy sheriff had slashed his head with the butt of his gun. They even discussed a lynching and a killing. I was wondering if I had made a mistake in coming to North Fork to teach. About that time I was introduced as the new teacher. One man "allowed" that I was pretty slim to teach their school. They had run off the last two teachers.

The crowd discussed a boarding place for me. At last they decided that "Jerry" might board me. He was hauling logs to the saw mill and would be along soon. I was to *tell* him I planned on boarding at his place, not *ask* him. When Jerry came by with his mule team and log, he stopped to talk awhile. When he was ready to leave, I said: "Wait a minute. I am the new teacher and I am going to board with you." He looked at me, then spat a rainbow through his teeth, cleared his throat, and said: "Well, guess I'll be there."

North Fork School was near the Hickory Stomp Grounds where the "Crazy Snake Uprising" had occurred the March before. I arrived on Sunday, July 4, by way of the Fort Smith and Western Railroad, getting off at the whistle stop crossing of the M. O. & G. Railroad. I walked the tracks across the North Canadian River to the North Fork Store, about

four miles. There I inquired the way to the home of a school board member, Mr. Hall, four miles farther, where I stayed all night. I signed my contract the next day, got a place to board, and started teaching on Tuesday.

The school house was one in the Creek Nation before statehood. There were no desks and the seats were board benches. In spite of the warning I had received that this was a tough school, I found the children eager to learn, the Indian children as dependable as the whites, and the parents of both very friendly.

I was invited by some friends to go to the Hickory Stomp Grounds to an Indian Green Corn dance. The Indian men danced around the circle for awhile, then sat on the ground to talk, until one stood up and made a speech, of course in his own language. They continued this until eleven o'clock when the women were permitted to dance. This was a beautiful sight because of the grace and ease with which they glided around the circle. At midnight, the white people were allowed to dance. At the urging of my friends I danced with them. I heard someone on the sidelines say: "Look, there is the teacher dancing."

There was not a large enrollment in the school but the children were anxious to learn. Since there were no desks, the children held books on their knees to write on. One day, I was hearing a class with a book in my hands when one of the boys called out for me to look around, there was a centipede crawling across the blackboard. I slapped my book on it to hold it until one of the boys brought me his knife. I cut it in two and it went both ways.

The school district was a large one with a school house in the north part, one in the south, and mine in the center. I saw the advantage of consolidation, and talked it over with the board members. They liked the idea and called a meeting of the patrons to have it explained. I addressed the meeting, telling them of the educational advantages of consolidation. When a banker in Weleetka heard about the movement he opposed it because it would increase the taxes. He owned several farms in the districts. He instructed his tenants to oppose the movement. Another meeting was called at which the banker spoke. The community was divided on the issue.

One of my chief supporters was one of the board members, Mr. Dohrer. One day while Mr. Dohrer was in Dustin he saw one of the Weleetka banker's tenants. The tenant started to berate me, saying my motive in advocating consolidation was not for the betterment of the school but to create a better job for myself. I presume he called me some ugly names. Mr. Dohrer told me it made him so mad that he pulled his knife on the man and threatened to cut him open if he didn't "shut up." The man did.

The consolidation movement must have taken root because in later

years the three schools in the district did consolidate. The Graham Consolidated School in the old North Fork Community is reported to be an outstanding school.

While teaching in Muskogee, I took my meals at the cafeteria operated by Miss Alice Robinson, the daughter of missionaries to the Creek Indians. Miss Alice had assisted her parents and had taught public school. After World War I, she was elected Representative to Congress. She is responsible for the beautification of Honor Heights, the old Agency Hill. The experience at the Muskogee school has always been of interest to me.

UNITED STATES INDIAN AGENTS TO THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES

*By LeRoy H. Fischer**

Introduction

A series of four articles on the United States Indian Agents to the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory are presented in this issue and the next following issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. These articles are the first attempt to study collectively the biographical profiles, problems, and concerns of the United States Indian agents that were prepared under my supervision in a graduate research seminar at Oklahoma State University by students working on the Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy degrees in history. Although several of the agents have been the subject of geographical sketches in historical journals such as *The Chronicles*, their specific contributions as Indian agents have not been delineated.

The agents were a part of the administrative structure of the Office of Indian Affairs (renamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1947), which in turn was an agency of the War Department until 1849, when it was transferred to the new Department of the Interior, where it continues to the present. Within this jurisdictional framework the agents were supervised by a superintendent who headed first the Western Superintendency and later the Southern Superintendency. Superintendents had general responsibility for Indian affairs in a geographic area. Their duties include supervising relations among the tribes in their superintendency and with other tribes and people having business with them; they also oversaw the accounts and conduct of the agents.

The Western Superintendency was headquartered in Indian Territory at the Choctaw Agency near Fort Coffee in 1834. The office of the Southern Superintendency was originally at Van Buren, Arkansas, but in 1853 was moved to Fort Smith, Arkansas, where it remained until the outbreak of the Civil War. The Arkansas Superintendency was the Confederate equivalent of the Southern Superintendency. The new superintendent for the United States Southern Superintendency, unable to reach Fort Smith because of Confederate occupation of that military post, established his headquarters in Kansas. His first office, located at Humboldt, was soon burned

* Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Professor of History at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, has written the introduction here for a series of articles on U.S. Indian Agents of the Five Civilized Tribes.

by Confederate troops. He opened an office next at Leroy, but for most of the Civil War his office was at Leavenworth. In 1865 the superintendent's headquarters was at Lawrence; in 1866 it was returned to Fort Smith; and in 1868 it was located at the Creek Agency on the Deep Fork of the Canadian River, about fifty miles west of Fort Gibson.

The agents of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indian Territory worked under the direction of the following superintendents:

Western Superintendency	*Date Appointed*
Francis W. Armstrong	June 30, 1834
William Armstrong	September 8, 1835
Samuel M. Rutherford	July 10, 1847
John Drennen	May 29, 1849
Southern Superintendency	
John Drennen	March 12, 1851
Thomas S. Drew	April 8, 1853
Charles W. Dean	March 3, 1855
Elias Rector	March 17, 1857
William G. Coffin	May 3, 1861
Elijah Sells	April 28, 1865
William Byers	September 20, 1866
James Wortham	March 27, 1867
L. Newton Robinson	June 17, 1868
Bvt. Maj. Gen. W. B. Hazen	June 30, 1869

In the earlier years most agents of the Five Civilized Tribes were virtually diplomatic representatives of the United States. Later they attempted to preserve peace, distribute money and goods as required by treaties, carry out other treaty provisions, assist with education, and promote general tribal well-being. Finally, in 1874, the Choctaw-Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole, and Cherokee agencies were consolidated to form the Union Agency, with headquarters in Muskogee, Oklahoma.

The Choctaw agents were located, beginning in 1831, on the Arkansas River near the site of Fort Coffee. (This agency was at the site of Skullyville.) In 1854 the agency was moved to the abandoned garrison at Fort Towson near the Red River. In 1855 the Choctaw agent was placed in charge of the Chickasaw Agency, and in 1856 the Chickasaws were permanently assigned to the Choctaw Agency. The combination of agencies was often called the Choctaw and Chickasaw Agency. In 1856 the Choctaw and Chickasaw agent moved from Fort Towson to the old Chickasaw Agency buildings near Fort Washita. This agency was the site of Hatisboro, less than 1/2 mile west of the forts. During the Civil War most of

the Choctaws and Chickasaws joined the Confederacy, but the very few who remained loyal to the United States took refuge in Kansas, where their agent established temporary headquarters first at Leroy and then at the Sac and Fox Agency. During 1865 and 1866, the U.S. Indian agent lived at Fort Gibson and Fort Smith. The agency was located at Scullyville in 1866, and in 1867 the agent stayed at Boggy Depot.

The first Chickasaw agent in Indian Territory took office in 1837.[1] The agent usually stayed near Fort Towson, until in 1842 when permanent buildings were erected near Fort Washita. These structures, in use as the Chickasaw Agency headquarters until the Choctaw and Chickasaw agencies were consolidated in 1855–1856, became the location of the combined agencies.

The agents of the Choctaws and Chickasaws were generally Southerners and Democrats. They dealt with illegal trade in liquor, with alcoholism, disagreements with the military, and attacks by the Plains Indians. Almost all promoted education. Some were indifferent and some were dishonest. A close working relationship which developed between the agents and the mixed-bloods enabled some of the agents to take advantage of the full-bloods and generally isolate them politically and socially.

These men served as agents of the Choctaws and Chickasaws in Indian Territory:

Choctaw Agency	*Date Appointed*
Francis W. Armstrong	Assigned September 7, 1831
William Armstrong	September 8, 1835
Samuel M. Rutherford	July 10, 1847
John Drennen	May 29, 1849
William Wilson	June 30, 1851
Douglas H. Cooper	April 18, 1853
Isaac Coleman	July 31, 1861
Martin W. Chollar	August 22, 1866
Capt. George T. Olmstead	June 23, 1869
Theophilus D. Griffith	October 21, 1870
Albert Parsons	April 1, 1873
Chickasaw Agency	
Gaines P. Kingsbury	June 11, 1837
A. M. M. Upshaw	March 4, 1839
Gabriel W. Long	November 6, 1849
Kenton Harper	June 30, 1851
Andrew Jackson Smith	September 1, 1852

[1] The first Chickasaw Agency was at Boggy Depot on west side of Clear Boggy River. The agency was moved about 2 miles south in 1872, to a site called New Boggy Depot on the old Texas Road.

Cherokee agents were located at or near Fort Gibson from 1830 to 1851. Buildings for the agency were erected in 1839 on Bayou Menard some eight miles southeast of Fort Gibson, but this housing was not always in use. In 1851, when the Southern Superintendency replaced the Western Superintendency, the Cherokee Agency was moved from the area of Fort Gibson to a location near Tahlequah. During the Civil War, those Cherokees remaining loyal to the United States were forced to take refuge in Kansas; thus the Cherokee agent established temporary headquarters at the Sac and Fox Agency. At the height of the war, the agent and the Cherokees attempted to return to Tahlequah, but were unable to remain; and the agent established his office at Fort Gibson, then held by Federal forces. Since the agency buildings at Tahlequah had been destroyed during the war, the agent remained at Fort Gibson even after the military operations ceased, and not until 1871 was the agency headquarters finally returned to Tahlequah.

The agents of the Cherokees in Indian Territory, with but few exceptions, lacked any special training or experience for their tasks. Some were prominent political figures, such as Montford Stokes and Pierce M. Butler, who were former state governors, and others were obscure persons. Their problems were especially difficult. In addition to the usual conflicts with other tribes and with non-Indians, they had to contend with bitter factionalism within the tribe caused by removal. Although the removal conflicts were not solved by the agents prior to the Civil War, they were in part submerged by time, by the war and its aftermath, and by new conditions demanding urgent attention. Illegal trade in liquor and attendant alcoholism problems among the Cherokees chronically plagued their agents.

These men served as agents of the Cherokees in Indian Territory:

Cherokee Agency	*Date Appointed*
George Vashon	March 12, 1830; became subagent under regulations adopted July 7, 1834
Montford Stokes (subagent)	Accepted March 25, 1836
(agent)	March 8, 1837
Pierce M. Butler	September 13, 1841
James McKissick	August 19, 1845
Richard C. S. Brown	February 14, 1848
William Butler	May 29, 1849
George Butler	Notified October 31, 1850
Robert J. Cowart	March 12, 1860
John Crawford	April 5, 1861

Charles W. Chatterton	March 6, 1862
Justin Harlan	September 11, 1862
John J. Humphreys	September 25, 1866
William B. Davis	November 29, 1867
Capt. John N. Craig	June 22, 1869
John B. Jones	December 9, 1870

CHOCTAW AND CHICKASAW INDIAN AGENTS, 1831–1874

By Cheryl Haun Morris

In 1862 about 185 Union Chickasaws were driven from their homes by Confederate Texas Rangers and Indians; they were soon joined by a few Union Choctaws at a Chickasaw encampment on the Verdigris River.[1] Destitute, lacking clothing, blankets, and provisions, these Indians had suffered once again from involvements with white men. More than a quarter century previously white settlers had demanded the removal of these tribes from the South. Removal to Indian Territory brought unbelievable hardships to these people but they recovered, prospered, and believed that they had found their final homeland.

The intermediaries between the United States government and the Indians were the Indian agents, who were appointed, paid, and held responsible by the United States. Between 1831 and 1861 the agents who served over the Choctaws and Chickasaws had similar backgrounds and similar dilemmas in dealing with these tribes. The agents, most of whom were Southerners and Democrats, were plagued with problems of illegal trade in alcohol, disagreements with the military, and invasions by the Plains Indians. The manner in which they wielded their agencies was at times beneficial and at other times detrimental. From 1831 to 1874, however, the full-blooded members of the Choctaw and the Chickasaw tribes usually experienced greater hardships than the mixed-bloods.

On September 27, 1830, the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek had authorized the removal of the Choctaw tribe from Mississippi to Indian Territory. The Choctaw Indians who lived west of the Mississippi previous to this treaty resided under the Red River or Caddo Agency. By 1825 these Indians had a reserve in the southeastern part of present-day Oklahoma which, at that time, was a part of Arkansas. Thus the Choctaw Agency, established in 1825, was under the supervision of the Arkansas Indian Superintendency. Three years later the Choctaw Agency separated from the Arkansas Indian Superintendency, and the agent, William McClellen, reported to the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington that he had only

[1] Isaac Coleman to William G. Coffin, September 30, 1862, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1862* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), p. 141.

eight Indians under his immediate care. McClellen's agency was consequently reduced to a subagency under the Cherokee Agency.[2] When the Choctaws began moving west from Mississippi under their agreement in the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, a full agent was assigned to the Choctaws in the West.

The Choctaws and the Chickasaws were Southern in origin, in characteristics, and in institutions.[3] Economic and social ties with the South committed these Indians in part to the Confederacy in the Civil War.[4] However, these factors alone were not sufficient motivation, and in the end their agents greatly influenced them to join the Confederacy. The withdrawal of Federal troops from the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, and the complete interruption of communication were other aspects influencing the secession of the Choctaws and the Chickasaws.[5]

Officially, Choctaw and Chickasaw agents attempted over the years to preserve or restore peace, to distribute money and goods as required by the treaties, and to support other provisions of these documents. As the years passed, when the Choctaws and Chickasaws became settled in their new country west under their own governments, the agents carried out treaty provisions for schools and education. In their offices, the agents for the Choctaws and Chickasaws were sometimes indifferent and even dishonest. From 1831 to 1874, the Choctaws and Chickasaws had sixteen agents. Commencing with 1855, one agent directed the affairs of the two tribes at one agency center. During these years, the agents found they could work with the mixed-bloods (Indian and white by descent) better than they could with their fullblood brothers. Thus, a close relationship existed in which the mixed-bloods served as something like a "fifth column" for the agents appointed to their offices on the American frontier. In this situation, the fullbloods became resigned and withdrawn, yet among the Choctaws particularly, they generally managed to hold the balance of power in their own tribal governments. In the field of U.S. government relations under the terms of the tribal treaties, the agents took advantage of their charges and the fullblood Indians suffered in their advancement in comparison to the mixed-bloods. After the Civil War, the alliance, although unofficial

[2] Edward E. Hill, "Choctaw Agency, 1824–76," *Historical Sketches for Jurisdictional and Subject Headings Used for the Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–80* (Washington: The National Archives, 1967), p. 2.

[3] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1915), p. 33.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

[5] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1862*, p. 26.

between the agents and the mixed-bloods, was largely detrimental to the fullbloods.[6]

Francis W. Armstrong

The first Choctaw agent to serve in the West after the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek was Francis W. Armstrong. He was born in 1783 in Virginia, and resigned from the army in Tennessee as a brevet major in 1817 after five years of service.[7] Politically ambitious, Armstrong campaigned for the election of Andrew Jackson as President in 1829. On April 26, 1831, Armstrong was appointed to take a census of the Choctaw tribe in Mississippi before their removal to Indian Territory. He soon gained their favor and reported to the War Department that the Choctaws would be ready for removal. George S. Gaines, a licensed trader and friend of the Choctaws, was also ready. On August 12, 1831, Gaines was appointed "Superintendent of Subsistence and Removal of the Indians." By September 7, two months after he had begun, Armstrong completed his census. On that same day he was appointed as Choctaw agent west of the Mississippi.

William McClellan, subagent for the Choctaws, prepared for the arrival of Armstrong by locating the new agency about fifteen miles west of Fort Smith. The subagent planned and built the building which was to house the Armstrong family. By the time of the Armstrongs' arrival two years later, the new Choctaw agent's home appeared to have depreciated considerably, for he wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs asking for $362 because he "found the roof and porches rotten; and the Agency in a most dilapidated state; with but one chimney."[8] The funds were granted and the improvements were made.

The early part of Armstrong's administration was spent in handling the supplies of the Choctaws and in preventing the introduction of whiskey into the agency area. During this period plans were made for the construction of a road from Arkansas and for the building of schools as provided for in the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek.[9] In April, 1833, a majority of the Choctaws arrived in the West. Agent Armstrong then began letting contracts

[6] In later years, this power structure would be challenged by the fullbloods. See Arrell M. Gibson, *The Chickasaws* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971) for a detailed account of this movement, *passim*.

[7] Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (2 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), Vol. I, p. 169; Carolyn T. Foreman, "The Armstrongs of Indian Territory, Part I," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 3 (Autumn, 1952), pp. 292–295.

[8] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 295.

[9] Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. 60.

for the construction of a council house for the nation, homes for the chiefs of the three districts, and a church in each district which would be used for a schoolhouse until others were built.

There was a great deal of internal strife and jealousy among the Choctaws in the winter of 1833–1834, yet Armstrong insisted that some form of tribal government be formed. When the Choctaws attempted to follow his directives, they found that Armstrong would not accept their methods. Only part of the tribe had attended the meeting; the representatives from Nitakachi's district prepared and adopted a constitution, while the citizens of the Pushmataha District had no constitution or laws but had selected a chief for the entire nation. The discord increased and Armstrong tried to find some harmony. He told them to assemble all of their chiefs and ninety-nine treaty captains into a council and then set up a government before electing officers.

In June, 1832, by an act of Congress all the territory west of the Mississippi River except for the territory of Arkansas and the state of Missouri was made "the Indian Country." In addition, the whole Indian service was reorganized, and Armstrong was made acting superintendent of the "Western Territory" with particular jurisdiction over the Choctaw Indians. Under his jurisdiction, new subagencies were organized, which included the Osage, Western Cherokees, Western Creeks, and immigrant Senecas, Shawnees, and Quapaws. Armstrong's troubles increased with this additional authority and he had great difficulties in managing the Choctaws and their affairs.[10]

But Armstrong's problems were not limited to his superintendency, for the nomadic Plains tribes to the west, the Comanches and the Wichitas, interfered with trade in the Choctaw area, and these Indians were highly incensed with the arrival of the Choctaws in their territory. On March 23, 1835, Secretary of War Lewis Cass appointed Montfort Stokes, Brigadier General Matthew Arbuckle, and Agent Armstrong to negotiate a treaty with these Indians. The Plains tribes were difficult to gather into a meeting, but due to Armstrong's cooperation Stokes and Arbuckle concluded a treaty with the Wichitas and Comanches in late August of 1835 at Fort Holmes. Armstrong did not live to see the results of his efforts; while on the way to the conference at Fort Holmes, he was taken seriously ill, and he died in his home at the Choctaw Agency.

Armstrong was one of the few agents who attempted to keep the Choctaws united and at peace. His attitude toward the Choctaws, however, was stern and generally unyielding; as a result, he was accused of being harsh

[10] United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 60*, 23rd Congress, 1st session (Washington: Duff Green, 1834), pp. 2–12.

and dictatorial by his enemies.[11] Also, there were times when the Choctaws went hungry due to shortage of supplies during Armstrong's administration, and there were times when Choctaw children died because of a lack of medicine. However, these were supply problems caused by poor transportation services rather than by Armstrong. During his administration, twelve schools were built, a government established, and a treaty of peace made with the Plains Indians. But the Choctaw agent who succeeded Armstrong accomplished more, and that agent was his brother.

William Armstrong

Born about 1800, William Armstrong, brother of Francis Armstrong, supposedly fought in the Battle of New Orleans. He was tall, light complected, and had auburn hair.[12] The Reverend Henry C. Benson described him as a "man of unblemished reputation, of excellent morals" and a member of the Presbyterian Church.[13] On July 2, 1832, he was appointed by President Andrew Jackson to Special Agent and Superintendent of the removal of the Choctaws from their homes east of the Mississippi River. At that time an epidemic of cholera was spreading along the river front and struck the emigrating Choctaws. Armstrong tried to get a doctor to travel with the first group of Indians on their way west, but he could not find one, so he went with them himself. In seven days they traveled forty-two miles through a swamp, struggling at times through waist-deep water. Some of the Indians who had tried to leave without governmental assistance gave up and were discovered enroute by Armstrong and his party in the middle of December. At the Arkansas River his followers encountered the worst known flood of that stream. The crops of those Choctaws who had settled near the river had been swept away and their houses had been ruined. To prevent their starvation, Armstrong borrowed 500 bushels of corn.

Yet it was not a simple task to convince the remaining Choctaws to remove to the West, and it was made even more difficult by discouraging reports sent to them from the ones who had already left. In 1833 Armstrong induced about 2,000 Choctaws to leave with him, but rumors circulated back to these Indians that the government would pay them ten dollars each to make the trip by themselves. Armstrong accredited this rumor to traders who hoped that the Choctaws would trade with them upon their

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

[12] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "New Hope Academy," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1944), p. 278.

[13] Henry C. Benson, *Life Among the Choctaws* (Cincinnati: L. Swormstedt & A. Poe, 1860), pp. 99–100.

arrival in their new home. Only half of the original 2,000 ignored the rumors and went with Armstrong.

Another concern for Armstrong was the illegal traffic in alcohol. White men and Indians alike were involved in this trade. In 1834 Congress passed an act which regulated the liquor trade in Indian Territory. Armstrong disliked this act, for he thought it promoted intermarriage between the traders and Indian women to avoid the law.[14] He believed this would result in a monopoly in the hands of the traders, which in turn would hurt the majority of the Choctaws. Agents who followed Armstrong would continue to have this problem with illicit liquor trade.

After their arrival in Indian Territory, the Choctaws needed schools, roads, and council houses. Armstrong's brother, Francis, had begun this task, and he continued it. William Armstrong was especially interested in education for the Choctaws, and this theme dominated many of his reports. In a request for the Choctaw schools which he made in 1836, Armstrong asked for books and school supplies.[15] Also, he selected young Choctaw boys to send to the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, and a number of them returned to fill important positions in their communities. Because these boys were homesick away at school for so long, new schools were established within their nations. Armstrong had no qualms about filling teaching positions in these schools with qualified Choctaws.[16] Later, an educational institution, the Armstrong Academy, was named for Agent William Armstrong.

Two years after his appointment as Choctaw agent and Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western Territory, Armstrong obtained an agreement between delegations representing the Choctaw and Chickasaw people. The Choctaws agreed that the Chickasaws could have the privilege of forming a district within the limits of the Choctaw Nation. To aid them in their removal, Armstrong sent a force of men to construct a road to Boggy Depot to help the Chickasaws emigrating to their new homes.

By the autumn of 1836, a church had been built in each of the three districts, and the Choctaws began to plan for a council house. Agent William Armstrong advertised in the summer of 1836 for bids for the construction of this building and homes for each of the three chiefs. William Lowry, who had built two of the churches, received the contract for the new con-

[14] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Armstrongs of Indian Territory, Part II," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 4 (Winter, 1952), p. 424.

[15] Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), p. 45.

[16] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 1 (March, 1932), p. 90.

struction work. These new buildings, all provided for by the terms of the Removal Treaty in 1830, were made under the supervision of the Choctaws in their new country west.

The large amount of construction work done during Armstrong's administration of the Choctaw Agency made him popular among the Choctaws. Yet his entanglements with contractors and his active support of untrustworthy men cloud his administrative record. Armstrong had many business dealings with Lorenzo N. Clark, who was constantly in trouble over the fulfillment of his contracts and was frequently in arrears to the United States. Captain R. D. C. Collins embarrassed Armstrong by making a purchase of spoiled pork from Clark. Although Armstrong's own records were scrupulously kept, Thomas C. Wilson, a resident at Fort Gibson, questioned Armstrong's honesty.[17] Wilson said that when Armstrong came to the West he had personal obligations amounting to $20,000, yet in a few years he had discharged his debts and accumulated property worth $40,000. His salary was $1,500 and he sold corn which he raised on the agency for fifty cents a bushel; thus his wealth could not be accredited to his job.[18]

Despite these irregularities, Armstrong wrote glowing reports on the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and they admired him in return. Armstrong's report in 1842 stated that no other tribe was more honest or loyal than the Choctaws, and they had increased their wealth.[19] He admired the thrift of the Chickasaws.[20] He frequently praised both tribes for their educational progress. When Armstrong died at Doaksville in June, 1847, a large meeting of Choctaws was held in that location to memorialize him. Colonel David Folsom, chairman of the meeting, said that Armstrong "ever manifested a lively interest in our welfare," and "was an honest man," unlike other agents "who would run away with Indian money."[21] Then they sent a preamble and resolutions concerning Armstrong and their feelings for him to the President of the United States, James K. Polk, and to several newspapers.

Although the tribute of the Choctaws to Armstrong at the time of his death and the reports of other residents in the Choctaw Nation contradict each other on his honesty, his enthusiastic support and interest in the edu-

[17] Edwin C. McReynolds, *The Seminoles* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945), pp. 254–255.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

[19] William Armstrong to T. Hartley Crawford, United States Department of War, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1842* (Washington: William M. Belt, 1843), p. 441.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 438.

[21] Foreman, "The Armstrongs of Indian Territory, Part II," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, pp. 451–452.

cation of these Indians cannot be disputed. During his administration, schools were built, a temperance society was organized, and the Choctaw General Council, their legislative body, was reorganized into a Senate and a House of Representatives.[22] His successor at the Choctaw Agency, Samuel M. Rutherford, was appointed on July 10, 1847.

Gaines P. Kingsbury

During William Armstrong's administration as Choctaw agent and as Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western Territory, the Chickasaws moved to Indian Territory. There they settled on the western part of the Choctaw reserve. On June 11, 1837, Captain Gaines P. Kingsbury was designated the acting agent for the Chickasaws who had emigrated to Indian Territory. In 1839 a regular agency for the Chickasaws was established in Indian Territory. The agency would remain under the Western Superintendency until 1851.[23]

Kingsbury was a son-in-law of Governor Henry Dodge of Wisconsin, and Doctor Lewis Fields Linn, a senator from Missouri, was his brother-in-law. Kingsbury was stationed at Fort Towson, where the Chickasaw agent usually stayed before 1842, when permanent buildings were erected east of the Washita River near Fort Washita. On January 2, 1838, Colonel A. M. M. Upshaw delivered 3,538 Chickasaw emigrants to Captain Kingsbury at Fort Coffee. The Chickasaws brought with them large amounts of agricultural implements, baggage, and good tents. Prior to their arrival, the Chickasaws in camp had become restless for a definite plan to get them to their future home. They wanted a road made as soon as possible to their new location so that they could cultivate the ground for a crop of grain to be harvested the following year.[24] Four men selected by the Chickasaws accompanied Kingsbury from Fort Coffee to mark out the road. While locating the road, they found an abundance of cane which could be used to sustain their stock during their removal.[25]

Shortly thereafter Captain Kingsbury died on July 24, 1839, near Fort Towson, and was buried with military honors at the fort. William Armstrong knew Kingsbury well, and he thought that he had the capacity and firmness to fulfill honestly his role as agent.[26] Aside from the road which

[22] United States Department of War, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1842*, pp. 438–439.

[23] Hill, "Chickasaw Agency, 1824–70," *Historical Sketches for Jurisdictional and Subject Headings Used for the Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–80*, p. 1.

[24] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), p. 219.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

[26] Foreman, "The Armstrongs of Indian Territory, Part II," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, pp. 432–433.

was charted for the Chickasaws, Kingsbury's term as their agent was largely uneventful.

A. M. M. Upshaw

About seven months after Kingsbury's death, he was replaced by Colonel A. M. M. Upshaw from Pulaski, Tennessee. He, too, was a friend of the Armstrongs and a Democrat. On March 9, 1837, President Martin Van Buren, a Democrat, had appointed Upshaw as superintendent of the Chickasaw removal. The new superintendent urged the Chickasaws to remove as quickly as possible to prevent the white man from making them drunk, cheating them on their property, and starving their women and children.[27] To Upshaw's plea only about 500 Chickasaws responded. Yet they began to leave in the early summer of 1837 in what would be the first of several such trips to Indian Territory for Upshaw.

As they started their journey through western Tennessee, the Chickasaws greatly impressed the white inhabitants of that area. These red men were finely dressed in their native costumes, mounted upon handsome horses, and they passed through the white men's settlements in good order. There was not one drunken Indian within the company. Yet during their passage to Indian Territory, some were corrupted by liquor sold to them by white traders, some were nearly starved because of dishonest contractors, some were sick as a result of unsanitary health measures, and many were demoralized by the inefficiency of their tiresome trip. This pattern was repeated in subsequent removals of the Chickasaws. Unfortunately, as superintendent of their removal, Upshaw allowed expediency to replace humanism. Although he complained about the contractors and the sale of liquor to the Chickasaws, most of the time he was in Tennessee trying to convince more members of the tribe to move to Indian Territory.[28]

On March 4, 1839, Upshaw received his appointment as Chickasaw agent. In the early years of his administration, Upshaw actively supported the civil rights of those Chickasaws who were slaveholders. Some 92 whites and 340 slaves arrived in Indian Territory in 1840; 95 of the slaves belonged to Benjamin Love, 51 to Delila Moon, 44 to Simon Burney, 29 to Susan Colbert, 22 to Samuel Colbert, 26 to James Colbert, 18 to David Burney, and the remaining 55 to other Chickasaw immigrants.[29] Many of these slave-holding Indians were mixed-bloods who would later work with Upshaw to prevent the Chickasaws from reverting to their old customs.

[27] Foreman, *Indian Removal*, p. 204.
[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 204–224.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 225–226; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 101.

As soon as the Chickasaws settled in their new land, they began planting corn, cotton, wheat, oats, and rye, and a number of them used slave labor. The Chickasaws had three cotton gins and several spinning machines by 1845. A number of the wealthier mixed-bloods settled on rich bottom land near Fort Towson and engaged in large-scale raising of cotton. With the labor of 150 slaves, George Colbert managed to plant from 300 to 500 acres of cotton during his first year in Indian Territory.

The importance of slavery to the economy of the more prosperous Chickasaws undermined the stability of that area for many years. Often Indians living between the Washita and Red rivers harbored Chickasaws' runaway slaves and sold them to the Comanches. Shawnee and Delaware Indians would return the Chickasaws' slaves to their owners upon the payment of large sums. Military interventions on behalf of the Chickasaws were in vain.[30]

The Chickasaws were distracted further by floods and white intruders. By 1844 they still were without schools, and they elected a body of commissioners who passed an act for the establishment of a manual labor school in the Chickasaw district. The school was to be conducted by the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and an appropriation of $3,600 annually was made for its operation. However, Upshaw reported in 1847 that the Chickasaws still lacked the school.

Meanwhile Upshaw concerned himself with the instability of his own position as Indian agent to the Chickasaws. The presidential election in 1844 would determine his duration in that position. William Armstrong, the Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western Territory, was warned by his friend Upshaw that Pierce Butler, the Cherokee agent, wagered four mules that Henry Clay would be elected and that as a result Butler would become the new superintendent. After James K. Polk, a Democrat, won, Upshaw proposed to Armstrong that they meet in Washington and dine on oysters and wine.[31] By supplying Armstrong with information of this wager, Upshaw knew Armstrong would be one of his staunchest defenders in times to come and that the enmity between Armstrong and Butler would enhance his position within the administration of Armstrong.

In 1845 Upshaw's influence with the Chickasaws was challenged by a faction of the tribe dominated by Pitman Colbert. These Indians wanted the Chickasaws to ignore the progressive leaders in the commission which had been formed the previous year and revert to their old customs. They said that the commissioners had betrayed the Chickasaws and had handled

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 106.
[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 107–108.

public funds improperly. The Chickasaw commissioners denied these accusations. Colbert's faction won, and King Ish-to-ho-to-pa was confirmed to convene and preside over all of the councils of the Chickasaws. A treasurer was appointed to receive all tribal funds. Upshaw was distressed that these uneducated Indians had gained control of Chickasaw government. Armstrong supported Upshaw and refused to deliver the money to the newly-elected officers.[32]

Upshaw spent the rest of his term as agent to the Chickasaws attempting to keep the Chickasaws from drunkenness and trying to maintain some form of peace with surrounding tribes. Yet his efforts were largely fruitless, and when the Whig President Zachary Taylor was inaugurated, Upshaw was replaced by Gabriel W. Long. Upshaw's administration was mainly unproductive for the Chickasaws, and his major accomplishment, Chickasaw removal prior to his term as agent, was executed thoughtlessly and without regard for the Chickasaws.

Samuel M. Rutherford

Following the death of William Armstrong, Samuel Morton Rutherford was appointed on July 10, 1847, as Choctaw agent and Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs west of the Mississippi. Rutherford had spent many years in Arkansas in various positions. In 1832 he was appointed a special agent in charge of the removal and subsistence of the Choctaws who landed at Little Rock on their way to the Red River. Eight years later he was selected as one of the presidential electors on the ticket for Martin Van Buren, who was defeated by William Henry Harrison, a Whig.[33]

When Rutherford arrived at the Choctaw Agency in 1847, he found that the Choctaws had progressed in the area of education and that many buildings had been constructed. Yet he still inherited Armstrong's problems with illegal traders and dishonest contractors. Several hundred Choctaws came yearly during Rutherford's administration, and these Indians, who had once lived with the whites in Mississippi, were said to have been addicted to alcohol. As a result, numerous whiskey shops arose along the Arkansas line. While many adults suffered from drunkenness, their children died from whooping cough. Taking advantage of the Choctaws' weak state, the neighboring Kickapoos stole their horses and killed their cattle.[34]

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 109–111.

[33] Grant Foreman, "Nathan Pryor," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (June, 1929), p. 153, n. 6.

[34] United States Department of War, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1847* (Washington: William M. Belt, 1848), p. 143; United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 31st Congress, 1st session (Washington: William M. Belt, 1850), p. 948.

(Historical Collection of Muriel H. Wright)

Samuel Morton Rutherford

In 1849, 547 Choctaws arrived in Indian Territory. They built homes and planted corn, but they also brought an epidemic of cholera. In April, 1849, Fort Coffee Academy and New Hope Seminary were closed as a result of this epidemic. A month later Rutherford was replaced. He, too, was removed from office for political reasons when Zachary Taylor became President in 1849. Unlike Upshaw, Rutherford became an Indian agent in later years when in 1859 he was appointed to serve the Seminoles. Rutherford's successor in the Choctaw post was John Drennen.

Gabriel W. Long, Kenton Harper, and Andrew Jackson Smith

The agents who followed Upshaw at the Chickasaw Agency was more inefficient than Upshaw. Gabriel W. Long was appointed on November 6, 1849, to succeed Upshaw. Despite the fact that Long was married to a Chickasaw woman and was able to roughly speak the Chickasaw language, he still was barraged by complaints concerning the payment of the Chickasaw annuity in January, 1850. The Indians suffered much from the lack of funds. The Chickasaw Academy was begun in 1850, but its completion was hindered because the United States failed to send the $6,000 appropriated by the Chickasaw Nation. Later, in December, 1850, the Indians received an annuity payment at Perryville, and during Christmas night there was a drunken spree which resulted in the death of a man.

Long was succeeded by Kenton Harper in July, 1851. Harper was unable to assume his post immediately, and shortly thereafter Andrew Jackson Smith was appointed. Smith received his appointment on September 1, 1852. The most noteworthy event in his term occurred on October 5, 1854, when some of the principal men of the Chickasaw Nation, Cyrus Harris, James Gable, Sampson Folsom, Jackson Frazier, and Dougherty Colbert, petitioned President Franklin Pierce for the removal of Agent Smith on charges of official irregularity and gross immorality. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs renewed these charges the following year. On November 9, 1855, Smith's commission was revoked, and five months later Douglas H. Cooper was assigned to the Chickasaw Agency in addition to the post which he held at the Choctaw Agency. From that time onward, the two tribes had an agent in common.[35]

From 1849 to 1856 the conditions of the Chickasaws improved very little. Whiskey peddlers patrolled the countryside, grocery stores along the border catered to this craving, and steamboats on the Red River sold whiskey freely.[36] Some Seminole Indians carried whiskey through the Chickasaw

[35] Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, p. 41; Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 119.

[36] *Ibid.*

Nation to a retailer who hid it in his cellar. Chickasaw light-horse lawmen who tried to deter this illegal traffic were killed. Aside from the problem of alcohol, the Chickasaws were disturbed by the Plains Indians when the Chickasaws attempted to occupy their land. The Federal government did not successfully protect the Chickasaws in their new location. The Chickasaws knew that in order to keep their homes they would have to protect themselves. Thus the United States government indirectly strengthened the independence of the Chickasaws.

John Drennan and William Wilson

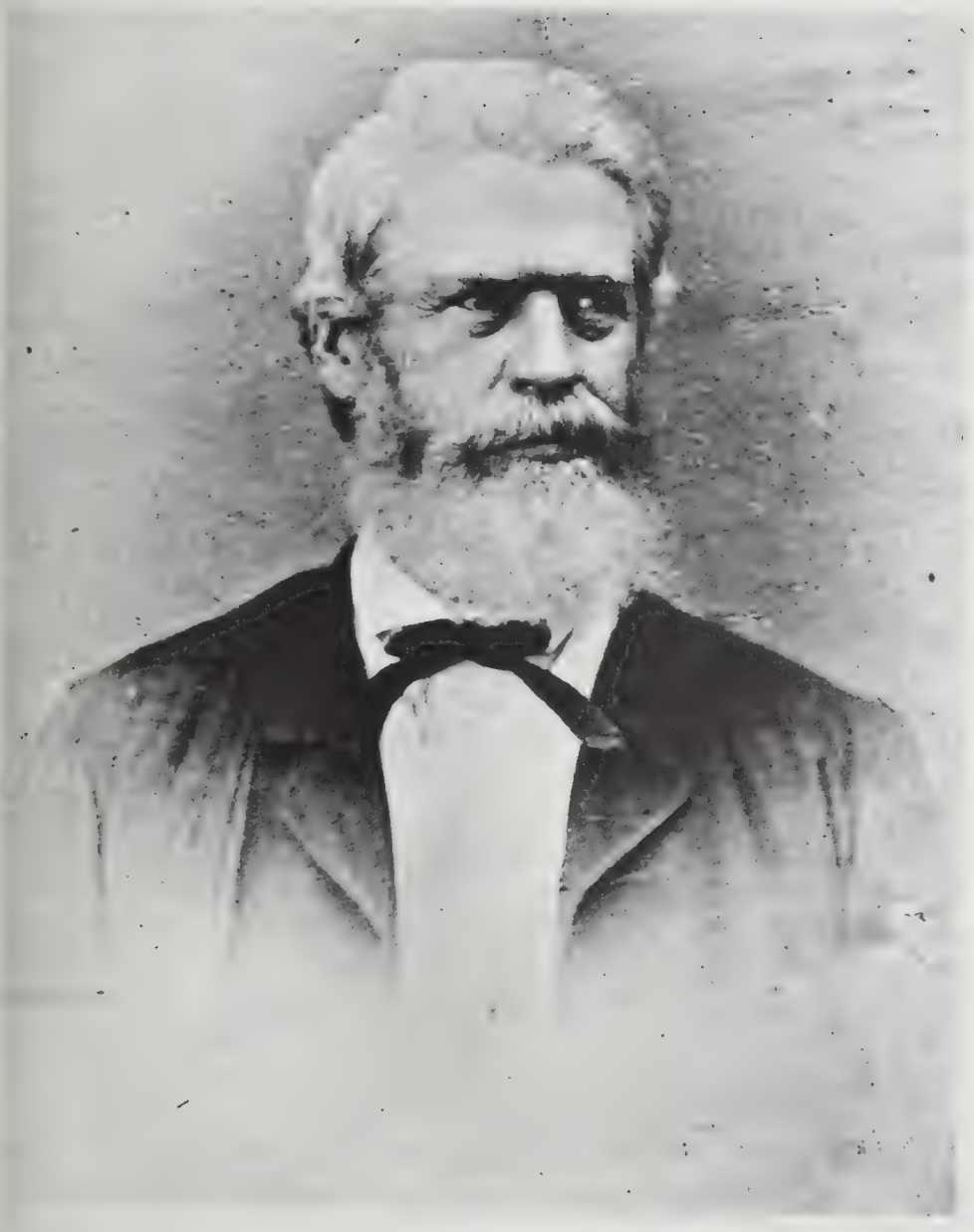
While the Chickasaws were having their disappointments with their agents, the Choctaws had little to rejoice about in their agents. John Drennan followed Rutherford as Choctaw agent in May, 1849. While Drennan held this post, he became known as a heavy gambler and thus was removed from the agency. He later became the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Superintendency.[37]

On June 30, 1851, William Wilson became the new Choctaw agent. Wilson had lived in the Choctaw Nation for years and had been, in fact, a resident in William Armstrong's home in 1844. Wilson was a graduate of Washington College in Pennsylvania, and while he lived with Armstrong, he taught and was principal of Spencer Academy. During Wilson's term as agent, education among the Choctaws was a matter of great importance and their schools flourished. However, the Choctaws and Chickasaws continued to disagree over the joint treaty they had signed at Doaksville in 1837. This agreement provided for the settlement of the Chickasaws in the Choctaw Nation, with a special area assigned to the Chickasaws to be governed under Choctaw law. Wilson died and Douglas H. Cooper was appointed to replace him after Franklin Pierce, the New Hampshire Democrat, was elected President of the United States.[38]

Douglas H. Cooper

Douglas H. Cooper was born on November 1, 1815, in Wilkinson County, Mississippi. His father was a physician and a Baptist minister who left his son well provided for in his will. After studying at the Amite Academy at Liberty, Mississippi, Cooper entered the University of Virginia in 1812. Two years later he left school and returned to Mississippi to become a planter and a lawyer. He married, and the young couple made their home near Woodville, in Wilkinson County. His plantation, called "Mon Clova,"

[37] McReynolds, *The Seminoles*, p. 254.
[38] Benson, *Life Among the Choctaws*, pp. 99–100.



(Print from Brady Collection in Library of Congress)

Douglas H. Cooper

was run by an overseer and Negro slaves, and his home was frequently visited by Jefferson Davis, a neighbor. Although Cooper's father had been a Baptist, Cooper belonged to no church; his only religious outlet was in Masonry, although his wife was an Episcopalian.[39]

In 1844 Cooper served as a representative from his county in the Mississippi State Legislature. During the Mexican War, Cooper served under Colonel Jefferson Davis in the Mississippi Rifle Regiment in which Cooper had organized the Woodville Company. While participating in the battles at Buena Vista and Monterey, Cooper received recognition from Colonel Davis for his courage under fire. After the war, Cooper continued to be politically active in his home state. In 1852, when Franklin Pierce, a Democrat, was elected President of the United States, Mississippi leaders gained prestige in the new administration. Davis was appointed Secretary of War and his old friend, Cooper, was appointed agent to the Choctaws.[40]

Cooper's background and family connections made him a logical choice for this position. Mississippi had been a part of Choctaw cessions. His father had promoted the founding of the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky; his stepbrother, J. F. H. Claiborne, had served as president of the United States Board of Commissioners, which had investigated and adjudicated land claims of the Choctaws.[41] Cooper assumed his duties as agent of the Choctaws on June 4, 1853.

Upon arrival, Cooper realized that the Choctaws needed neighborhood schools, better medical care, and stricter control of the liquor traffic. He began to try to settle another problem in the Choctaw Nation—that of the conflict between the Choctaws and Chickasaws over the settlement of the Chickasaws in Choctaw territory. By 1855, after spending many months in Washington, D.C., he achieved a settlement of these disputes. While he was in Washington, Cooper impressed officials so much that in March, 1856, he was appointed the United States agent for both the Choctaws and the Chickasaws.[42]

When he returned to Indian Territory later in 1856, Cooper attempted to restore law and order and promoted the idea of the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations binding together in a movement toward statehood. During that year, he traveled to the old Choctaw lands east of the Mississippi River, trying to convince those Indians who remained behind to move to Indian Territory. Such an increase in the population of the Choctaw Nation would

[39] Muriel H. Wright, "General Douglas H. Cooper, C.S.A.," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (Summer, 1954), pp. 144–145.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

strengthen the statehood movement. In 1857 Cooper returned to his agency and found the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations in a state of turmoil. The Choctaws did not agree with any move toward statehood, nor did the two tribes want any changes in holding their lands in common. Harmony was restored, yet Cooper faced new problems in the following year.[43]

As a result of the new policy of the War Department of abandoning a number of United States military posts used for maintaining order in Indian occupied areas, despite United States guarantees in various treaties for the protection of the Indians, Indian Territory was opened to attacks by hostile bands of Comanches and Kiowas living on the western plains. At the request of Chickasaw leaders, Cooper called for Choctaw and Chickasaw volunteers to form an army for the protection of their people from the marauding Plains Indians. The call was answered, and Cooper received high praise from leaders in both tribes.

Cooper's strong support of Negro slavery virtually placed some missionaries under his control during his administration. In 1855, the pro-slavery sympathizers in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions separated themselves. The conduct of Congregational missionaries, led by the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury, was approved by Cooper. He wished to remove all abolitionists from Indian Territory and encourage pro-slavery advocates to settle among the Choctaws and Chickasaws.[44]

While tensions were mounting within the United States on the eve of the Civil War, the Chickasaws and Choctaws were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the treatment they received from the Federal government. A severe drought ravaged the countryside, and the Indians were faced with famine and starvation. In 1860 and 1861 Indian funds were released and used to aid the distressed Choctaws and Chickasaws; but in January, 1861, Major P. T. Crutchfield, a disbursing agent, died, and all the Indian funds were seized by Arkansas authorities. In addition, the Choctaws and Chickasaws thought that when Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States, their lands would be taken from them again and would be given to white men.[45] Thus, on February 7, 1861, the Choctaw General Council adopted resolutions which stated that should a war erupt between the Northern and Southern states, the Choctaws would support the South.

Cooper agreed with the Choctaws. When Albert Pike, the Confederate commissioner for making treaties with the Indians in Indian Territory, requested that Cooper continue in his position as agent for the Choctaws

[43] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1856* (Washington: Cornelius Wendell, 1857), pp. 147–148.

[44] Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, pp. 39–40.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 58–59.

and the Chickasaws, Cooper obliged. On May 25, the Chickasaw Legislature passed a resolution to ally with the Confederate States. In the early summer of 1861, Pike negotiated treaties with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and shortly thereafter Cooper pledged his allegiance to the Confederate States.[46]

During the Civil War, Cooper organized the "Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment of Mounted Rifles" and commanded the regiment and some Texan units. In 1864, Cooper, a brigadier general, was assigned the military command of the District of Indian Territory. Several engagements occurred in Indian Territory during the Civil War, and the Confederate forces within its borders were the last to surrender at the close of the Civil War. Until the time of his death on April 29, 1879, Cooper lived at abandoned Fort Washita and was an advisor and defender of the Choctaws and Chickasaws. They respected Cooper, for throughout their long relationship with him, he had been one of their staunchest supporters in all of their disputes with the Federal government.[47]

Isaac Coleman

After Cooper had pledged his support to the Confederate States, on July 31, 1861, the Federal government appointed Isaac Coleman of Indiana as Choctaw and Chickasaw agent. As the Civil War swept into Indian Territory, Indian tribal bands that remained loyal to the Union evacuated their homes and moved northward into Kansas. Their preparations for this journey were totally inadequate. In the dead of winter, the ground covered with ice and snow, the famishing multitude of fugitives arrived in Kansas. Thus Coleman did not begin his service to the Choctaws and Chickasaws until February, 1862, at Fort Roe, Kansas. There he found 185 Chickasaws and a small band of Cherokees encamped on the Verdigris River. The following April, Coleman removed these Indians to LeRoy, Kansas, where conditions were somewhat better.[48]

Smaller bands of Chickasaws joined their fellow tribesmen at LeRoy. Despite inadequate food and clothing by 1864, their Agent Coleman was told to remove them to Indian Territory. He found some 300 Choctaws at Fort Smith to whom he issued provisions when he reached there. They were tired of war and reportedly disgusted with the Confederates, who kept them from returning to their home in southern Indian Territory. Coleman

[46] Wright, "General Douglas H. Cooper, C.S.A.," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, p. 161.

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 179–184.

[48] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1862*, pp. 140–141.

suggested to William G. Coffin, the Superintendent of the Southern Indian Superintendency, that a strong Federal force should drive the Confederates south of the Red River. As a result, the fullblood Choctaws and Chickasaws would have greater confidence in the Union government and would return to take up arms against the Confederates. But the Confederates were never driven south of the Red River. When the Civil War finally ended, the Federal government began making new treaties with the once disloyal tribes.[49]

In 1865, at the close of the war, Coleman noted that although the Choctaws and the Chickasaws had not suffered from the destruction of their property as much as had the surrounding tribes, many of them were destitute of means of subsistence because the Confederates had taken their horses and cattle. Also, he said, there were white men who stole the stock of the Indians, but he lacked the force necessary to check the actions of the thieves. He recommended that the white men, who had mixed with the Indians prior to the Civil War and who had been the principal emissaries of the Confederate government, be severely dealt with and removed from the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations.[50]

Coleman also recommended the establishment of a common school system where the children of all classes could receive a liberal education at reasonable rates. This was the first time that an agent suggested an educational system open to all Indian children in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. Coleman was replaced on August 22, 1866, when Martin W. Chollar was appointed the new agent.

Martin W. Chollar, George T. Olmsted, and Theophilus D. Griffith

Chollar left no record of his presence in the Choctaw or Chickasaw nations. He was probably in residence at agency headquarters, but was either too busy or too irresponsible to submit reports.[51] After almost three years, Chollar was replaced by George T. Olmsted on June 23, 1869.

During Olmsted's term as Indian agent, the fullblood Choctaws and Chickasaws began to assert themselves. When the Federal government tried to allot land in severalty, the fullblood Choctaws opposed this invasion of their old custom of holding land in common. They also resisted the

[49] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866), pp. 34–35.

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 280–281.

[51] The published annual reports of Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the years 1866 through 1868 do not contain reports filed by Chollar.

granting of land for railroads. While they were successful in maintaining their land in common, they were defeated on the railroad issue.[52]

Following the end of the Civil War, the Negroes recently freed in Indian Territory experienced many hardships. It was not compatible to their interests to become citizens of the Indian nations, Olmsted said, and he suggested that they be removed to an area far removed where they could freely exercise their newly acquired civil rights.[53] But during 1869 and 1870 many meetings of Choctaw freedmen occurred at which they demanded full citizenship, with equal property rights, and the opening of the whole Choctaw Nation to white settlement. Choctaws tried to prevent these meetings, and Agent Olmsted arrested one Negro who was carrying a letter announcing such a meeting. The Negroes then demanded the removal of Olmstead.[54]

Olmsted, like Coleman, was interested in expanding the common school system. Plans were made by the superintendent of schools in both the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations to enlarge their systems so that every Choctaw or Chickasaw child could acquire an education should he desire to do so. Those who were not reached by the public schools were instructed by missionaries, who were accepted by the Indians. On October 21, 1870, Olmsted was succeeded by Theophilus D. Griffith.[55]

Griffith's administration was marked by no new problems. There were still whiskey peddlers who violated the law and sold their beverages to the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and the rate of crime was greatest along the borders, where most of the whiskey was sold. More missionaries arrived to work among the Indians. The dilemma concerning the welfare of the freedmen was still unsolved, and Griffith recommended that they be removed so that they could establish their own schools and better themselves. Education for the Choctaws and Chickasaws declined for want of funds, and they became very dissatisfied as a result. Griffith remained as agent for the Choctaws and Chickasaws until April 1, 1873, when Albert Parsons began a brief period of service. In 1874, The Union Agency at Muskogee took over supervision of the Choctaws and Chickasaws in addition to the other members of the Five Civilized Tribes.[56]

[52] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1870* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), pp. 292–293.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 292.

[54] Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, p. 103; United States Senate, *Miscellaneous Document Number* 106, 41st Congress, 2nd session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), pp. 1–7.

[55] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1870*, p. 292.

[56] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1871* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 368–373.

Prior to the Civil War, the agents of the Choctaws and Chickasaws were all Southerners who, through actions or words, supported slavery. The agents who were involved with the removal of the Choctaws and Chickasaws favored the mixed-bloods who were generally the wealthy class because they were slaveholders. During William Armstrong's administration, many schools were established but generally the wealthier mixed-bloods were selected to attend the schools. The Armstrongs, Rutherford, and Upshaw favored the mixed-blood groups.

The Armstrongs had obtained their positions through political influence, which helped Upshaw, Rutherford, and Wilson to capture their assignments. This powerful structure was interrupted briefly in 1849 after Taylor, a Whig, was elected President of the United States. At that time, Long became the Chickasaw agent and Drennan became the Choctaw agent; neither of them had successful administrations. There were two ways in addition to politics in which agents lost their posts: immorality charges by the Indians or death. Only once, in the case of Smith before the Civil War, did the charges made by the Chickasaws against an agent result in his removal. Yet perhaps Smith's greatest error was that he was blatant in his corruption; the other agents in the Choctaw and Chickasaw posts carefully concealed any irregularities in the agencies.

Cooper was the first agent who was popular among the Choctaws after the death of William Armstrong. Cooper was also the first agent to successfully conduct his office without ties to the Armstrong political machine. When he became the Chickasaw agent in 1855, in addition to being the Choctaw agent, he was, in comparison to former Chickasaw agents, a definite improvement. Cooper was different from all the other Choctaw and Chickasaw agents, for he continuously and consistently sided with these tribes against the Federal government in all disputes. His influence and cooperation with the Choctaws and Chickasaws were definite factors when the Choctaws and Chickasaws joined the Confederacy. After the Civil War, Cooper remained a staunch defender and friend to these tribes. Cooper was probably the most important and hardest working agent to hold the position as agent for both the Choctaws and Chickasaws throughout the period from 1831 to 1874.

Most of the agents in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations before the Civil War had been familiar with their tribes and their problems before becoming agent because they had lived or worked in areas where these tribes were located in the South. When Northerners were appointed over the Choctaws and Chickasaws after the War, the agency system became less personal in its approach. Missionaries worked with the agents, report-

ing the needs and concerns of the Indians. Without their Negro slaves, the Choctaws and Chickasaws began to turn to other occupations.

From 1831 to 1874 the influence of the agent in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations made a complete cycle. The ten agents prior to Cooper helped to locate the two tribes in Indian Territory, to build schools, roads, and government buildings, and to aid in the Indians' adjustment to their new land. Cooper's term represented the highest peak of agent achievement, although his administration was a period of turmoil in Indian life. Sectional politics in the United States stimulated Cooper to reinforce the system of slavery within the Choctaw and Chickasaw economy. The personal interest which Cooper took in Choctaw and Chickasaw problems contrasted markedly with that of the agents who preceded and followed him. The main reason for this was probably that the other agents had to build or rebuild policies with the Indians which were delegated to them by the Federal government. But Cooper had established the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations as *nations* to work with. If the Federal government would not supply a military force to protect his charges, they would protect themselves. If the United States did not keep its treaty agreements, then they could align themselves with the South.

During the period prior to Cooper's administration, the main concern of the Choctaws and Chickasaws was survival in their new land. The children of the wealthier Indians, who were mostly mixed-blood Indian and white, were schooled and educated during this time. When Cooper became the agent for these tribes, he had within his jurisdiction a more highly educated population which began to demand compliance to the treaties which had been made with their forefathers. After the Civil War, the agents for the Choctaws and Chickasaws were working with Indians who had been defeated in a war with the Union. They were in no position to bargain, for they had to resettle and rebuild. In short, their main concern was again survival. When the existence of the Choctaws and the Chickasaws was the main concern of these tribes and their agents, they were dependent upon the Federal government; but when the settlement of treaties developed into their primary business, these tribes and Agent Cooper became independent of Federal control.

CHEROKEE INDIAN AGENTS, 1830–1874

By Carol B. Broemeling

From 1830 through 1874, fifteen men served as Indian agents to the Cherokee Nation. Some of them were prominent political figures, and others were obscure people. For the most part, their appointments were clearly the product of political patronage, and, with few exceptions, they lacked any special training or experience which would make them especially suited to their assignment. Nonetheless, they were expected to provide whatever help the Cherokees might need in adjusting to their new circumstances in Indian Territory. This would have represented an enormous task if resettlement had involved only land distribution, annuity payments, the establishment of schools, and adjustment to new farming conditions. But successful resettlement required a restoration of the social fiber which had been all but destroyed by the uprooting of the Cherokees in the Southeast. The agents would have to contend with conflicts within the tribe which had resulted from removal, conflicts between the Cherokees and other tribes, and conflicts between the Cherokees and non-Indians.

As a result of the removal policy of the United States, the Cherokee Nation was split into three factions. A portion of the Cherokee tribe, later referred to as the Western Cherokees, agreed to removal prior to 1835, while the larger portion of the Cherokee Nation, known as the Eastern Cherokees, refused to give up their lands. The Western Cherokees were settled in the Arkansas Territory, and in 1813, an agency was established to serve their needs. It is significant to note that this was a subagency, and until 1817, the Western agent was officially designated as the "assistant" to the head agent in the East. By allowing the Cherokees to be physically separated, the Federal government made it possible and even necessary for the development of two political entities where one had existed. The conflicts which resulted from these years of separation were so bitter that even in 1861 the lines were still drawn.

In 1835, with the signing of the New Echota Treaty, the Eastern Cherokees were thrust into two warring camps. Believing that no choice was open to them, the adherents of the Ridge Party agreed to sign the treaty of removal. The opposing faction, led by John Ross, decreed death to all who signed the treaty. Even after the Ross Party agreed to resettlement, the bitterness of this feud was not mitigated.

While the acceptance of removal by the Eastern Cherokees solved a problem for the United States government, it brought to the fore the consequences of the years of separation of the Cherokees. The Old Settlers, as the Western Cherokees were known, were unwilling to share with the newcomers the land they had received. In addition, they feared the political impact of the more numerous Eastern Cherokees.

How to deal with these internal conflicts, which often resulted in bloodshed, was one of the major problems facing the agents. In addition, the pressures of contacts with the whites intensified. The government annuity payments to the members of the tribe were often the target of unscrupulous men who made every effort to cheat the Cherokees. White farmers had settled illegally on the Cherokee Neutral Lands in Kansas, and the attempts to rectify this situation often seemed halfhearted. When the Civil War became a reality, men like John Ross hoped to keep the Cherokees from becoming involved, but this proved impossible. When the Civil War was over, the construction of railroads through the Cherokee Nation promised to increase the interest of the land-hungry settlers in the Indian country.

The first agent to the Cherokees, George Vashon, was appointed on March 2, 1830. His home was Marylang, Virginia. He had served as a first lieutenant in the Tenth Infantry Regiment and was appointed Regimental Adjutant. In 1813, he was promoted to the rank of captain, and on May 17, 1817, he was transferred to the Seventh Infantry Regiment. On December 31, 1819, Vashon resigned his commission, and he died on December 31, 1835.[1]

As the agent for the Cherokees, Vashon was actively involved in the negotiations which eventually led to the reunion of the Eastern and Western Cherokees. In late 1830, a special meeting was convened at Fort Gibson to resolve the Cherokee conflict as well as the difficulties involved in settling the other tribes to their satisfaction west of the Arkansas Territory. Recognizing the bitterness between the two divisions of the Cherokee Nation, Vashon recommended that some attempt should be made to acquire separate lands for the Eastern Cherokees to the south of Arkansas in addition to the lands held by the Old Settlers.[2]

When the Eastern Cherokees agreed to removal, Vashon persuaded the Old Settlers to agree to the treaty of February 10, 1834. Having no desire to give up the lands they considered to be theirs, the Old Settlers only

[1] Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, from its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903* (2 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), Vol. I, p. 985.

[2] Muriel H. Wright, "Notes on Events Leading to the Chickasaw Treaties of Franklin and Pontotoc, 1830–1832," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4 (Winter, 1956–1957), p. 476.

(Sketch from original portrait
M. W. Wright Collection)

Governor Montford Stokes

agreed to the treaty when it was stipulated that they would receive increased annuities and larger holdings of land. The treaty also permitted the Cherokees to obtain liquor for their personal use and provided compensation for the seizure of liquor two years before by Captain Vashon and Major F. W. Armstrong. The liquor had been imported by the Cherokee chiefs, and the incident had resulted in considerable ill will. The Cherokees could not understand why white men should be allowed to drink what they liked, but they could not. At any rate, the treaty was never ratified, as it was submitted to the Stokes Commission at Fort Gibson, and the commissioners refused to submit it to the Secretary of War.[3]

On March 25, 1836, Montfort Stokes replaced Vashon and at first had the title of subagent; however, he became head agent on March 8, 1837. Stokes had begun his career with the Cherokees when he was appointed by President Andrew Jackson to serve on a commission to investigate the condition of the Indians in the Indian country, settle boundary disputes, report on the methods of removal, and propose a plan of government. In spite of the fact that Stokes had no experience in dealing with the Indians and the fact that his appointment resulted from political services to his friend, Andrew Jackson, he became an energetic and capable advocate of the Cherokees and served them well.

Born near Petersburg, Virginia, on March 12, 1762, of a prominent family,

[3] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Early History of Webbers Falls," *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4 (Winter, 1951–1952), p. 454; Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), p. 265; *ibid.*, p. 249.

Stokes served in the Revolutionary War and was a major general in the state militia for several years. From 1826 to 1832, Stokes served two years in the state house and senate and was later elected governor of North Carolina. During his fifty-two years of public service, he was considered a consummate politician.

Unlike Governor William Carroll of Tennessee and Robert Vaux of Pennsylvania, Governor Stokes accepted appointment to the Federal Indian Commission. At the age of seventy, he resigned as governor and made plans to leave for the Indian country. Reverend John J. Schermerhorn of Utica, New York, and Henry L. Ellsworth of Hartford, Connecticut, agreed to serve with him as the other commissioners.

Through the efforts of the commission, a land dispute between the Creeks and Cherokees, which had arisen out of an error in the Treaty of 1828, was settled by a treaty signed on February 14, 1833. Although the commission failed to get an agreement with the Osages, Stokes managed, with a special commission consisting of Major F. W. Armstrong, General Mathew Arbuckle, General G. M. Dodge, and Colonel Jacques Chouteau, to negotiate a treaty with them. However, President Jackson rejected it, and several years later, Stokes remarked that the treaty would have "saved that nation from ruin"; his promises that "something shall be shortly done for them" were never carried out. Stokes opposed a plan to move the Osages to "worthless lands" in Kansas, but Schermerhorn and Ellsworth favored the idea. Due to the resulting friction between the commissioners, combined with an outbreak of cholera, and perhaps for other reasons, Schermerhorn and Ellsworth left that spring, leaving Stokes to finish the work of the commission.[4]

As he continued the work of the commission, Stokes became aware and appreciative of the Indian way of life. In 1833, in commenting on attempts to gather the Pawnees and Comanches to a conference that fall, he remarked, ". . . he might as well attempt to collect last year's clouds as to collect the Pawnees and Commanches [*sic*] at this time . . . .They are on the fall hunt; they are at war with the Delaware, the Shawnee, and the Osage . . . ." Stokes' reply to the suggestion that the cavalry be sent out to bring them in was that no such force would be able to find the Indians. That same fall, Stokes presented "A Plan for the Government of the Indians South of the Missouri River," calling for a federally appointed citizen as governor, with his headquarters at a military post. Together with the commander of the post, the governor would wield absolute power in emergencies, thereby protecting the weaker Indian nations from the stronger

[4] William Omer Foster, "The Career of Montfort Stokes in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (March, 1940), pp. 35–36, 37, 40.

ones. An annual intertribal meeting with representatives from each nation would handle all United States-Indian relations, with the Federal annuities paid when the assembly met. A supreme court would be appointed, with three neutral chiefs to settle disputes between the nations when the assembly was not in session. Finally, each nation would exercise full control over its internal affairs.[5]

In 1834, when the commission's term expired, Stokes remained and continued his service without pay. In 1835, he was appointed to a new commission with General Arbuckle and Major Armstrong. By the early summer of 1835, this group had concluded a treaty with the Plains Indians, in which they recognized the authority of the United States for the first time.[6]

When Stokes was appointed head Cherokee agent, he was seventy-five years old, and since coming to the Indian country, he had served on two Federal commissions, as chairman of one, and as subagent to the Cherokees, Senecas, Shawnees, Quapaws, Osages, and a group of Seneca-Shawnee tribes. As an indication of the respect he enjoyed among the Indians, the Cherokees had entrusted him with their wills and deeds. In addition, together with Major Chouteau, he negotiated a treaty with the Kiowa, Kataka, Wichita, and Tawakoni Indians which brought peaceful relations between the Plains Tribes, the Five Civilized Tribes, and United States citizens.[7]

In March, 1840, Stokes was removed from office, and General Arbuckle was ordered to place the Indian country under martial law. Exactly why Stokes was removed is still not clear; however, he was promptly restored to his office. There can be no question that his reports during his last years of service left something to be desired. But considering his age, it seems unlikely that he could have been accused of graft. Fatigue and the weight of the years are probably the best explanations for his failure to keep the agency records in better order. It is clear, however, that he tended to be outspoken in his opinions, and often disregarded the attitudes of his superiors, and when the occasion seemed to call for it, he did not hesitate to go over their heads.[8]

The most likely explanation for Stokes' abrupt dismissal is that he apparently favored splitting the nation to correspond with the Eastern and Western factions. President Martin Van Buren and the Secretary of War had supported the Old Settlers in their opposition to reunion with the

[5] United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 5*, 23rd Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Duff and Green, 1834), pp. 502–504; Foster, "The Career of Montfort Stokes in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, p. 41.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 42–43.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Eastern group, and even went so far as to withhold $800,000 due them upon their arrival in the West. This policy was investigated in 1840 by a House Committee on Indian Affairs, and the report proved so embarrassing to the President and the Secretary of War that it was never filed. Nonetheless, due to the efforts of John Bell, a newspaper man and friend of John Ross, the report was published. In this report it was noted that "General Arbuckle and the small body of recalcitrant Treaty and Old Settler factions" had advocated the policy to the President so that the power of the "minority" in opposition to the Cherokee Constitution could be reestablished. Despite this revelation, the policy of the Federal government remained unchanged. Increasing violence within the Cherokee Nation finally convinced Van Buren that action was necessary. Stokes was suspended, and the Cherokee Nation was placed under martial law.[9]

Although Stokes had been reinstated, he was not reappointed upon the expiration of his term. Whatever the cause for his falling into disfavor, Stokes had served for many years as a respected political figure, and undoubtedly, his years in the Indian country were the finest of his career. In 1841, he declined an appointment to the Arkansas Land Office. In September of 1842, the subagency of the Senecas, Shawnees, and Quapaws was offered to him, but he was unable to travel to his post and died on November 4, 1842. In recognition of his services to the United States, present Oklahoma, and the Cherokee Nation, the Muskogee Territory Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution dedicated a monument in his honor near the site of Fort Gibson on March 23, 1935.[10]

Pierce M. Butler, Stokes' successor, was born on April 11, 1798, at Mount Willing, Edgefield County, South Carolina. After completing his academic and military training at Moses Wadell's Academy at Abbeville, he was assigned to the Fourth United States Infantry Regiment as a second lieutenant on August 13, 1819. He was transferred to the Seventh United States Infantry Regiment on December 13, became a first lieutenant on March 1, 1822, and was assigned to the construction of a road from Fort Gibson to Little Rock, Arkansas. It was at this time that he met Miranda Du Val of Maryland, who was visiting her brother Edward, then agent to the Cherokees. They were married in 1826, and shortly thereafter Butler resigned his commission to return to South Carolina and in 1833 was elected a trustee of South Carolina College.[11] During the Seminole War,

[9] Grace Steele Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), pp. 232–233.

[10] Foster, "The Career of Montfort Stokes in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 51–52.

[11] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Pierce Mason Butler," *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952), pp. 6–7.

(From original painting by John Mix Stanley)

Cherokee Council near Tahlequah
1843

This print appeared in a biography on Pierce Mason Butler by Carolyn Thomas Foreman in *The Chronicles* (Vol. XXX, 1952). The original painting by John Mix Stanley was hanging in the living room of Mr. Pierce Mason Butler, Jr., Nashville, Tennessee (1951–52).

Butler accepted a commission as lieutenant colonel in Godwyn's South Carolina Regiment, and on his return to civilian life, he was elected governor of South Carolina in 1836.[12]

Butler's appointment to the Cherokee Agency was dated September 13, 1841, and he apparently assumed the office promptly. He clearly admired the Cherokees as a people and considered them civilized. Prior to becoming the Cherokee agent, he had been jailed in Georgia, along with the Reverend Samuel A. Worcester, Lewis Ross, and others. They had been convicted of violating a state law by "remaining among the Indians without securing a permit and subscribing to an oath of allegiance to the State." They were

[12] Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838–1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), p. 37.

subsequently released, but they continued their activities among the Indians. They were arrested again in July, 1831, denied a writ of *habeas corpus*, tried, convicted, and sentenced to four years at hard labor. The case eventually went to the United States Supreme Court, where the verdict was overturned, but the state of Georgia did not hurry the release of the men.[13]

Throughout his tenure as agent, Butler noted several basic problems which threatened Cherokee development. The divisions among the Cherkees created by the New Echota Treaty had continued, and he related that "they are unfortunately divided into parties which may be easily excited or ripened into bitterness." On the other hand, he viewed outside intervention into Cherokee affairs as an even more serious danger.[14]

In the first place, the Indians had proven capable of enforcing the laws among their people, and yet they remained subject to the jurisdiction of courts of the United States:

> Among the greatest evils that the Cherokees have to complain of is the present mode of their trial and punishments for minor offences committed or alleged to be committed, on the persons of United States citizens, when in their own nation, and upon their own soil; which broils [conflicts] are, eight times out of ten, provoked on the part of itinerary citizens from all parts of the United States, tempted or induced there by gain. It is too much the habit abroad to cry out 'Indian outrage,' without a just knowledge of the facts.

Moreover, this report alludes to more than simple jurisdictional disputes. These "intruders" included members of the military stationed at Fort Gibson who treated the Indians "arbitrarily," antislavery missionaries, liquor peddlers, and illegal settlers on Cherokee lands.[15]

Butler continually criticized the role of the military at Fort Gibson. Whether his attitude was the result or the cause of the feud between Butler and the commandant of the fort, Colonel Richard B. Mason, is not clear. At one time the situation became so serious that Mason ordered Butler to leave the fort—since his Cherokee "visitors" upset the officers—and ordered the settlers not to trade with the Cherokees. Although these restrictions were later relaxed, conflicts between soldiers and Cherokees continued, and Mason accused Butler of encouraging them.[16]

Among the missionaries who served the Cherokees, two men were considered by Butler especially obnoxious as "intruders." Evan and John B.

[13] Grant Foreman, ed., *A Traveller in Indian Territory*, by Ethan Allen Hitchcock (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1930), pp. 43–45.

[14] United States House of Representatives, *Document Number 2*, 27th Congress, 3rd Session (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1842), pp. 446–449.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Foreman, "Pierce Mason Butler," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, p. 14; Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1926), p. 175.

Jones, Baptist missionaries, were singled out because of their open opposition to slavery among the Cherokees. However, Butler failed in ending their activities just as he failed in restricting the actions of the courts and the military.

Like the men who preceded him, Butler saw the liquor trade among the Cherokees as a destructive activity. But unlike the others, he felt that the soldiers and officers at the fort set a poor example for the Indians, and as there was always liquor at the post, it was easier for the Cherokees to acquire it.[17]

When Henry Clay ran for the presidency in 1844, Butler was an ardent supporter, and apparently believed that upon Clay's election he would be appointed to the Southern Indian Superintendency. But the election of James K. Polk resulted in William Armstrong's appointment as superintendent. Butler's chagrin may be measured by the fact that he never sent a letter or report to Armstrong as all the other agents did. Instead he addressed his official correspondence to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, T. Hartley Crawford.[18]

It is clear that Butler was popular among the Cherokees because of his efforts to solve some of their basic problems. However, he earned special gratitude for his attempt to aid Sequoyah. Butler had often praised the alphabet which Sequoyah had invented as one of the greatest contributions to Cherokee culture. When he learned that Sequoyah was ill and wished to rejoin his people, Butler requested and received funds to pay for his trip. Although Sequoyah died before he could return to his people, the *Cherokee Advocate* expressed the thanks of the Cherokee Nation for Butler's efforts.[19]

On September 18, 1846, the announcement was made that Colonel James McKissick of Fayetteville, Arkansas, had been appointed by President Polk to replace Butler. After leaving the agency, Butler entered into delicate negotiations with the Western Indians in 1846. After this task, he joined the Palmetto Regiment for service in the Mexican War. He was killed in action at the Battle of Churubusco.[20]

In spite of his appointment on August 19, 1845, McKissick did not arrive at his post until 1846. Like the agents who had preceded him, McKissick was confronted with the continuing conflict between the Old Settlers and

[17] United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 2*, 28th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1843), pp. 413–419; Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838–1907*, p. 120.

[18] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Armstrongs of Indian Territory: Part II, William Armstrong," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 4 (Winter, 1952–1953), p. 440.

[19] Foreman, "Pierce Mason Butler," *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 18.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 26–27.

(Print from *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 1952)

Colonel Pierce M. Butler

the newcomers. On October 22, 1846, a treaty between the two groups was announced by the acting principal chief, George Lowrey. While this agreement did not accomplish everything the parties had hoped for, it seemed to restore a certain amount of peace to the Cherokee Nation. When Superintendent Armstrong requested McKissick to report on the success of the treaty, the agent responded that he hoped it would succeed, but he quickly added that, if it failed, the only solution would be "final separation." The next year, McKissick seemed more optimistic about the agreement, and remarked that it had restored enough confidence among the people that they were tending their crops with far more care and that every aspect of the society was benefiting from the tranquility.[21]

As a result of an act of Congress, McKissick, along with his son, Alexander, and John Watie, brother of Stand Watie, attempted to conduct a general census of the Cherokees. Like later attempts to conduct an accurate census, this one was stymied by the resistance of the Cherokees. This may have been one of the last of McKissick's official actions before his sudden death of unknown causes on January 13, 1848. He had been born in Tennessee and was living in Benton County, Arkansas, when he received his appointment. His body was returned to Fayetteville and buried next to that of Governor Archibald Yell.[22]

Despite McKissick's unexpected death, the Cherokees were not without an agent very long. On February 14, 1848, Richard C. S. Brown was appointed to the position. He was born in Crawford County, Arkansas, and had served as a major general in the First Division of the Arkansas Militia in 1838. He may have also served in the Creek War with Andrew Jackson and with John Ross at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.[23] In 1829, Brown was elected to the Arkansas House of Representatives from his home county and was reelected in 1831. When the Senate of Arkansas was established in 1836, Brown was elected to represent Crawford County in that body. On February 26, 1840, Brown married Miss Ruth Ann McClellan, eldest daughter of William and Elizabeth McClellan.[24]

Brown's service among the Cherokees was short and few of his records survive; in addition, he filed no annual report. On June 6, 1848, his home at the agency was burglarized, and $18,000 which was to be paid to the Cherokees was stolen. In the process, the intruders attacked Brown with

21 Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838–1907*, p. 45.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 83; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Dr. William Butler and George Butler, Cherokee Agents," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 2 (Summer, 1952), p. 160.

23 Dallas T. Herndon. ed. *The Annals of Arkansas* (4 vols., Hopkinsville, Ky.: Historical Record Association, 1947), Vol. 1, p. 94.

24 Ben Collins Pickett, "William L. McClellan, Choctaw Agent, West," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1 (Spring, 1961), p. 52.

an axe, but fortunately, his neighbors, hearing the commotion, came to his rescue. In 1849, Brown was removed as agent.[25]

Later Brown and a party left Van Buren for Fort Washita and planned to go on from there to seek gold in the West. Later that year, the *Fort Smith Herald* reported that Brown and a company of 150 Cherokee emigrants had passed Dona Ana in July, 1850, and entered on Cooke's wagon road. Their apparent destination was the Gila River, where they hoped to find gold.[26]

Brown's successor, William Butler, brother to Pierce M. Butler, was nominated as agent to the Cherokees on August 8, 1849. He arrived at the agency on December 7 of that year. He was born on February 1, 1790, and after graduating from South Carolina College, he served in the United States Navy as a surgeon, and was thereafter referred to as doctor.[27]

When he began his work at the agency, he hoped to complete the census that Agent Brown had failed to accomplish. He soon discovered that it would be impossible to account for all the persons who had died or been born since 1846. While awaiting instructions from Washington concerning the census, Butler became ill and died five weeks later. On September 24, 1850, Surgeon J. B. Wells informed James A. Pearce, United States Senator from South Carolina, of the death of Butler and requested that the late agent's son, George, be appointed agent.[28]

George Butler was born on October 24, 1823, and at one time settled in Missouri, where he married Nanny Thurston. Butler was first appointed on September 30, 1851, to assume his father's position and was reappointed in 1853. In 1856, he was again reappointed and was still listed as agent on September 30, 1859.[29]

Butler's reports reveal not only the problems and accomplishments of the Cherokees during his tenure, but they also reveal a great deal about him. Three topics repeatedly appear in these reports: first, concern over the liquor traffic among the Cherokees; second, the question of the Neutral Lands; and finally, the legal position of the Cherokee Nation with regard to the District Court at Van Buren, Arkansas.

Like his predecessors, Butler deplored the effects of liquor on the Cherokees and actively encouraged the temperance movement among them. It was with considerable pride that he observed in 1855 that the movement had

[25] Foreman, "Dr. William Butler and George Butler, Cherokee Agents, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, p. 160.

[26] Pickett, "William L. McClellan, Choctaw Agent, West," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 53.

[27] Foreman, "Dr. William Butler and George Butler, Cherokee Agents," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, pp. 160–163.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

[29] *Ibid.*

been successful in recruiting men of such standing in the community that their opinions would influence others to support it.[30]

His overriding concern was the inability of the Cherokee Nation to remove its indebtedness. Since he recognized that taxation was not possible and that the Neutral Lands in the eastern part of Kansas were of considerable value for their mineral wealth to the United States, but of little value to the Cherokees, he encouraged the sale of the lands to the government. Notwithstanding all his efforts to achieve this sale, it was still not concluded when the Civil War began.[31]

In his criticism of the court at Van Buren, Butler displayed an understanding of the feelings of the Cherokees, a real sense of justice, and a considerable knowledge of the law. "There is a hostility existing in the mind of almost every Indian in the nation to the court at Van Buren," Butler emphasized, "and they look upon some of the proceedings of the court as violating the rights secured for them in the treaty [1835]." He went on to relate that the Cherokees had been granted the same control over their internal affairs as had any other state in the Union, and that the district court should not have jurisdiction over infractions of the laws which related to the traffic in liquor. Butler remarked that he did not believe that the court had the power to arrest any Cherokee on Cherokee lands and take him summarily to Van Buren for trial, particularly in view of the fact that the Cherokee laws covered liquor violations and that such a man would be subjected to double jeopardy, "which is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution." He went on to say that there is "no one thing that produces as much disturbance and dissatisfaction among the Cherokee people, or does as much to discourage and retard their advancement, as the present oppressive construction placed upon the . . . law by the district court at Van Buren . . . ."[32]

Another aspect of Butler's criticism of the court was its claim of jurisdiction over all Negroes in the area, whether slave or free. It had agreed to hear charges of slaves against their masters and, in such cases, accepted the testimony of slaves as valid evidence. In Butler's view, this constituted unwarranted and illegal interference in Cherokee affairs. Moreover, it posed a direct threat to Cherokee slaveholding. Because he was convinced that slavery was essential to continued Cherokee advancement, Butler opposed attempts to weaken or restrict the Cherokee ownership of slaves.[33]

[30] United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 1*, 34th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Cornelius Wendell, 1856), p. 444.

[31] United States Senate, *Executive Document Number 1*, 32nd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Robert Armstrong, 1852), p. 401.

[32] United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 1*, 34th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 445–446.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 444.

After leaving the agency in late 1859 or early 1860, Butler served the Confederacy. On July 4, 1863, in a skirmish near Warrentown, Virginia, which preceded the Battle of Gettysburg, he was wounded so severely that it required the amputation of his right arm.[34]

On March 12, 1860, Robert J. Cowart, a native of Georgia, was appointed agent to the Cherokees. During his tenure, most of his energies were devoted to the expulsion of all intruders from the Cherokee Neutral Lands. Few Cherokees had ever settled in that area, and the confusion concerning its status had encouraged such illegal settlement. This was not the first time that a Cherokee agent had been instructed to remove intruding settlers, but Cowart implemented the policy with more zeal than had his predecessors. He was openly sympathetic to the Southern cause, and used this opportunity to force such active abolitionists as Evan and John Jones to leave the Cherokee Nation.

His actions, however, were not popular with all Cherokees, as reflected in his remarks:[35]

> I am strongly advised by the best men of the Nation, never under any circumstances to travel alone as it seems, that there is a party in the Nation, that are opposed to me and to my mode of managing the affairs of the Nation. And while I have almost all the intelligent Cherokees with me in feeling, and sentiment, heartily approving my course, yet there are a few persons of influence, and a large majority of ignorant full bloods opposed.

Although Cowart's removal of intruders was in compliance with official policy, his accounts of his expenditures were never satisfactory. In his replies to repeated official inquiries, he remarked that he had not had sufficient time to collect his receipts. As late as April 15, 1861, Cowart indicated that his accounts were still not in order and that he had been informed "of the appointment of an agent in my place though I have received no official information of the subject . . . ." He continued that he had been granted a leave of absence by Southern Indian Superintendent Elias Rector and again requested money for his services as agent so that he could pay his debts.[36] There was one thing about Cowart which separated him from all the other men who served the Cherokees as agent: he left no known records indicating that he was concerned about the welfare of the Cherokees.

[34] Captain Andrew Sheridan to Captain Winthrop, acting assistant adjutant, United States Department of War, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols., 128 books, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), Series i, Vol. XXXVII, p. 638.

[35] Robert J. Cowart to A. B. Greenwood, September 8, 1860, Cherokee Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[36] Robert J. Cowart to A. B. Greenwood, November 9, 1860, and April 15, 1861, *ibid.*

Meantime, John Crawford was selected to replace Cowart. He was from Fayetteville, Arkansas, and had served as a Democrat in the Arkansas legislature. He had voted against the election of Abraham Lincoln as well as against the Arkansas members of Congress taking their seats during the Lincoln administration. Hence, his sentiments concerning the conflict between the states were predictable. He had resigned his position with the Federal government in June of 1861 and actively supported Cherokee secession. Whether his support of the Ridge faction made any real difference in the Confederate-Cherokee treaty signed at Tahlequah in August of 1861 is difficult to determine. It is more likely that such factors as the absence of Federal troops in Indian Territory and the defeats of the Union forces at Bull Run in Virginia and the Battle at Wilson's Creek in Missouri were the real causes of the Cherokee decision to secede. Chief John Ross had hoped that the Cherokees, and other tribes as well, would remain neutral; there were, however, powerful pro-Confederate forces within the Cherokee Nation. In the absence of any genuine support from the Union, Ross was unable to maintain neutrality. In 1862, Major John Crawford returned to the Indian country as the Cherokee agent for the Confederates.[37]

In March of that same year, Charles W. Chatterton was appointed to replace Crawford. Due to Confederate occupation of the Cherokee Nation, the agency was located at the Sac and Fox Agency in Kansas. Chatterton was from Springfield, Illinois, and was a jeweler by trade. Soon after his arrival at the agency, he became fatally ill and died on August 31. He had filed only one report, and it appeared to be nothing more than an itemization of his expenses.[38]

Following Chatterton's death, President Lincoln appointed Justin Harlan to fill the position. He was born on December 6, 1800, in Warren County, Ohio, was educated in the public schools, taught school, and studied law under a Judge McLean, later an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. In 1825, Harlan moved to Darwin, in Clark County, Illinois. He married Lucinda Hodge in 1832, and in that same year he served in the Black Hawk War. From 1835 until 1861, he was a circuit judge. In 1849, he had moved to Marshall, Illinois, and served in the Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1847.[39]

Known as "Judge" Harlan, he began his work among the Cherokees at the Sac and Fox Agency in Kansas. Most of his efforts were directed toward

[37] Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838–1907*, pp. 142–143, 131.

[38] C. C. Hutchinson to Charles E. Mix, September 1, 1862, Cherokee Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[39] Arthur Charles Cole, ed., *The Constitutional Debates of 1847* (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1919), p. 962; William Henry Perrin, ed., *History of Crawford and Clark Counties, Illinois* (Chicago: O. L. Baskin & Co., 1883), p. 288.

easing the plight of the Cherokees who had remained loyal to the Union and had fled to Kansas. In September, 1862, Agent Harlan arrived at the Cherokee Agency near Tahlequah. He described the land as desolate, with homes burned, and the people who still lived there as being in constant fear for their lives. Nonetheless, the agency buildings were intact, though in poor repair. As far as he was able to search, he reported that there were no agency records. The Superintendent of the Southern Indian Superintendency, William G. Coffin, was apparently dissatisfied with Harlan's findings and subsequently sent his own agent, Henry Smith, to investigate the situation. Smith reported in July that Harlan had evaluated the situation correctly, and that he was carrying out his duties properly.[40]

Because of a case of smallpox, Harlan returned to Kansas in July, 1863, leaving A. G. Proctor as acting agent. Harlan was able to return in November, and the agency was officially reestablished. Although he had been instructed to conduct a census of the Cherokees, this was made impossible by continued Confederate activities in the area.[41]

Throughout his work at the agency, Harlan recognized that basic survival was the most important problem facing the loyal Cherokees. In reporting the conditions to the Superintendent, Harlan requested that, due to an expected shortage of grain among the Cherokees, those who would have a surplus should not be allowed to sell their grain to anyone but other Indians. This request resulted in complaints being filed with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from traders who had expected to buy the grain and sell it at considerable profit. Nonetheless, Harlan continued to appeal to Washington for clothing and other basic needs of the Cherokees. When his service ended in 1865, he returned to Illinois and was later elected county judge of Clark County, a position he held from 1873 until 1877. He died on March 12, 1879.[42]

John J. Humphreys was appointed on September 25, 1866, to replace Harlan. He had formerly been asked to succeed Mathew Leeper at the Wichita Agency. The outbreak of the Civil War interfered, and he never reached that post. He was probably born in Tennessee. During his short term as agent, he was appointed to a commission established by the Cherokee Treaty of July 19, 1866, to appraise land in the Cherokee Nation and determine costs of permanent improvements. After serving less than one year, Agent Humphreys died suddenly in July, 1867.[43]

[40] Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838–1907*, pp. 158–159.

[41] *Ibid.*; Justin Harlan to William P. Dole, December 7, 1863, Cherokee Agency Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

[42] Justin Harlan to William G. Coffin, July 30, 1864, *ibid.*; Cole, ed., *The Constitutional Debates of 1847*, p. 962.

William B. Davis was appointed Cherokee agent on November 29, 1867. "If the former agent had any record of the transactions of the agency," Davis complained, "I have not been able to obtain them . . . " In 1867, Davis indicated that he believed that the old divisions which had plagued the Cherokees before the Civil War had been repaired, and the Cherokees were united as "one People," working toward the reconstruction of their lands.[44]

Davis was succeeded by Captain John Neville Craig on June 22, 1869. Born in Massachusetts, Craig served in the Union Army during the Civil War. In August, 1864, he was cited for "galantry and distinguished service" at the Battle of Gettysburg and at the Battle of Richmond. On May 19, 1866, he was honorably mustered out of active service, but remained as a reserve officer.[45]

When Craig assumed his post at the Cherokee Agency, there were no official records for his use; yet he quickly recognized that before any material or social progress could be made, order through law would have to be restored. In his view, only the assignment of a detachment of troops at Fort Gibson could end the lawlessness which had followed the Civil War. The agent further recommended that Cherokee courts enforce the laws of the United States in penal cases involving Cherokees, since Cherokee law had proved inadequate. When such enforcement was combined with a military commission empowered to deal with capital crimes, there would be no further excuse for the District Court at Van Buren to exercise jurisdiction over the Cherokees. In this manner, order could be restored among them, and the alleged abuses of the Van Buren court could be eliminated.[46]

Such a restoration of law combined with an adequate military force could be expected to protect the Cherokees from the growing influx of white settlers. Not only did these people illegally take possession of Chero-

[43] Dean Trickett, "The Civil War in Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVII, No. 3 (September, 1939), p. 401.

[44] United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document Number 1*, 40th Congress, 3rd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869), p. 742; Hanna R. Warren, "Reconstruction in the Cherokee Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLX, No. 2 (Summer, 1967), pp. 185–186.

[45] Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, from its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 3, 1903*, Vol. I, p. 333; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Colonel Pinkney Lugenbeel," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4 (Winter, 1946–1947), p. 453.

[46] United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1869, *Document Number 125* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), p. 403; United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1870, *Document Number 99* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), p. 405.

kee land, but they also made the enforcement of the laws concerning the liquor trade almost impossible. Craig was not convinced that the expulsion of these intruders would greatly improve the situation unless there was, in addition, the licensing of traders to sell liquor to the Indians for medicinal purposes.[47]

By 1870, Agent Craig had compiled the first census of the Cherokee Nation since its settlement in Indian Territory. With these statistics, the agents who followed him would be able to estimate future needs such as schools, food supply, and payments of annuities.[48] Despite the progress of the Cherokees during Craig's tenure, he realized that the development of the railroads and the failure to resolve the question of the Neutral Lands posed a new challenge to Cherokee survival.[49]

John B. Jones replaced Craig on December 9, 1870. Unlike most of his predecessors, Jones benefitted from Craig's complete records of the activities of the agency during his term. Also, Jones was no stranger to the Cherokees. As a result of his father's service as a Baptist missionary to the Cherokees, John had been born at Mission Station and reared among the Cherokees. He was educated at the University of Rochester, New York, and after being ordained a Baptist minister, he returned to the Cherokees as his father's assistant. Prior to the Civil War, John and his father had been active abolitionists among the tribe, and their activities had become the object of stringent criticism by the pro-Southern Cherokee agents. By 1861, their position in the Cherokee Nation was so precarious that the Baptist Mission Board recalled them. John was a close friend of John Ross and helped combine the two Cherokee delegations which were sent to Washington to negotiate the Cherokee Treaty of 1866. He was convinced that the Cherokees would have a better chance of success if the factions were united.[50]

As agent, Jones was convinced that the best hope for the Cherokees would be the further extension of the Christian religion and education among them. During his tenure, he promoted the development of primary and secondary schools which could use the Cherokee alphabet in conjunction with English to aid the Cherokees in perfecting English as their second language. In addition, he urged the establishment of agricultural schools

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1873, *Document Number 103* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), p. 290.

[49] Warren, "Reconstruction in the Cherokee Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLV, p. 187.

[50] Joseph B. Thoburn, ed., "The Cherokee Question, Subjoined Documents and Editorial Notes," Vol. II, No. 1 (March, 1924), p. 228; Woodward, *The Cherokees*, p. 260; United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1871, *Document Number 107* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 564.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

Evan Jones and his son, John B. Jones, both were well-known Baptist missionaries who were active abolitionists in the Cherokee Nation before the Civil War. John B. Jones served as U.S. agent to the Cherokees from 1870 to 1874, when the consolidated Union Agency was established at Muskogee for the Five Civilized Tribes.

which would provide the Cherokees with skills necessary to support their basic industry, agriculture.[51]

Regardless of his obvious interest in Cherokee education, Jones was forced to deal with the problems his predecessors had faced. The railroads were growing in power, and the Cherokees continued to fear for the integrity of their land. At the same time, white intruders continued settlement on Cherokee land, and Jones was forced to remove about 1,500 of them with the aid of the army. The court at Van Buren had continued to harass the Cherokees, according to Jones, and he recommended that Congress establish a Federal Court for Indian Territory.[52]

Congress showed no interest in such a plan; instead, it debated a bill which would provide a territorial government for Indian Territory. Jones retorted:[53]

> I feel it my solemn duty to protest against all bills that would rob them [the Cherokees] of their nationality, that will open the flood-gates of immigration and pour in upon them a population that will rob them of their lands and overwhelm them with their votes, drive them to the wall, finally sweep them out of existence . . . . With some this [the solution of the Indian question] means the destruction of the Indians, so that they shall no longer be objects of thought, action, and legislation. It should mean the elevation and complete civilization and christianization of the Indians, and the securing to them all their rights so completely that the subject shall no longer enlist public attention or need further legislation.

The opposition of Jones was of little avail, and in 1874 the Cherokee, Choctaw-Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole agencies were consolidated to form the Union Agency, with headquarters in Muskogee. With the probable exception of Cowart, all of the agents who served the Cherokees would have agreed with Jones' idea of the correct solution to the Indian question. Regardless of their backgrounds and lack of training, these men appeared to have developed a deep affection for the Cherokees and seemed to have shared a genuine desire to help them. Unfortunately, none of them seemed to realize that though their motives and methods might have been diametrically opposed to those who only wished to get the Cherokees out of the way, what they proposed would have the same result in the end. Instead of physically liquidating the Cherokees, their policy would result in the Cherokee people being converted to Western civilization. This is not an

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 565.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 568; United States Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1872, *Document Number 16* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 233.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

indictment of the Cherokee agents, for only recently has the importance of ethnic identity been appreciated. Moreover, the agents faced such immediate crises that they could hardly have been expected to think beyond the prevailing social theories of the time.

Before the Civil War, the overriding issue confronting the Cherokees was bitter internal factionalism. Although the agents who served during this period were preoccupied with pacifying these conflicts, they never actually ended them. That this factionalism did not seem to concern later agents suggests that the quarrels may have been submerged, in part, by the suffering of the Civil War.

During the war and immediately afterward, the agents struggled with the military, bureaucratic indifference, and the ever present advantage seekers, in order to help the Cherokees survive. At the same time, the agency building itself was damaged and the few records which had been kept were destroyed. This void left each agent with no recorded source at hand concerning the programs and procedures of his predecessors and forced him to rely on his own ability to discover the basic information he needed for his job.

In many ways, the term of John Craig, beginning in 1869, marked a new beginning for the Cherokees and the agency. By maintaining excellent agency records and conducting the first census, he made continuity possible. Both Craig and his successor, John Jones, attempted to restore order to Cherokee life and made it possible for the people to begin rebuilding from the damage of the Civil War. At the same time, they recognized that the pressures of white society were now exerted on the Cherokees just as they had been in the 1830's. Perhaps they realized that the treaties guaranteeing the Cherokees their land would soon be abrogated. Jones, himself, believed that there would never be another Cherokee removal, since there appeared to be no suitable geographic frontier to which to send them.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONFEDERATE TREATIES WITH THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES

*By Kenny A. Franks**

Riding across the rolling hills of Indian Territory in May, 1861, Confederate Commissioner Albert Pike and Brigadier General Ben McCulloch discussed what was perhaps the most important mission of their lives. The Civil War had begun, and the western flank of the Confederacy was dangerously exposed to a Federal invasion launched from Kansas. To protect Arkansas and Texas, the South had decided to rely on an alliance with the Five Civilized Tribes—the Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. The Confederacy hoped to persuade these Indians to cast their lot with the South, and thus protect the important Texas gulf ports and the agricultural areas of Arkansas and Louisiana. It was the purpose of these two men to secure the necessary treaties. However, Pike assumed full responsibility for the effort, as McCulloch was soon to relinquish his duties and return to Fort Smith, Arkansas.

Pike's efforts were made easier by the Southern background of the Five Civilized Tribes. Slavery was well established among the Indians, and in the Choctaw and Chickasaw territory, along the Red River, a flourishing cotton culture had developed. The Indians were also surrounded by states which favored secession. On the east were Arkansas and Missouri, and southward were Texas and Louisiana. Their sole contact with the Northern states was Kansas, which was divided over the question of slavery. These conditions made it practically impossible for the Indians to remain loyal to the North.[1]

On March 4, 1861, the Southern Congress authorized President Jefferson Davis to appoint an agent to carry on negotiations for forming an alliance with the Indians. David Hubbard, the newly appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was instructed on March 16 to seek an alliance with the

* The author is a graduate teaching assistant in history at Oklahoma State University, where he is completing the Doctor of Philosophy degree. The article is adapted from his Oklahoma State University Master of Arts history thesis, titled "Confederate Relations with the Five Civilized Tribes," prepared under the supervision of Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer.

[1] Ohland Morton, "Confederate Government Relations with the Five Civilized Tribes, Part 1," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2 (Summer, 1953), p. 199; Morton, "Confederate Government Relations with the Five Civilized Tribes, Part 2," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1953), p. 299.

Indian tribes which would "protect them and defend them against the rapacious and avaricious designs of their common enemy whose real intention was to emancipate their slaves and rob them of their lands."[2]

Hubbard became ill, which prevented him from fulfilling his duties, and in March, 1861, President Davis appointed Albert Pike of Little Rock, Arkansas, special Indian Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes. Commissioner Pike and Brigadier General Ben McCulloch, the Southern military commander of the area, met at Fort Smith in early May of 1861. They agreed to proceed on their diplomatic mission to the Five Civilized Tribes together; however, McCulloch soon relinquished his duties to Pike.[3]

After meeting initial failure in his efforts with the Cherokees, Pike succeeded in uniting the Confederacy and the Creeks in an alliance on July 10, 1861. The Choctaws and Chickasaws offered no real obstacle to a Southern treaty, and they signed the pact on July 12, 1861. On August 1, 1861, Pike persuaded the Seminoles that their future lay with the Confederacy, and under the leadership of John Jumper they joined the growing alliance. This left only the Cherokees outside the Southern fold. However, there was a strong pro-Southern faction within the tribe, and with the threat of a withdrawal of an offer to purchase 800,000 acres of their land, and the knowledge of Confederate victories at the battles of Bull Run and Wilson Creek, they too submitted to Southern pressure on October 7, 1861. Pike had completed his mission by securing a grand alliance between the Five Civilized Tribes and the Confederacy.[4]

These treaty alliances with the Five Civilized Tribes concluded Pike's diplomatic efforts in Indian Territory. After their signing the treaties were forwarded, along with a report of his negotiations, to President Davis. Davis in turn transmitted the treaties to the Provisional Congress of the Confederacy on December 12, 1861, along with his suggestions for changes. The debate on the treaties lasted until December 31, 1861, when they were ratified by the Confederate Congress, including the suggestions of Davis.

[2] *Journal of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States of America* (7 vols., *United States Senate Documents, No. 234*, 58th Cong., 2nd Sess., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), Vol. I, p. 105; Walker to Hubbard, May 14, 1861, United States Department of War, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (4 series, 70 volumes, 128 books, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 322–323 (hereafter cited as *Official Records*).

[3] Morton, "Confederate Government Relations with the Five Civilized Tribes, Part 2," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 301–303.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 303; Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), p. 143; *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 445, 513; Edwin C. McReynolds, *The Seminoles* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 292; Grace Steele Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 264–268.

The final treaties were similar in content and varied only where provisional interests were concerned.[5]

The signatories of the Choctaw treaty were Robert M. Jones, Sampson Folsom, Forbis LeFlore, George W. Harkins, Jr., Allen Wright, Alfred Wade, Coleman Cole, James Riley, Rufus Folsom, William B. Pitchlynn, McGee King, John P. Turnbull, and William Bryant. They were joined by the Chickasaw delegation, which consisted of Edmund Pickens, Holmes Colbert, James Gamble, Joel Kemp, William Kemp, Winchester Colbert, Henry C. Colbert, James N. McLish, Martin W. Allen, John M. Johnson, Samuel Colbert, Archibald Alexander, Wilson Frazier, Christopher Columbus, A-sha-lah Tubbe, and John E. Anderson. All of these men were ardent secessionists and avidly supported the Southern cause. In the case of the Creek treaty, the negotiations took place with the headmen, warriors, and chiefs of the nation in general council. Those members of the Seminole Nation who joined John Jumper in his alliance with Pike were Pas-co-fa, George Cloud, Fos-hut-chi Ha-cho-chi, Co-cho-co-ni, Sa-to-a Hacho, Cho-fo-top Hacho, Su-nuk Micco, Ta-co-sa Fic-si-co, Hal-pa-ta, I-ma-thla, and Fos-hut-chi Tus-ti-nuk-ki. Cherokee appointees to the negotiations with Pike were Joseph Verner, James Brown, John Drew, and William P. Ross. The names on the treaties are, however deceptive. In most cases, other than the Choctaws and Chickasaws, the documents were obtained either by usurping the power of the legitimate tribal leaders, through forgery, or by means of coercion. Though the treaties were often signed by prominent tribal leaders, such action frequently did not represent their true feelings, but was agreed to because of pressure exerted by the Confederacy.[6]

All of the treaties were careful to designate the boundaries of the territory occupied by the Indians. The Creek Nation was encompassed by a line beginning at the North Fork of the Canadian River. From this point it ran four miles north, and then in a straight line to the east bank of the juncture of the Arkansas and Grand rivers. From here the line extended south forty-four degrees, then west for one mile, and continued in this direction to the Arkansas River. At this point the boundary turned up the river to the Verdigris River, where it intersected the old territorial line, and followed it for twenty-five miles. It then ran along the southern line of the Cherokee Nation to the North Fork of the Canadian River, and to the border of the Seminole territory.[7]

[5] Kinneth McNeil, "Confederate Treaties with the Tribes of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII, No. 4 (Winter, 1964–65), p. 415.

[6] *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 465, 513, 526, 669.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 427.

The Choctaw border began one hundred paces east of old Fort Smith, where the western boundary of Arkansas crosses the Arkansas River. From here it ran south along the Arkansas state line to the Red River, where it turned west and followed the river to the 100th Meridian. The line then followed the Meridian north to the Canadian River and along its bank to its junction with the Arkansas River, which it followed to the initial point near Fort Smith. Within this area was the land occupied by members of the Chickasaw Nation. Their territory under agreement with the Choctaws was enclosed by a line beginning where the Island Bayou flowed into the Red River, about twenty-six miles below the mouth of the False Washita River. The boundary then turned northwest along the bayou's main channel to a point where all the channels join, near the dividing ridge of the Washita and Low Blue rivers. It followed the eastern branch of the bayou to its source, and then north to the Canadian River. It followed this river to the 98th Degree of Longitude, and then southward to the Red River, which it followed to the original point. There was a stipulation in the agreement which provided for the inclusion of Allen's Academy in the Chickasaw lands. If the academy's location fell outside of the Chickasaw territory, an offset was to be made which would place it at least two miles within their boundaries.[8]

The Seminoles who were associated with the Creeks received a portion of land on the southwestern border of the Creek Nation. Their territory began on the Canadian River west of the 97th Degree of Longitude, where Pond Creek flowed into the river. From there it followed the North Fork of the Canadian to the southern boundary of the Cherokees and then west to the 100th Degree of Longitude. Then the boundary turned southward to the Canadian River and continued along it to the point of beginning.[9]

The Cherokees were assigned 13,574,135.14 acres contained in an area bounded by a line beginning twenty-five miles north of the Arkansas River, and running southward to the Verdigris River. It followed the Verdigris River until it emptied into the Arkansas River, and then along the southern bank for 40 degrees and 13 minutes of Latitude to the junction of the Arkansas and Neosho (or Grand) rivers. Here the line turned southward to where the North Fork and the Canadian rivers flowed together, down the Canadian River to the Arkansas River, and then along it to the state line of Arkansas. The boundary followed the Arkansas border northward to Missouri, and then west along the southern limit of the Osage lands in Kansas to the Texas border. It followed the Texas state line south for sixty miles,

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 446–447.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 514.

and then east along the northern edge of the Creek Nation to the original point.[10]

Except for the minor change along the border between the Choctaws and Chickasaws and the state of Arkansas, the area allotted to these tribes was virtually the same as that given them by the United States. The land was promised to the Choctaws and Chickasaws for "as long as grass shall grow and water run." The partition and disposition of the divided land among the tribal members were left to the Indian tribal legislatures, and the Confederacy guaranteed them complete control over their internal affairs.[11]

The treaties promised the territorial and political integrity of the Indian nations. However, the sale or granting of any portion of their territory to any foreign nation, state, or any government whatever, without the consent of the Confederate government, was prohibited. Should any sale occur without the South's consent, the land would revert to the Confederacy. The Indians were protected from the encroachment of the surrounding states and the white man's law by the guarantee that Indian Territory would never be subject to the laws of any state or territory. The treaties also promised that no portion of Indian Territory would ever be included within or annexed to any territory or province of the Confederacy, nor would any attempt be made to establish among the Indians any state or territorial government or to include them within the boundary of any previously created state without the consent of the Indian nations.[12]

The Indians were also granted unrestricted self-government, and full jurisdiction over the persons and property within their territory. The exceptions to their self-rule were the regulation of trade and intercourse, which was reserved by the Confederate states. The laws of the Indians were, however, to be compatible with the Constitution of the Confederate States of America, and all white men who were not tribal members were exempt from Indian justice. These exceptions did not apply when an offense was committed inside Indian Territory by an Indian, Negro, mulatto, or white who was a tribal member against any other Indian, Negro, mulatto, or white tribal member. In such cases the tribal laws would apply, and the Indians had the right to try and punish the accused according to their laws.[13]

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 670–672.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 428, 447, 514, 672.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 428, 447–448, 514–515, 672–673; Morton, "Confederate Government Relations with the Five Civilized Tribes, Part 2," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 304–305; McNeil, "Confederate Treaties with the Tribes of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII, p. 418.

[13] *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 428–429, 449, 515, 673.

The question of tribal citizenship was answered in every treaty between the Indians and the Confederacy. In the case of white men who had married tribal members, or those who had not intermarried but had established permanent residence within Indian Territory with the consent of tribal authorities and voted at elections, they were declared citizens of the tribe on whose land they resided. These articles were included in the agreements to help clarify the older method of determining citizenship by birth or adoption.[14]

In the case of Indians of different tribes who might be allowed to settle within Indian Territory on portions of land occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes, each nation alone reserved the power to determine those who were to be granted citizenship or allowed to become tribal by blood. The tribes were also to decide who was to be allowed to vote at elections and share as tribal members in the tribal annuities. However, the treaties required that once either a white person or an Indian of a different tribe had been accepted as a citizen, he could not be subjected to any restrictions or in any way disfranchised by legislative actions that did not apply equally to all tribal members.[15]

No other Indians were to be allowed to settle upon the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes without the permission of the tribal legislative authority. However, by legal acts the nations could permit Indians of various tribes to settle upon their national lands. In return for the granting of this permission, the Five Civilized Tribes were permitted to either sell or lease to these other Indians any amount of land for the length of time and the price that they themselves set. By these treaty articles the Indians gained control over membership of their tribes and the settlement of outsiders upon their land.[16]

The question of statehood within the Confederacy was taken up only by the Choctaw-Chickasaw treaty. In reward for their uniform loyalty and good faith, these two tribes were provided with a method for securing statehood status within the Confederate States of America. Subject to their ability to establish and maintain a regularly organized republican form of government, which included the forms and safeguards that the citizens of the Confederacy were entitled to, the Choctaws and Chickasaws were to be permitted to apply for statehood. When such a level of government was reached, the tribes were to elect at a regular election, which was to be held after due and ample notice, a convention of delegates. These delegates,

[14] *Ibid.*; Morton, "Confederate Government Relations with the Five Civilized Tribes, Part 2," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, p. 305.

[15] *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 432, 453, 518, 673.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 431–432, 453–454, 517–518, 673.

following the passage of an act of the Indian legislatures, were to declare their desire to become a state within the Confederacy. When these requirements were met, the Choctaw and Chickasaw country was to be admitted into the Confederacy as a state with all the rights and privileges of the original Confederate states. When this action was accepted by the Confederate Congress, all tribal members would become citizens of the Confederate States of America; this did not include those persons who were settled in the leased district. The only condition attached to their admission to the Confederacy was that they must submit to a survey of their lands, and set aside one section in every thirty-six for the purpose of education. The money from the sale of this land was to be invested in such ways as the Indians through their tribal legislatures should prescribe, and the money would become the property of the tribe to be used solely for educational purposes.

It is odd that this provision for statehood was included only within the Choctaw-Chickasaw treaty. The article, nevertheless, provided for the admission of the other Indian nations, although the treaties declared there was to be only one state formed from Indian Territory. Whenever the Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokees were able to reach the same level of self-government and pass the prescribed formalities, they could, either by themselves or jointly, become a part of the same state. These other nations were guaranteed the same rights of citizenship and proceeds from their lands as the Choctaws and Chickasaws.[17]

For diplomatic relations between the Confederacy and the Five Civilized Tribes, the treaties called for an agent of the Confederate States and an interpreter to be appointed to carry on the communications. Both the agent and the interpreter were to reside at the agency, and in the case of a vacancy in either position the authorities of both nations were to be consulted on the appointment of a replacement. No person was to be appointed to whom the Indians objected, and the agent was subject to removal following a petition of formal charges, showing sufficient cause, submitted by the Indian authorities.[18]

The Indians were required to furnish the South with a tract of two sections of land, chosen by the President of the Confederacy, for the site of the agency. In the case of the Creeks and Seminoles, the site selected was to be the location of their existing agency; and with the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, the locations were to be selected by the authorities of the Indian nations and the Confederacy. Both the land and the public build-

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 453; McNeil, "Confederate Treaties with the Tribes of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII, p. 417.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 419; *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 431, 451, 517, 674–675.

ings of the agencies were to come under the sole jurisdiction of the Confederate States. The only exceptions to the jurisdiction were members of the Indian tribes in whose cases the offenses would be punished by the laws and courts of the Indian nations. Whenever the South ceased to maintain its agencies, the sites, including the land and buildings, were to revert to the Indians. In the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw treaties, the Indians also would regain title to the land if the agency was moved to a different location. The Choctaw and Chickasaw treaty provided that if any person employed by the agency violated the laws of the nations or became unfit to continue to live in their country, he would be removed by the Indian Superintendent upon the request of the executives of these nations. Also, no person was to be allowed to settle, farm or raise stock within the limits of the agencies unless he was an employee of the Confederate States of America.[19]

The treaties between the Confederacy and the Indians promised perpetual peace and friendship between the two nations, and joined them together in offensive and defensive alliances. The Indians were to acknowledge themselves as under the protection of the Confederacy, and they were restricted from entering into alliances with any other foreign power or individual state. However, they were permitted to reach agreements with neighboring Indians for the purpose of improving their mutual welfare. The Five Civilized Tribes were to become wards of the Confederacy and be placed under the South's protection, with their lands being annexed to the Confederacy. The South solemnly promised never to abandon the Indians or to allow the Northern States or any other enemy to separate them from the Confederacy.[20]

All persons who were not defined as tribal members were declared intruders and were to be removed from Indian Territory. In order to secure their expulsion, the South promised military aid. Exceptions were made for employees of the Confederate government and for persons who were peacefully traveling or engaged in trading, provided they secured the necessary license. The Indians were also allowed to permit selected individuals, with the consent of the Indian agents, to reside within their country. The South was to protect the Indians from domestic strife, hostile invasion, and other aggressions committed by other Indians or whites. Any tribal member who might suffer from the inability of the South to main-

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 429–430, 451, 454, 516, 674; *Annie Abel, The American Indian as a Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1915), p. 169.

[20] *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 426–427, 445–446, 513, 670; Morton, "Confederate Government Relations with the Five Civilized Tribes, Part 2," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, p. 304.

tain this promise was entitled to compensation, which was to be paid from the Confederate Treasury.[21]

Any person who settled upon the Indian lands without the permission of the required authorities automatically forfeited the protection of the Confederacy and became subject to the laws of the Indian nations. The grazing of stock on the Indian lands by persons other than tribal members was prohibited. Tribal authorities were allowed to collect a penalty of one dollar per head levied against violators. Exceptions were granted for stock being driven to market, and reasonable delays were allowed for necessary halts along the route. Likewise, the Indians were guaranteed the privilege of transporting stock and of traveling peacefully through any of the Confederate states.[22]

In the case of the Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, they were considered as branches of the same nations. Because of this reasoning, the citizens of the Creek and Seminole nations and the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations were guaranteed to have, at all times, the right of safe passage through the lands of the other. Also, the tribal members of both groups were to be permitted to settle freely, without having to seek permission, on the lands of the other. Likewise, the Creeks and Seminoles who might settle in each other's territory, and the Choctaws and Chickasaws who might migrate to the other nations, were to be granted the same rights and privileges of all other members of the nation. These included the right to vote and hold office, and the only exceptions were that members of one nation might not share in the tribal monies of the other nation. However, they were granted the right of court suits to protect their interest.[23]

The rights of the Indians to purchase and hold title to property was greatly expanded. Indians were recognized as competent to own and buy in any of the Confederate states. The Indians were also given the right to sell or trade with any person all articles and personal property without restriction.[24]

Recognizing that slavery had existed since time immemorial, the treaties declared that as an institution it was to be recognized as legal within Indian Territory. Slaves were defined as personal property, and the various Indian nations were entitled to determine by their own laws and customs the individual titles of slaves. Upon the death of their owners, slaves were to be distributed according to tribal customs, which were considered binding.

[21] *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 429–430, 515–517.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 432, 454, 518, 677.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 432, 454, 518.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 438, 452, 519; Abel, *The American Indian as a Slaveholder and Secessionist*, pp. 171–172.

The enforcement of the fugitive slave laws was also guaranteed. All acts of the Confederate Congress and all provisions of the Constitution of the Confederate States of America which governed the return of fugitive slaves were to apply to the Indian nations. The fugitive slave laws were to be enforced not only on slaves who might flee to Indian Territory, but also on slaves who might escape to other Indian nations or to other Confederate states.[25]

In the matter of judicial obligations and legal representation, the Indians were granted far-reaching rights and responsibilities. All individuals who had been duly charged with criminal offense in any of the Indian nations and who had fled to another nation were subject to arrest by the authorities of that nation. They were to be promptly surrendered to the authorities of the nation in which the crime was committed. The same was true of those guilty of offenses committed in violation of the laws of the Confederacy or of any state within the Confederacy. Individuals were also subject to extradition if they were fugitives from Indian justice in the Southern states.[26]

The Confederacy reserved for itself the right to punish persons guilty of counterfeiting coins or securities of the Confederacy, violators of the neutrality laws, and those resisting the acts of the Confederate Congress, which provided for the common defense and welfare. The South was also given the duty of enforcing the laws regulating trade and intercourse among the Indian nations and insuring the general peace of Indian Territory. The Confederacy was also bound to enforce the provision of the various Indian treaties.[27]

The legal rights of the Indians were greatly increased. The treaties guaranteed that should an Indian be indicted in either a Confederate or state court, he was entitled to the right of subpoena and the compulsory process for any witnesses in his behalf necessary for his defense. The cost of the process, fees, service, and mileage of such witnesses was to be borne by the Confederate Treasury. In the courts the Indians were recognized as competent witnesses in all cases criminal or civil. All discrimination based on Indian blood was ended, and the Indians were given the same rights to sue in any state court as the citizens of the same state.[28]

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 166; *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 433–434, 456–457, 520, 618; McNeil, "Confederate Treaties with the Tribes of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII, p. 418.

[26] *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 432, 454, 518, 677–678.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 433, 455, 518–519, 676.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 433, 456, 519, 678; McNeil, "Confederate Treaties with the Tribes of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII, p. 418; Abel, *The American Indian as a Slaveholder and Secessionist*, pp. 172–173.

All official acts and legal proceedings of the judiciary of Indian Territory were given full faith and credit in all other courts within the Confederacy. The Indians were prohibited from enacting any *ex post facto* law or laws which would impair the obligation of contracts affecting any person other than members of their own tribes. No person, either a member of an Indian nation or a Confederate citizen, could be deprived of property or of his liberty except by the law of the land and according to due process of law. Any infringement of the rights of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution of the Confederate States was also prohibited.[29]

In order to insure the enforcement of the laws of the Confederate States and to prevent the Indians from future harassment by foreign courts, two district courts were established inside Indian Territory. The Tush-ca-homa district court was located at Boggy Depot, and the Chalahki district court was located at Tahlequah. These courts were to have the powers of a circuit court in carrying out the provisions of the treaties. They were to have jurisdiction over all persons residing within their boundaries, and in all civil suits between citizens of territories or states of the Confederacy, aliens, and residents of Indian Territory when the amount exceeded $500. The officers, clerks, and marshals of the courts were required to be citizens of the districts, and they were restricted in that they had no jurisdiction to try or punish any person for an offense committed prior to the signing of the treaty.[30]

Each of the Indian nations were to grant to the Confederate government one square mile of land to be used for the construction of military establishments as the President of the Confederacy might deem necessary. The South also reserved the right to construct military roads throughout the territory. As long as the forts were occupied the land was to be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Confederacy, except as to offenses committed by one Indian against another. The South was restricted in the amount of timber to be used in their construction, and only the necessary materials were to be used. Adequate compensation was to be paid to the Indians for any material other than land, timber, stone, and earth which might be used in the building of the military establishments.[31]

The Confederacy pledged to establish and maintain post offices, which

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 179; McNeil, "Confederate Treaties with the Tribes of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII, p. 418; *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 433–434, 456, 519–520, 678–679.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 454–455, 476; McNeil, "Confederate Treaties with the Tribes of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII, pp. 417–418.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 419; Morton, "Confederate Government Relations with the Five Civilized Tribes, Part 2," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, p. 305; *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 429–430, 450, 516, 674.

were to be located at the more important settlements throughout Indian Territory. The mail was to be carried regularly, at reasonable intervals, and at the same rates of postage as in the other Confederate States. In the case of the Cherokee, it was also required that the postmasters be appointed from among the tribal members.[32]

The South reserved for itself, or any company which might be incorporated under its laws, the privilege of right-of-way for both railroads or telegraph lines through Indian Territory. If the installations were constructed by private companies the Indians were entitled to a cash payment, which was to be agreed upon by both the companies and the Indian governments. All damages or injuries incurred during the construction of the facilities were to be reimbursed either to individual parties or the various nations by the companies in such a manner as the President of the Confederacy directed. The right-of-ways were to be perpetual, and upon abandonment the land was to revert to tribal control.[33]

In the consideration of the common defense of Indian Territory and the Confederacy, the Indian nations were required to furnish troops for the military forces of the South. The Creeks agreed to furnish in conjunction with the Seminoles, a regiment of ten companies of mounted men to be enlisted for a term of twelve months. The same was true with the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, who pledged a regiment of ten companies to serve for twelve months. The Cherokees were not only to raise ten companies for a regiment, but were also to recruit two reserve companies of mounted men. The company officers of the Indian troops were to be elected by the members of the companies, the field officers were to be selected by all the members of the regiment, and the colonel was to be either elected or appointed by the President of the Confederacy. The troops were to be armed by the South, and were to receive the same pay and allowances as all other mounted troops serving with the Confederate Army. The treaties prohibited the use of Indian troops outside the boundaries of Indian Territory. The Indians also agreed to raise at a future date such a number of troops as necessary for the defense of their homes. This requirement was subject to the demand of the Confederate President. Such troops were to be in fair proportion to the number of tribal members, and were to serve terms of duty as directed by Confederate officials.

The treaties stipulated that the Indians would in no way ever be required

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 434–457, 520, 679; Morton, "Confederate Government Relations with the Five Civilized Tribes, Part 2," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, p. 305; McNeil, "Confederate Treaties with the Tribes of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII, p. 419.

[33] *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 430, 450, 516.

to pay, in land or otherwise, any portion of the cost of the present war or of any future war in which the Confederacy engaged. The Indians agreed that after the restoration of peace, they would furnish enough native troops to aid the South in the protection of Indian Territory. These forces, which were to hold the posts and forts inside Indian Territory, were to be placed under the command of Confederate officers. This military force, consisting mainly of Indians, was to be used in preference to white troops in matters concerning Indian Territory.[34]

In order to enable the Indians to secure their rights without the intervention of their agents, the treaties provided for Indian representatives to the Confederate Congress. The Creek and Seminole nations were to have one representative, who was to be chosen jointly. The Choctaws and Chickasaws also were entitled to one delegate, and they were to select the representative alternately from each tribe. The Cherokees were allowed one representative, thus making the total of Indian representatives to the Southern Congress three. These delegates were to serve a term of two years, had to be over twenty-one years of age, and a member of the tribe they represented. They were to be entitled to the same rights and privileges as all other delegates from Confederate territories, and their pay and mileage was to be fixed by the Confederate Congress. The representatives could not be under any legal difficulties, and their election was to be held at the time and place and conducted in a manner prescribed by the Indian agents. The candidate receiving the greatest number of votes was to be declared the winner. After the first election, all future elections were to be held under the regular laws of the Confederate States.[35]

The treaties also provided that the Confederacy assume the annuity payments of the United States for the Five Civilized Tribes. These monies and the interest on the state bonds held by the South were to be applied for the good of the tribe. The funds accumulated in this manner were to be used for education, public works, the care of orphans, and for public education.[36]

The Indians were thus provided with a method of improving the welfare and happiness of their people. The Confederacy also guaranteed that all claims and demands against the government of the United States that had not been satisfied or relinquished under the former treaties would be

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 434, 457, 520, 679; McNeil, "Confederate Treaties with the Tribes of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII, p. 416–417.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 417; *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 435, 452, 520, 679–680.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 435, 457, 460, 521, 680; Abel, *The American Indian as a Slaveholder and Secessionist*, pp. 163–164; Morton, "Confederate Government Relations with the Five Civilized Tribes, Part 2," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, p. 305; McNeil, "Confederate Treaties with the Tribes of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII p. 416.

investigated by Southern officials. Upon the restoration of peace, these claims would be assumed by the South. The Confederacy was also to assume the duty of collecting the payments due the Indians, and to insure the lawful distribution of these funds to them.[37]

All of the treaties provided for some special provision for each tribe. The Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws were to receive payments for the expenses of their representatives to the treaty proceedings. The Creeks were to receive $750, which was to be paid to the principal chief, Motey Canard, and the Choctaws and Chickasaws got $2,000 to be paid to Robert M. Jones. This money was to be distributed equally among the members of the treaty delegations. The Choctaws were to receive $50,000 and the Chickasaws $2,000 to purchase arms and ammunition for the defense of their homeland. A Cherokee youth could be educated at any military school established by the Confederacy, provided he received his appointment from the Cherokee delegate to the Confederate Congress. The same privilege was eventually granted to the other Indian representatives to the Confederate Congress.[38]

The Seminole treaty included even more specific conditions. Tribal members were to be reimbursed for all slaves who were alleged to have been illegally seized during their removal from the South. The Confederacy was to investigate their claims and determine a just and equitable settlement, which was to be paid to either their owners or the heirs of the owners. The Indians were also to be paid for the loss of services of the slaves for the periods they had been illegally detained by the Federal government. The Confederacy agreed to pay Sally Factor for the services of her two slaves, named July and Murray, who were used as interpreters for removal by the United States Army during the Seminole War. Both slaves were kept in the service for four years and both had died during the course of that war. For the loss she incurred, Factor's heirs were to receive the sum of $5,000. Those Seminoles who accompanied the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to Florida in 1857 to secure the removal of the remaining Seminoles were to receive $200 each for the services they rendered. Finally, as more of a bribe than anything else, the leader of the Southern faction, John Jumper, was to receive $500 for his loyalty to the Confederacy, and $1,250 to be equally divided among five of the other Southern supporters. The Confederacy also pledged $100 to each of the thirty-four Seminole treaty delegates in view of their present faith and loyalty to the Southern cause.[39]

[37] *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 435–438, 457–463, 521–524, 680–685.
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 438, 464, 685.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 522–524; Abel, *The American Indian as a Slaveholder and Secessionist*, pp. 164–166.

The treaties were thus submitted to the Confederate Congress for ratification. Several changes were made in all of the treaties before they were ratified, and these changes were eventually accepted by the Indians. The Creek treaty was amended concerning the Indians' rights in courts, but more important their representative to the Confederate Congress was limited in regard to his participation in debates. He could only take part in the deliberations if the question was one in which either nation was particularly interested. The Choctaw and Chickasaw delegate was likewise restricted, and their admission as a state was referred to the Confederate Congress by whose acts alone new states could be admitted. The amount of revenue from the sales of their land was also reduced, and their rights in courts were amended somewhat. The Seminole ratification was essentially the same in regard to the changes in courts and representation in Congress, but no change was made in the payments due them. Little change was made in the Cherokee treaty.[40]

Many of the promises made in the treaties were never placed in effect or were only partially fulfilled. This was because the Confederacy was incapable in many cases of carrying out its commitments. Even so, this unfortunate situation did not decrease the loyalty of the Indians toward the South. In August, 1862, President Davis reported that the Indians had remained loyal to the South in spite of allegations by Federal agents. Perhaps this was due to the liberal nature of the treaties, which gave the Southern Indians many more benefits than had ever been promised by the United States, and they reasoned that the shortcomings of the Confederacy were due to the conditions created by the war. They could be told that once the South had successfully concluded the war, the treaty conditions would be wholeheartedly fulfilled. Regardless of whether or not the majority of the members of the Five Civilized Tribes believed that the South's shortcomings were the result of the war conditions, this optimistic argument could be used by their pro-Southern leaders to mask the intertwining political struggles within the tribes, and obscure any jealousy of their new-found political power.

Nevertheless, promised more advantages than ever before by the Confederacy, the Indians had much to gain by continuing the war and relying on some military miracle to defeat the Federals in the East. Such a victory by the South would have secured for the Indians more benefits than they had dared imagine. With an enforcement of the Southern treaties following a negotiated peace settlement, the Indians would have enjoyed virtual political autonomy and been able to utilize methods of securing the rights

[40] *Official Records*, Ser. iv, Vol. I, pp. 443, 465–466, 526–527, 686–687.

and privileges which had for so long been reserved for the white man under the United States government. These treaties would have prevented a repetition of the events which had led to the expulsion of the Indians from their homes some years previously. Thus, the Southern Indians were willing to undergo the horrors of war on the chance that a Confederate victory would bring them the generous benefits promised by the treaties; the bountiful promises offered by the South were hard for the Indians to resist. The Confederate Indians steadfastly maintained their guarantees in the treaties and remained loyal to the Confederacy to the end, hoping that victory would bring fulfillment of the treaty promises.

INDIANS FOR THE CONFEDERACY

By Colonel Charles DeMorse

Introduction

The following report "Indians For the Confederacy" by Charles DeMorse was printed in the *Northern Standard* telling the story of Colonel DeMorse who, on April 1862, with the 29th Texas Cavalry supported the Indian Confederate troops in Indian Territory. The *Northern Standard* was published at Clarksville, Texas, before the Civil War and its columns were devoted to many items with reference to the Indian Territory north of Red River and to events in the Territory long before the Civil War. DeMorse's account follows with the foreword by Bradford K. Felmly who secured this report from the collection of John C. Grady, Jr., of Palm Bay, Florida. (Annotations added by the Editor of *The Chronicles*):

Foreword

The name of Charles DeMorse rings out as one of the more prominent in the history of northeastern Texas. Charles DeMorse is noted for his efforts towards Texas' fight for independence, and his contributions toward journalism in the wild Texas northeast.

Arriving in Texas as an enlistee in Sam Houston's army in 1836, DeMorse quickly rose through the ranks to become a personal aide to Houston. Later DeMorse was assigned the task of guarding the captured Mexican general Santa Anna prior to his deportation to Vera Cruz, Mexico.

In 1842, DeMorse established northern Texas' first newspaper, the *Northern Standard*, in Clarksburg, which quickly grew to become the largest weekly in the republic.

Though he opposed secession, DeMorse followed his state, and in 1861 raised a regiment of cavalry to support the Confederacy. DeMorse kept the citizens on the home front informed of the operations of his regiment through frequent dispatches to the *Northern Standard*.

In April, 1862, DeMorse's command, the 29th Texas Cavalry Regiment, was ordered into Indian Territory to recruit the support of the tribes there for the Confederacy. In a typical dispatch to the *Standard*, DeMorse describes his encounter with the tribes of Indian Territory near Fort Arbuckle:

April 6, 1862

Editor "Standard":

I believe my last was written to you a day or two before I was to have a conference with the Indian chiefs of the Seminoles, Comanches, Caddos, Annadakos &c. Well the meeting came on according to appointment. Myself, Surgeon Kearby, Dr. Hobson (late post surgeon), Capt. Hooks and Capt. Elliott, with some eighty men from Company D of the 29th went up to Cherokee town on a bright and beautiful morning, the 1st of April.[1] Arriving at Cherokee town at 1 pm with our battle flag blowing out full in a stiff breeze and the trumpet sounding, we rode up to the village in a column of twos, and discovered just before us at the right of the village, a round grove in which was an assemblage of Indians. We rightly inferred that this was the place of council, and dismounting we found a number of Seminoles, Caddos, Annadakos and Comanches waiting for us, and also two white men. Those we found were Capt. Dial, quartermaster, and Lt. Patterson, adjutant of Col. John Jumper's battalion, Jumper himself being down in the bottom adjacent to see Joab [Jose] Maria, an Annadako chief, who was sick and confined to his lodge.[2]

Jumper soon came up, accompanied by Capt. Factor, his interpreter, a half-breed Seminole. Lt. Col. Jumper is a full blood Seminole, dark expressive countenance, serious.[3] He is six feet, two or three inches high, stoutly built. He was dressed in a blue military frock, with the large cape of a cavalry overcoat on his shoulder; a black hat sent him from Richmond with broad Lee's band and some ornaments, and down the sides of his military pants were broad stripes of gold lace. I was told by Dr. Hobson that the Confederate States had sent him a handsome full uniform last year. He has a semi-savage and imposing look, and makes a good impression by his manner and bearing and style of speech. He speaks no English, though I am told he partially understands it. He is not loquacious, and evidently reflects before he speaks. He and his escort had ridden thirty miles that morning from the Seminole Agency, and rode home after 2 p.m.

The two white members of his staff and his interpreter were prepossessing and agreeable. Capt. Dial, the Quartermaster, was a Virginian and had been in the nation but about fifteen months. Dr. Hobson had been with the

[1] The site of Cherokee Town is on the east side of the Washita River near Pauls Valley, Garvin County.—Anna Lewis "Trading Post at the Crossing of the Chickasaw Trails," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, 1934.

[2] Jose Maria (Anadarko tribe) was chief of the Associated tribes of the Caddo living in the vicinity of the old Wichita Agency near the Washita River. The city of Anadarko in Caddo County, Oklahoma, is named for him.

[3] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "John Jumper," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXLX, 1951.

(Photo from the M. H. Wright Collection)

Chief John Jumper
Seminole Nation

Chief John Jumper signed the Confederate Treaty for his Nation at the beginning of the Civil War. He was colonel commanding the Seminole Battalion in the Confederate forces during the war, and is generally referred to in the history of the Indian Territory as "Colonel John Jumper."

Seminoles before and they greeted him kindly. He speaks much in their praise and says they are very honest.

The conference with Jumper was in hearing of all. He assented readily to the propositions offered him, and as soon as the actual business was through left on account of the distance to go before night. After this Mr. Jones, the Comanche interpreter told us that the reserves desired to have their talk in the bottom in which part of their lodges are.[4] Where we first halted is high rolling prairie, with scattering trees of large growth, about a quarter of a mile southwest of the Washita River. On this high prairie were a few lodges; in the bottom some more, and on the other side of the Ford, the Comanches, who had only been in a few days were camped. After the talk with Jumper, we had dinner and in about an hour we were invited to a large lodge in the bottom, a sort of council house, circular, twelve feet in diameter and open at the top. The frame, like that of all lodges, was of poles connected with some sort of small sticks and filled in with some dry grass covered with some skins and an old tent cloth.

This lodge we entered by a cloth, stooping very low and then rising. Squatted down all around the lodge, were the young men of the Anadakos. Inside of these in a line on one side were Tirrah and George Washington, Chief of the Caddoes; and Cocadaway and Tochaway, Chiefs of the Comanches, seated crosslegged on buffalo robes. The Indians generally were painted and dressed in a variety of styles. At first it seemed to me that some of them were women, but I was mistaken. Opposite the chiefs, a robe and a cushion were placed for myself. All the talking on our side was done by myself, and I was replied to and questioned by the four chiefs successively; at my left was the Caddo interpreter, an Indian, and Dr. Sturm, the Commissary of Jones to the reserves. On my right Mr. Jones, the Commanche interpreter, and to the right of Mr. Jones[5] were ranked Surgeon Kearby, Capt. Hooks, Capt. Elliott, Lt. Gafney and others. The Chiefs were very careful in their inquiries and envinced more caution than I had supposed was a part of their character. The Indians were told what my instructions were, and what we wanted, in positive terms. After awhile they pronounced one before another, each making a speech for the ears of the tribe, and each evidently acting for himself, and neither of them saying positively what he would or could do; which as I have since learned is a part of the Indian character, and mode of conference. All stated their satisfaction with what I had said to them, the interpreter saying, "he

[4] See Josiah Butler, "Pioneer School Teaching at the Comanche–Kiowa Agency School 1870–3," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, 1928.

[5] Joseph B. Thoburn, "Horace P. Jones, Scout and Interpreter," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, 1924.

say, he like very much what you say." But we went back expecting not much from them. It was so near night when we got through that the command went to a sandy creek about 1/4 of a mile on our way home and camped for the night, finding excellent grass for our horses and good water in small basins. This creek ran through a rich prairie and was filled with great masses of sand and only here and there a little water. The Indians had a large number of ponies running on the grass, beginning to thrive. George Washington told us he had eleven young men trying to recover horses stolen from them by wild Indians. Not a few of us thought they might be out stealing themselves; especially as it was said they had been out thirty days, and the tribe was getting anxious about them. But we did them injustice. They have since come in from near Bentaford, having recovered 53 of their ponies from the Kiowas, who had stolen them. Thirty six other ponies, the Kiowas would not relinquish.

Notwithstanding their uncertainty of expression, that very night the tribes began to act as we had requested them to do, and at dawn of the 3rd some 25 of them came to see me and have another talk at my quarters, enrolling their names. George Washington only of the chiefs came with them, but all were in high glee.[6] They had held a war dance all the night before and were quite talkative among themselves. Our men crowded the windows and doors of the quarters, and finally got some to shooting for tobacco. They envinced considerable accuracy with their bows and arrows. Rations of flour and salt were issued them and they went home satisfied. The government feeds all the Indians on flour and beef, half pound rations, flour, two pounds beef per day. The Commanches have a few good cases of small pox in their lodges. Their two chiefs are fat good natured looking men; Cocadaway much disposed to laugh, Tochaway more grave, but mild and benevolent looking, with a decidedly sensible expression.

Tirrah of the Caddos is dark but pleasant looking. George Washington has a rather Washington expression of countenance, except the expression of intellectuality is not high. He [George Washington] is considered however quite a sensible old, matter of fact, business like Indian. He wore a blue military coat, striped summer pantaloons, a steeple crown hat with silver plates around it, a red ribbon and a black feather upright, after the old continental style. The other chiefs were in Indian garb. Commanches moved about on their ponies; all get into saddle from the right side of the horse. All of them look less savage than I anticipated and like to be treated familiarly.

The season seems backward here. The trees are just in bloom but not yet in leaf to much extent. It seems strange to us that in April there is no shade.

[6] "Pioneer School Teacher . . . Comanche School," *op. cit., Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VI, p. 467.

FIRST CATHOLIC CHURCH IN INDIAN TERRITORY—1872 ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH AT ATOKA

By Brother John Michalicka

Introduction

Through the Catholic Center for Christian Renewal with its office in Oklahoma City some notes on the history of St. Patrick's Church of Atoka have been forwarded to *The Chronicles*, by the Reverend John Michalicka, former pastor of the present Catholic churches of St. Francis at Atoka and Blessed Sacrament at Coalgate. An official historical marker was set up on the grounds of St. Francis Church at Atoka, Indian Territory, in 1972, commemorating the 100th anniversary of the establishment of St. Patrick's Church and pointing to its original site some blocks east in Atoka, east of the MK&T Railroad tracks. Some forty years ago, St. Patrick's Church was blown down in a wind storm. The wrecked timber was sold but the old church bell was saved and taken to the Caddo Catholic Church where it remained until 1971 when it was returned to Atoka. The old bell was rung at Caddo for the last time on May 13, 1971, for Mass of Thanksgiving and Transferal concelebrated by the pastors of the Durant-Caddo and the Coalgate-Atoka Catholic churches with many friends and Catholics in attendance from Durant, Caddo, Atoka, Coalgate and Oklahoma City. The historical marker and the old bell were installed on the grounds of St. Francis Catholic Church in Atoka in 1972, the centennial year of old St. Patrick's Church where the bell will henceforth announce the beginning of mass and services. A brief history of the early years of Atoka's first Catholic Church and of its founders follows here, contributed by the Reverend John Michalicka:

St. Patrick's, Atoka, I.T., was the first Catholic Church built within the two (Indian and Oklahoma) territories in 1872. Prior to this the Jesuit Fathers of Osage Mission, Kansas, occasionally visited the settlers of Atoka and surrounding country.[1]

The Missouri, Kansas, & Texas Railroad was completed between McAlester, I.T., and Denison, Texas in the early 70's. A number of these railroad hands located in Atoka—some being Catholic. Father Michael Smyth, a thirty-six-year-old priest from Fort Smith, made missionary rounds in Indian Territory—Atoka being one town. Under his direction the Catholics of Atoka constructed a place of worship.

[1] "Historical Resume of Catholic Rural Centers in Oklahoma," by Rev. Urban de Hasque, D.D.

(From an old photo supplied by Fr. John Michalicka)

St. Patrick's Catholic Church
Built at Atoka, Indian Territory
1872

The Church was a small wooden frame, single story building next to the railroad tracks [east]. It was a landmark until 1926 when it was sold for salvage. Some of the first parishioners who helped with building St. Patrick's were people like John Hardin, a local businessman. A descriptive advertisement in *The Atoka Vindicator* gives some idea of his store—"Dealer in Dry Goods, Groceries, Hats & Caps, Boots & Shoes, and General Merchandise, Also General Forwarding & Commission Merchant. . . . Store on Main Street (near the toll-bridge) Atoka, C.N."[2]

[2] *The Atoka Vindicator*, June 19, 1875.

Another Catholic resident and merchant must have been a good friend of the editor of *The Vindicator*. John A. Dillon often had little spots in the Atoka paper about his choice tobacco, cigars, and baking goods which the editor included in non-paid-for columns. Mr. Dillon was the proprietor of a boarding house and store. He kept bottled sulphur water from the celebrated Atoka well but this wasn't included in a paid ad: "John A. Dillon, Atoka, C.N. Provisions, Store & Feed, Confectioner—always on hand. Meals at all hours."[3]

The greater number of the first Catholics were Irish section men and a few traders, but a couple like Governor Smallwood and John Fisher were influential among the Choctaw Nation.

Through the generosity of these first "parishioners" the first Catholic church was built in Indian Territory in 1872. Most were poor and the material was scarce, so the structure was not elaborate. "It was a simple box house, unfinished inside. The altar was rough and had been made from dry goods boxes donated by a Mr. Hebert who was engaged in the general merchandise business."[4]

Fr. "Mike" as he was frequently called, visited Atoka on the average of once a month. Fr. Smyth was born in County Cavan, Ireland, April, 1835, and ordained in Fort Smith on Trinity Sunday, 1868, by Bishop Fitzgerald. He was a missionary in a very real sense. In addition to being a circuit rider, he served such Arkansas towns as Bonanza, Van Buren, and Fayetteville. In the latter two, new churches were erected under his direction. While his well-known brother, Fr. Lawrence Smith, was a pastor in Fort Smith and looked after and cared for the spiritual welfare of many infamous characters sentenced by Judge Isaac Parker, Fr. Michael worked among his scattered Catholics and looked after "his stations by overland, and for weeks at a time he was in the saddle going from point to point, attending to the small congregations that were scattered over his territory."[5]

The first marriage performed in St. Patrick's, Atoka, was between Susan Smallwood and John A. Dillon before Fr. Michael Smyth.[6]

A new missionary was coming to Atoka in 1875. The May 1st, 1875, issue of the *Atoka Vindicator* carried a note that a Catholic priest at Shreveport, Louisiana, wanted a copy of the Atoka paper and a Choctaw definer and a grammar. Later that year, the October 13th issue informed the readers

[3] *Ibid.*, March 27, 1875.

[4] "The Catholic Church on the Oklahoma Frontier, 1824–1907," by Sister Ursula M. Thomas, p. 67.

[5] "Memorial to Vy. Rev. Lawrence Smyth," John E. Dunn, *Elevator Press*, Fort Smith, Ark., December, 1900, p. 61.

[6] "Register of Marriages for Fort Smith & The Missions Attached Thereto, 1845–1900," by Lawrence & Michael Smyth.

that Fr. Michael would visit his usual appointments until the new priest, Father Isidore Robot O.S.B. arrived—"at which time the Nation will be left exclusively to their charge" (Benedictine Fathers).[7]

The history of Catholic activity of Atoka from October, 1875, centers around Fr. Isidore Robot and the Benedictines.

Fr. Robot, born in the village of Tharoiseau, France, July 18, 1837, joined the Benedictine monastery at Pierre qui Vire. He spent a few years after his ordination (1862) at Pierre qui Vire. During the Franco-Prussian War he was a military chaplain serving at the front. Following the French defeat at Sedan he escaped to Belgium and back to Paris.

The Archbishop of New Orleans requested missionaries for North America. Fr. Robot made an immediate offer. He and Brother Dominic Lambert sailed from Havre on January 14, 1873. Archbishop Perche welcomed the two. Arrangements were made to work in the Diocese of Natchitoche under Bishop Martin. He placed Fr. Isidore in charge of an epidemic of yellow fever. Following this he served Bayou Pierre from Shreveport where he was a chaplain for the Sisters of Charity.[8]

Fr. Robot became the first resident pastor of Atoka, October, 1875. It was from here that he and his boon companion, Brother Dominic Lambert undertook their exploration of the Atoka assignment and the territory.

Shortly after their arrival they went by railway to Denison, Texas, to consult with Father Francis Derue. There they met John Fischer, an Indian convert to the Catholic Church, who lived at Bryan Creek (in present Bryan County), Chickasaw Nation. Mr. Fischer became a great benefactor to Fr. Isidore. It was during his Denison sojourn that the Atoka Railway station burned to the ground.

Without much delay on their return, the two Benedictines started on another journey to the Pottawatomie country. They hired two horses, and without a guide set out to the Northwest. The first night they slept on the floor of a public room in Stonewall, Chickasaw Nation, with a room of Chickasaws. Their court was in session so the town was full. The next day they arrived near the South Canadian River. Here they were welcomed by the Montford Johnsons—Mrs. Johnson being a Catholic.[9]

The first Mass to be offered in the Pottawatomie reservation was in the Bourbonnais cabin. Here among the Pottawatomies he found the Anderson, Millot, and Bourbonnais families who had recently moved from St. Mary's, Kansas. He remained a few days and baptized many of the Indian

[7] *The Vindicator*, Oct. 13, 1875.

[8] "The Monastic Centers of the Order of St. Benedict in Oklahoma," Joseph F. Murphy, OSB. (Benedictine Color Press, Shawnee, Oklahoma, 1942), p. 4.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

children.[10] It was during this visit that many of the prominent men among the Pottawatomies showed great enthusiasm about having a permanent mission established among them.[11] (Within the next year, Sacred Heart has its start from this meeting).

After their return to Atoka, Father attended the yearly council of the Choctaw Indians at Armstrong Academy, six miles from Caddo, during the first week of November, 1875. Mr. Benjamin Smallwood invited Fr. Robot there and introduced him to Coleman Cole, then Principal Chief of the Choctaws. Fr. Isidore asked about establishing a school among the Choctaws. The Council was favorably inclined, but because the Choctaws stipulated that if the school was built it would "be under the control of the Nation's rules."[12] Fr. Robot did not act on their invitation.

In Atoka, during January, 1876, a small house was built near the church. Later that month, on January 24, a small day school was opened.[13] The teacher for this Atoka Neighborhood School was a Catholic lady from Virginia, Miss Atchisson. The school was short lived but by spring Miss Atchisson had an enrollment of 30 pupils—20 Indian children and 10 white. An effort was made to get financial assistance from the district trustees of the Choctaw Nation but due to lack of funds it did not reopen in the fall.

In March, 1876, Fr. Robot and Br. Dominic started on another expedition over the territory; this time to the Southwest. Their trek was to cover some 340 miles. From Caddo, they went to Tishomingo, the Chickasaw Nation capital. A part of their itinerary from Tishomingo to Cherokee Town (on the Washita River, near present Davis, Oklahoma) was by a hog merchant for $300 dollars (one cent a pound); at Cherokee Town they visited the Catholics in the vicinity and proceeded to Erin Springs, Rush Springs, and Fort Sill; thanks to the Shirley family of Cherokee they now had a team of horses. At Fort Sill Fr. Isidore offered Mass in the Post Auditorium for the Catholic soldiers and returned via Cherokee Town where once again Mrs. Shirley hired another team for them to return to Atoka.[14]

Benjamin Franklin Smallwood, who had invited Fr. Robot to the Choctaw Council the previous fall, continued to show "great interest in Father Robot's plans for the Territory, and it was he who gave much material assistance and encouragement in the Industrial School later built at Lehigh."[15] Mr. B. F. Smallwood was a member of the Council but later

[10] "Annals of Sacred Heart Mission, 1876–1933," Ms., in St. Gregory's Abbey archives, Shawnee, Oklahoma.
[11] Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[12] "Annals," *op. cit.*
[13] *The Vindicator*, Jan. 26, 1876.
[14] Murphy, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–9.
[15] Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

he became the Principal Chief (or "Governor") of the Choctaw Nation.

Friday, April 14, 1876, the pealing of a new bell was heard in the Atoka community. St. Patrick's now rang the Angelus Bell regularly at 6 a.m., 12 noon, and 6 p.m. This heartened the residents for the editor notes "it is really a pleasure to hear its clear, deepthroated notes."[16]

The Benedictine missionaries once again ventured north of Atoka to the Osage Nation on July 14, 1876. This time they were better equipped for their highwayless travel. Judge Boyd, brother-in-law of John Fisher, donated a spring wagon to the Benedictines. This no doubt eased some of the hardships of uncertainty for their route was one of some 1,065 miles. In their route they went as far as Pawhuska, capital of the Osage Nation, then returning through Okmulgee and the Sac and Fox Agency. They meandered from Shawnee Town (near present Tecumseh), to Wewoka and the Seminole country before returning home.[17]

During this missionary trek to the Osage Nation a letter arrived at Atoka appointing Fr. Robot head of the Catholic spiritual jurisdiction of Indian Territory.

Father Robot was the only priest in Indian Territory when on July 9, 1876, he was appointed Prefect Apostolic by Pope Pius IX. He was given exclusive spiritual administrative jurisdiction over this "prefecture Apostolic" which was now made separate from the diocese of Little Rock, Arkansas. This vast territory of some 69,000 square miles had an estimated population of some 75,000 Indians and 20,000 whites.

The first two recruits to join the new "Bishop" (Prefect Apostolic) in Indian Territory were two Benedictine novices, Bernard Murphy and Joseph Shea, on February 2, 1877. The Pottawatomies and the Osages asked for Catholic missionaries. The Benedictines were able to meet the Pottawatomie proposal and agreed to build a school and monastery among them. This was Sacred Heart, which was located four miles north of the South Canadian River, on Bald Hill.

Sacred Heart became the Benedictine center; however, Atoka never did suffer from want of priests in the early years. Fr. Robot and other Benedictines took turns in caring for St. Patrick's and the people.[18] Father Hilary Cassal OSB, was pastor of Atoka and surrounding missions in the mid-80's until 1887. Early in 1887 Fr. Savianian Louismet succeeded him.

[16] *The Vindicator*, April 19, 1876.

[17] Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[18] *The Indian Advocate*, September, 1901. For history of Sacred Heart Mission, see John Laracy's article on "Sacred Heart Mission and Abbey" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V, pp. 234–250.

Later that year Fr. Louismet moved his residence to Lehigh because most of the Catholics under his care were working in the coal mines there.

Atoka became a mission of Lehigh in 1887. Fr. Placidus Dierick OSB (1891) once again located in Atoka for a few months. Perhaps he was living in Atoka when Bishop Meerschaert made his visit through Boggy Depot, Atoka, McAlester, and Coalgate. Fr. Ramiro Fornelli (1893) resided at St. Patrick's for a short time. From this time it became a mission attended from Lehigh once a month.

Fr. Isidore resigned as Prefect Apostolic in 1885, due to ill health, but a successor (Fr. Ignatius Jean) was not appointed by the Holy See until August 20, 1886. Abbot Robot died in Dallas on February 15, 1887.

The old landmark by the railroad tracks, St. Patrick's, was severely damaged by a tornadic wind in 1924—also the priest-house. Fr. William Hall is said to be the last one to have celebrated Mass in the old church. Fr. Martin Mulcahy OSB, stationed at Coalgate, offered Miss monthly at Atoka in 1925–26 in the home of the Faudrees, two miles south of town, and the Wagner home (husband was an undertaker). Two graves (ten feet from the church front door) are of John A. Dillon (deceased, July 1, 1891) and a railroad Irishman who died in an Atoka Hotel.[19]

The old church was sold October, 1926, to C. J. Faudree for $100.00.[20] The bell was transferred to the recently completed church of Caddo (1923). The church lots (Block 17, Lots 2 & 3), bounded on the north by "B" Street and on the west by Indiana Street, were sold to James R. Johnson for $80.00, May 11, 1937.

The new Catholic Church of Atoka, St. Francis, was started while Fr. Frank B. Warnke was pastor and dedicated on Tuesday, October 22, 1952, by Bishop McGuinness, during the pastorate of Fr. James Traut, Coalgate.

At the time of the dedication the Catholic families of Atoka were: Nash Feighney (Wilhelmina), Peggy Blankenship, John Kuhn (Rose), the Faudree's, Dr. A. C. Fina (Helen), Joe Voto (Teresina) and Henry Zuech (Mary). The first baby baptized after the dedication was Karyn Fina, December 7, 1952.

[19] Fr. Martin Mulcahy letter to Urban de Hasque, March 2, 1939.
[20] John L. Boland letter, Attorney-at-Law, Caddo, Okla., March 1, 1939.

A HISTORY OF WAGONER, OKLAHOMA, FROM S. S. COBB

*By L. W. Wilson**

I was born in the Old Cherokee Nation of Tennessee, December 12, 1865, and am of Cherokee descent. I have lived in the Indian Territory and Oklahoma for the last sixty-eight years, in the vicinity of what is now Wagoner.

In 1870 our family traveled by train to the then terminus of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, which was Fort Scott, Kansas. Arriving at Fort Scott, Kansas, a mule team and an ox team, together with a harness, wagons and a full camp equipment was bought to complete our journey to the Cherokee Nation's capital, Tahlequah.

The route followed was the old Military Road, sometimes referred to as the Texas Road, and later called the M.K.&T. Trail.

At Baxter Springs, Kansas, we replenished our food supply with such articles as sugar, flour, meal, salt, and ammunition for our rifles. Such food as meat was not needed for much wild game which could be killed along the route. This game consisted of deer, prairie chickens, squirrels, rabbits, quail, wild pigeons and other game.

Traveling the old Military Road or Texas Road most all streams were ferried or forded; however, there were two toll bridges between Baxter Springs, Kansas, and where the trail crossed the Arkansas River near the present Muskogee Water Works plant.

The first ferry crossed was a cable ferry which crossed the Neosho River near the present town of Afton, the Carey Ferry.

The first toll bridge was across Cabin Creek and was owned and operated by a Cherokee Indian named Albert.

The second toll bridge, across Pryor Creek near the present town of Pryor, was also operated by a Cherokee Indian whose name was McCracken.

At last the Arkansas River was reached. It was noticeable that the Texas Road at this point was about midway between the mouths of the Grand

* This interview with S. S. Cobb was written by L. W. Wilson, journalist in the Writers Project (WPA), 1938. The paper appears in "Indian Pioneer History" (Indian Archives, O.H.S.), Vol. 104, pp. 335–358. Samuel Sylvester Cobb was an intermarried Cherokee. A brief biography of Cobb appears in "Intruders or Injustice" by M. McFadden in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 447–449.

and Verdigris River. The ferry which crossed the Arkansas River at this point was known as the Sutherland Ferry. We did not cross this ferry but camped near and were told by returning some three or four miles from whence we came, we could hit an old trail that had been used by the soldiers during the war and come on to the Military Ferry across Grand River which would put us in Fort Gibson.

We did as we were told and drove into Fort Gibson. After arriving there we were directed to the road leading to Park Hill and Tahlequah and on this road we passed what would be the north side of the present National Cemetery and came to a little village named Maynard on Maynard Bayou. After leaving Maynard the trail began to wind through the hills, crossing many times Maynard Bayou and we finally came to a large spring where many camped. This spring later became known as the Gulagher Spring. The next stop was Park Hill and then we landed at our destination, Tahlequah.

In a short time, possibly ten months, we left Tahlequah and returned to what is now the Riverside School District, south and east of the present town of Wagoner, or to be more exact two miles south and two miles east of Wagoner. At this location Father paid to a Cherokee Indian $1500.00 for the improvements and possession on a place. The improvements consisted of a two room box house, a log barn and some few acres fenced with a rail fence. All the land was owned in common and one could farm all the land he chose so long as he did not infringe on another's rights.

Life and Customs

Most people lived in log houses and improvements were practically nothing. There were seldom more than five or ten acres cultivated by one family. Corn and wheat were raised and we usually hauled it to Cincinnati, Arkansas, to mill, as this was the nearest mill to us. One of these mills was a tread mill, the other was a water mill. These mills were owned by two men, Wray and Moore. Later on we took our grain to the Hilder-Brandt Mill up on Flint Creek, which was eight or ten miles west of Siloam Springs, Arkansas, but in the Indian Territory.

We did some trading at a trading post near the present town of Okay and at another near the present town of Chouteau. Most of our supplies, however, were carted by freight wagons from Baxter Springs, Kansas.

The people had plenty of wild game and wild fowls. Hogs ran wild in the canebrakes along the Verdigris and Grand Rivers and fresh pork was available at all times.

About 1875, we built an eight-room frame house of pine lumber. The Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad was operating, but the lumber for the house was hauled by teams owned by my father from Stringtown, on the lower end of the Texas Road.

Schools and Churches

According to the comparatively new country at this time, schools in the Cherokee Nation were good and English was taught in all the schools.

While first at Tahlequah some of my older brothers and sisters attended an Academy at Cincinnati, Arkansas, which was a frame building of three rooms, and I remember that it was painted red. I was too young then to go to school.

My first teacher was my aunt who lived some few miles east of Gibson Station in 1873. This old aunt held school in her home and taught some eight or ten children besides me.

Near the present Riverside School, southeast of Wagoner, was at that time a Cherokee School which taught English and it was this school I attended until 1884. The first teacher in this school was Miss McDowell and then came Robert Hill, Mr. Drake and Mr. Marshall. After leaving this school I attended the Agricultural School at Manhattan, Kansas, from which I was graduated.

My brothers and sisters had attended the Female Seminary and Male Seminary. One brother, however, attended college at Manhattan, Kansas, before I did.

One of my sisters taught school at what was known as the Hogan Institute, started by a Presbyterian preacher. This school was a frame building and was located some five or six miles east of the present town of Choteau. Meetings were usually held in the school houses and in this part of the Cherokee Nation the predominating faiths were Cumberland Presbyterian and Methodist. During the summer time, usually after all crops were laid by, arbors were constructed under which meetings wehe held. These arbor meetings lasted from one to two weeks and people brought their provisions, camped out and when not engaged in church services, enjoyed visiting.

I remember one of these arbor meetings was held east of what is now Choteau, and was conducted by Reverend Hogan each year for many years. Some four miles southeast of Wagoner and near our home was another arbor meeting held annually by Reverend N. J. Crawford and Reverend Bryant. At these arbor meetings the faith preached made little difference as all denominations participated. The church near the arbor grounds south-

ast of new Wagoner was a one room log church and was built by the Cumberland Presbyterian members.

Ranches

The Edwards Brothers Ranch west of Wagoner, across the Verdigris River, with Jim Smith as foreman, handled about one thousand head of cattle yearly. The Gibson and Parkinson Ranch near Magis handled one thousand head yearly, branded with a lightning T with Charles Kirk as foreman. Later, Louis Hart was foreman.

The Winfield Scott Ranch northwest of Wagoner handled about seven hundred head yearly. Tom Wray was the foreman. This ranch was near the present town of Lelietta.

The Merchant Brothers, Sam, John and Jack, from Abilene, Texas, also had a small ranch near that place. They handled 100 head yearly and Jack acted as foreman.

Walker and Weldon operated a small ranch north of Wagoner on Flat Rock Creek.

Cattle on these ranches were brought from Texas by rail over the Missouri, Kansas, Texas Railroad to Lelietta, unloaded into corrals at the railroad station, rested and watered and then driven to the ranches. Cattle that died enroute were skinned and the carcasses left to the buzzards, coyotes and wolves. A young calf born enroute, if it could follow its mother, was taken to the ranch and if it was a weakling it was given to anyone who cared to take it.

United States Marshals

The marshal, a man named Wilkinson, remained at Fort Smith, Arkansas, answering to Judge Parker of the Federal Court. Those actually in service in the Cherokee Nation were deputies, some of whom were Bass Reeves, Ike Rogers, Bill Smith, and Bud Ledbetter.

Indian Police

Indian Police were paid by the Cherokee Nation and worked along with the Deputy United States Marshals. Some of these were Sam Sixkiller, Henry Fields, Alex Cochran, Zeke Paris and Tuxie Miller.

In each of the nine districts of the Cherokee Nation were also sheriffs and deputy sheriffs.

Wagoner

Only a few live today who knew of the early day happenings and how this little city came into existence as a little switch built by the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad in 1872 on which cars could be placed to load walnut logs hauled from the timber that grew along the Grand and Verdigris Rivers.

At this time immense walnut trees were growing along the Verdigris and Grand River and the opportunity was now at hand when they could be marketed. Thousands of board feet of walnut logs were loaded on cars at this switch and from there they were hauled to the states back East to be made into furniture of all kinds as well as for walnut lumber for building purposes. It is said many of these logs were exported to European countries. This walnut timber belonged to the Cherokee Indians, but I doubt if they ever received one cent for it. Walnut logs sold f.o.b. this switch from $8.00 to $9.00 per thousand board feet.

Post Office at Wagoner

From the loading switch grew the town of Wagoner and as the population continued to grow a post office was necessary. Mail for this little community was received at Gibson Station, some six miles south on the Missouri, Kansas, Texas Railroad, but with the railroad there seemed to be no reason why Wagoner should not have a post office and save the long way to travel to get the mail. The railroad divided the village. On the west side of the track was the Davis and Jones Store and on the east side was the Dr. Bennett Store.

A committee west of the track met and decided that the location of the post office was to be near that store, while another committee thought it should be located near the store on the east side of the track. Interest ran high and much enthusiasm prevailed.

Besides being a merchant, Dr. Bennett was also an Indian Agent and had much influence in Washington, D.C. At this present time J. S. Clarkson was the fourth assistant United States Postmaster General. F. M. Davis of Davis and Jones was a friend of J. S. Clarkson before his coming west to the Indian Territory, and Clarkson had promised Mr. Davis by com-

munication that the post office would be located at any place chosen by him. Weeks passed with no post office, and the people became more and more restless. Dr. Bennett made a trip to Washington to see the Assistant Postmaster General and promised the populace of the village he would have the authority when he returned. He arrived in Washington, contacted Mr. Clarkson and was told by Clarkson that he had promised Davis the post office location west of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas track, but to that date had not notified him authoritively and for him to return the next day and he would consider his proposition further. The next day Dr. Bennett returned to Clarkson's office but was told by his secretary that Clarkson would be out for the day. Dr. Bennett felt much dumbfounded but finally the secretary told him that Mr. Clarkson had instructed him to grant any demand made by Bennett in regard to a post office for Wagoner.

Dr. Bennett returned to Wagoner and the post office was opened east of the track on the corner where the present Lamb Mercantile Company is located and W. W. Teague was appointed as the first post master, in 1887. I was appointed second postmaster in 1890.

City Marshal Displays Valor at Wagoner

The people of the village loved their city marshal, Ed Reed, who had the nerve and courage to face gunfire to protect them and their property. He was a crack shot with the six gun and true was his aim with a rifle.

Two outlaws well known to the pioneers of Eastern Indian Territory were the Crittendon brothers, Zeke and Dick. All kinds of depredations were committed by them, from robbing a smokehouse to high-jacking, horse stealing and cattle rustling.

One day at noon these two brothers rode into Wagoner horseback, shooting up the town. Shots which rang out along their line of travel, put the people to cover. Window panes broken from the shots fired by them clattered and fell to the sidewalks. They knew Ed Reed would be at dinner and thus took this advantage. When he arrived on the scene every merchant and citizen was armed and ready for action. Not one of the citizens, however, had as yet fired a shot at the outlaws. All at once like a bolt of lightning out of a clear sky, they came galloping around the corner near Ed Reed and, with a flash, the play of death had begun. The two outlaws and Ed Reed, in close quarters, shot it out. Zeke fell from his horse dead on the street. Dick continued the battle and circled back to his dead brother and as he did so Ed killed the horse on which Dick rode, and then killed Dick before he could get his feet out of the stirrups.

Cattle Rustlers Around Wagoner

The city of Wagoner in the Cherokee Nation was nearly on the line of the Creek Nation and much enmity existed between the Cherokees and ranchmen of the Cherokee Nation and the negroes, half-breed Creeks and Creeks of the Creek Nation due to cattle losses.

In 1880 cattle were being ranged by the Cherokees and ranchers on the prairies of the blue stem grass in the Delaware and Saline Districts of the Cherokee Nation between the Verdigris and Grand Rivers. As the winter months came on, the cattle drifted south and at spring time cowpunchers and horse wranglers, along with their chuck wagons, would start their round-up. Often many cattle drifted over into the Creek Nation where they were stolen and sold or in some instances eaten by the negroes. As our family lived so near the Creek Nation, we knew almost every man in the Territory where the cattle drifted and particularly those of William C. Cobb, my brother.

United States marshals, as well as the officials of the Cherokee Government, came to my brother and asked that he give them information if possible to locate these rustlers and deputized him to assist them, and he gave them his hearty support.

Naturally these rustlers and their friends had a hatred in their heart toward my brother for it. It had been through his efforts that three of these rustlers were hanged to a tree at the present town of Tallahassee.

The next day after the hanging thirty or forty of the rustlers came to the Cherokee side. My brother and a fellow named Alex Cowan rode from home over to Gibson Station after the mail, and on the way over the party of rustlers, led by Dick Glass, accosted William and Alex Cowan and demanded that they halt, sit still on their horses and not to reach for their guns or they would kill both of them, but in the twinkling of an eye William and Alex drew their guns and a battle ensued. When the smoke cleared away three of the rustlers were dead and William and Alex Cowan were seriously injured.

The rustlers rode away, leaving them to die, but the noise of the firing brought the Indian Police, Six Killer and Fields, to the scene from Gibson Station and they found William and Alex still living.

The injured men were taken to the home of an uncle of William's, some three-quarters of a mile away and then they hurried to Fort Gibson to the Fort, secured the post surgeon and returned with him to administer unto them. William never recovered, and is buried at the Cobb Cemetery one mile north of the present Riverside School in Wagoner County on the

old Cobb home place. After months of care and attention, Alex Cowan lived to tell of the encounter.

Dan Lucky was tried in the Cherokee Courts at Tahlequah for the murder of my brother, William. The trial occurred during the administration of Principal Chief Dennis W. Bushyhead. Dan Lucky was convicted and sentenced to hang, but was reprieved by the Principal Chief. The search continued for the rest of the rustlers and some three hundred Cherokees camped at the Cobb home place for some two months, determined to invade the Creek Nation if these murderers and rustlers were not caught and hung. These Cherokees placed themselves under the command of Captain Jackson from the fort at Fort Gibson.

The Indian Police worked day and night to catch their victims and after days and days brought them in either dead or alive. Police Six-Killer and Fields located two in a tent in the Arkansas River bottoms near the old Creek Agency which was near the present Spaulding Bridge northwest of Muskogee. A fight ensued and the two rustlers were killed. Police Charles McClellan located the leader, Dick Glass, below Muskogee on Elk Creek and killed him on the spot, together with four others of the gang. In time all were brought to death with gun shots from officers.

There was not a place of worship in the village of Wagoner to accommodate the few who feared God. Then one day a Cumberland Presbyterian minister, Reverend R. C. Parks came to the village to lead and teach the people. Reverend Parks caused the first church to be built in the present city of Wagoner in 1888.

In the next year or so the few good people of the Methodist faith living in the realms of the village caused to be built the Methodist Church.

Today, Wagoner, like many other Oklahoma cities, has churches of most Protestant faiths, as well as a Catholic Church.

Early Day Merchants in Wagoner

Davis and Jones conducted a general merchandise store on the west side of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas tracks and Dr. Bennett ran a store on the east side of the track. Later, came Parkinson and McCrary with a general merchandise store and a small drug store was opened up on the corner now occupied by Lamb Grocery which later became the first post office.

During the days of these early merchants, the farmers in the vicinity had formed an organization known as "The Farmers Alliance" which, in a sense, was a union organization. On a certain date the citizens met at the town well for the purpose of determining once and for all which merchants

they should patronize, Davis and Jones or Parkinson and McCrary. Before the designated hour a certain party whose name I no not care to mention came to me and asked if I had been to the depot to get his express freight as he had asked me to do on my previous trip to town. I told him I had not and this party then went to the depot to find his express on hand. It came from Bloomfield, Arkansas, and was billed as syrup. It was a five gallon jug with a cone top in a container and around the jug was syrup but in the jug were five gallons of hard liquor.

This man carried the liquor to the gathering at the well and before a decision was made as to who should have their trade, the entire body got drunk, adjourned sine die and never did meet again.

Before the town of Wagoner was ever thought of, the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad was built as far as Gibson Station in 1871. The St. Louis, Iron Mountain, and Southern Railroad was built into Wagoner in 1888 and later made this town their division point, naturally bringing many families to make their homes in the city.

Some ten years after this road had built from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to Coffeyville, Kansas, I had occasion to take the train to Fort Smith on business and on the train was a United States deputy marshal, Ike Rogers. The train pulled into Fort Gibson and stopped and Ike alighted from the train onto the platform at the station and as he did so he was killed by a man named Goldsby, an outlaw. Those were the days when most people carried guns and a battle ensued with a man named Bill Smith and others trying to kill Goldsby.

The Missouri, Oklahoma and Gulf Railroad, now the Kansas, Oklahoma and Gulf Railroad, built through in 1906 to Muskogee from Miami and it was their intention to have a competitive line with the Missouri, Kansas, Texas Railroad to the Gulf of Mexico but Statehood occurred in 1907 and the line never was built farther than Denison, Texas.

Wagoner's Water and Light System

From the "Town Well," in 1904, came the erection of the large standpipe on the hill of the city's northern edge, with pipe lines leading to all the business houses and residences and to the railroad shops, for use at a nominal price.

To make the water system complete, large main pipe lines were laid, fire plugs installed to cope with fire. Sewers are co-partners with a water system all of which make every home a modern home as far as water is concerned.

The residents of Wagoner first used candle lights, then kerosene lamps and later had gas lights, then electric lights, with a power plant located in the south part of the city, operating large dynamos producing electric current. Installation of a white way along the walks in the business district and arc lights on streets at intersections followed and today Wagoner is a well lighted little city.

Financing by Merchants at Wagoner

As there were no banks in the early days the merchants did the financing and their method was simple. For example, if a farmer should care to trade with a particular merchant and required credit, he would mortgage his livestock, usually for a certain amount, to carry him for a certain period, usually a year. The mortgage was drawn up and completed and the merchant would issue him coupons of different denominations, good at his store for any article or articles the farmer required, whether it be food stuff, clothing, tools or other necessities. This farmer would come into the store, make his purchases and tended a sufficient amount of these coupons to pay for some. In short, these coupons were used the same as cash. By so doing no itemized accounts were made or kept, thus eliminating a great deal of bookkeeping.

In some nearby towns like Muskogee and Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, merchants in some instances issued what they called scrip, something like our present day paper dollar, but no scrip was ever issued by the merchants in Wagoner.

Townsite Platted by the Dawes Commission for the City of Wagoner

In 1893, the Dawes Commission started to function at the Cherokee National Capital. All lands of the Cherokees were owned in common but this commission began enrollment of citizens of the Cherokee tribe with the intention of making allotments of land to each individual of the tribe. All lands were to be allotted except townsites and towns already established; Wagoner was one of these towns.

Surveyors were sent on the ground to make the survey as to the number of acres required for each town, as well as to lay out the streets and alleys. The larger the town was platted, of course, the more chance there was for expansion. Wagoner, being thrifty and a railroad center, the Commission

was generous in giving to the town plenty of ground—more than was occupied at the time.

The land of the Cherokee Nation was appraised at from 50¢ to $6.50 per acre and no citizen was entitled to have more than $325.00 worth of land. This accounts for the fact that some of the Indians possess more acres than others. In most instances the Indian took his allotment of land where he lived, due to the improvements, and the Commission gave him this preference.

The land around the city of Wagoner was appraised at $2.50 per acre and on this basis of appraisal, the old Cobb home place, some four miles southeast of Wagoner was allotted to my mother and the rest of our family took allotments adjoining hers.

I am at present engaged in the real estate business in Wagoner and have my office today in the building I caused to be constructed years ago, at the same location where the first post office was started and where I operated the first little drug store about fifty years ago.

Some Indian amusements were, cornstalk shoots with bows and arrows, horse races, picnics and stomp dances. I don't like to think of them now but I enjoyed them when I was a young man.

INDIAN AGENTS OF THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES IN INDIAN TERRITORY

The two articles titled "Choctaw and Chickasaw Indian Agents, 1831–1874" and "Cherokee Indian Agents, 1830–1874" published in this number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* are the first of four articles to be published under the general title of "Indian Agents of the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory." The two concluding articles titled "Creek Indian Agents, 1834–1874" and "Seminole Indian Agents, 1842–1874" will be published in the next number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

NEW FORMAT

The Publications Department of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* was pleased, as they hoped the general public would be, with the Summer 1972 issue of *The Chronicles.* This issue was the first published with the format designed by the Oklahoma University Press. The lower half of the cover carries the picture of the old Peoria Hotel, Peoria, Indian Territory, which appeared in brown tones flush to the borders of the cover. The top half of the cover carries the title of the quarterly in lower case and other information in smaller print leaving space enough, as the layout artist says, "to breathe," or for "a clean layout." The new format is followed throughout the magazine and adds much to the general presentation and attractiveness of the quarterly published by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

ANNOUNCEMENT FROM THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

The History Department of Oklahoma State University announces the following activities and staff changes effective with the autumn semester of 1972: Homer L. Knight, professor and head of the History Department, became professor and head emeritus; Odie B. Faulk, professor, became head of the History Department; Joe A. Stout, Jr., assistant professor of history at Missouri Southern State College, became assistant professor of history and director of the Will Rogers Research Project; Edward M. Walters, assistant professor of history at Alabama State University, became assistant professor of history; Wilmer H. Paine, Jr., visiting assistant professor of history, became assistant professor of history at Tarkio College; Robert

E. Smith, part-time instructor, became assistant professor of history at Missouri Southern State College; Charles W. Harris, part-time instructor, became assistant professor of history at Oklahoma Southeastern State College; Reid A. Holland, part-time instructor, became Assistant Program Manager of the Institute of Human Affairs at South Oklahoma City Junior College; M. Ray McCullar, part-time instructor, became instructor of history at South Oklahoma City Junior College; Tommy W. Stringer, part-time instructor, became instructor of history at Corsicana Junior College; Lloyd W. Goss, part-time instructor, became associate professor of history at Oklahoma East Central State College; L. Edward Carter, part-time instructor, became assistant professor of journalism at the University of Oklahoma; Wayne N. Metz, part-time instructor, became assistant professor of history at Kentucky Wesleyan College; Theodore L. Agnew, professor, was awarded a Sabbatical Leave of Absence for research during the autumn semester; Alexander M. Ospovat, associate professor, returned from a Fulbright Research Grant for study at the University of Nottingham, England, for the 1971–72 academic year; George F. Jewsbury, assistant professor, returned from an Advanced Scholar Fulbright Grant for teaching and research at the University of Nancy, France, for the 1971–72 academic year; Warren B. Morris, part-time instructor, returned from a Fulbright-Haynes Grant for study at the University of Frankfurt, Germany, for the 1971–72 academic year.

MEMORIALS TO DECEASED MEMBERS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Mr. Ernest Robert Ambrose: Died March 19, 1972. Mr. Ambrose lived the last of his 84 years in Texas, though his parents, Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Ambrose, were early settlers in Oklahoma having made the run for a new home here. Mr. Ambrose had been married 64 years and is survived by his wife. He was a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mr. Oscar Lu Cordell: May 26, 1887–November 26, 1972. Mr. Cordell was born in Helenwood, Tennessee, and moved to Shawnee, Oklahoma Territory in 1901. Later in the same year he moved to Wewoka, Indian Territory. He lived in Oklahoma City until 1920, when he moved to Tulsa, his home until the time of his death. He was a life member of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and is survived by a daughter, Emily Cordell Scott, West Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

Mrs. Ruth Tenison West: Died November 12, 1972. Mrs. West is survived by her husband, Mr. Arthur West of Commerce, Texas; a step-son, Robert West of Daingerfield; her mother, Mrs. H. L. Tenison of Dallas; a sister, Mrs. Sue Bess Hogg of Dallas and two nieces and two grandchildren. Mrs. West was a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society and was a contributor to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, having written an article relating to American Indian history, a subject of life-long interest for her.

ACTIVITIES IN THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Education Department: The Education Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society was represented at the October (1972) meeting of the OEA with a booth in the Exhibits Building at the State Fair Grounds. This exhibit booth sold books, brochures, pamphlets and other items of information on Oklahoma normally found at the reception desk of the Historical Society. The booth proved to be a popular exhibit with teachers and friends from across the state.

Reception Desk: The receptionist at the Oklahoma Historical Society has announced that new merchandise will soon be coming into her gift section of the reception area at the front entrance to the Historical Society Building. Along with the book section representing the Oklahoma University Press, orders have been made for novelty items from New Mexico as well as handmade items from American Indians here in Oklahoma.

OHS Board Member Honored: Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society and professor of history at Oklahoma State University has been singularly honored recently. He has been named by the Oklahoma State University Regents to the newly created Oppenheim History chair. The new chair was founded by the family and friends of the late Barbara Oppenheim. Her husband's family have been residents of Oklahoma City since statehood.

Oklahoma Heritage House: Oklahoma Heritage House, a gift to the Oklahoma Memorial Association presented by the late Judge Robert A. Hefner, a former member of the State Supreme Court and member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society for many years, is now open to the public and a major attraction to all interested in Oklahoma heritage. Although the house itself is of little historic significance, its beautifully detailed interior, antiques and porcelains reflect the interests

and life of one of the prominent families of Oklahoma after statehood. It is now headquarters for the Oklahoma Heritage Association and Hall of Fame which was founded by Mrs. Anna B. Corn in 1928, as the Oklahoma Memorial Association and Oklahoma Hall of Fame. Mrs. Corn was a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society Board of Directors for many years. The Hall of Fame's 63rd annual banquet was held on November 16th, 1972.

President of the OHS: Mr. George Shirk, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, who at this present writing is in England participating in the Brighton Run and a trip to the Middle East, has achieved national recognition with his recent election to The National Trust for Historic Preservation Executive Committee. His awareness of the importance of Oklahoma's participation on a national level was evidenced in the publication of his loose-leaf book, *Oklahoma Historical Society Annual Preservation Program* (1972 Edition) which outlines 120 historic sites of Oklahoma.

Lost America. From the Mississippi to the Pacific. By Constance M. Greiff. (Princeton, 1972. Pp. 243. $15.95.)

"We have been trading our heritage for a mass of asphalt." So wrote Mrs. Greiff in the introduction to the first of her two volumes on Lost America. The eagerly awaited second volume—the first chronicled the area east of the Mississippi River—has now been published.

The book is a combined morgue, obituary column and mortality list for America west of the Mississippi. With a minimum of text and a maximum of telling and often dramatic photographs, many whimsical and others saddening, Mrs. Greiff has collected an entire volume of structures, buildings, churches and homes that were not to survive fire, economic demise or the wrecking ball of the "redeveloper."

The architecture and character of man's efforts in the western half of our country of necessity are different from that of colonial or tidewater America, and her decision to arrange her photographic roster of destruction geographically rather than chronologically is a valid one. We sometimes are smug in our invalid assumption that the jewels from our national treasure chest of heritage are lost only in Chicago, Philadelphia or New England, because in Oklahoma "we don't have any old buildings worth saving." Mrs. Greiff plainly shows otherwise.

Oklahoma is regretfully represented in abundance. The Guthrie City Hall, the Colcord Mansion, Allen Wright home, Wapanucka Academy, join with the Baum Building and others to show that Oklahoma is not immune from the previous tragic neglect of America's architectural and cultural patrimony.

Her final chapter "Next on the List?" reads almost as though we are playing Russian Roulette with that which yet remains. True, as she says, "the roar of the bulldozer has been somewhat muted." May we hope that volumes such as this will help guide our planners and decision makers in charting where the wrecking ball swings next. Each of us too may help.

—George H. Shirk
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Present in the Past: Source Problems in American History. Edited by Armin Rappaport and Richard Traina. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972. Paperbound, pp. 498. No price listed.)

Into the maze of supplemental readings for undergraduate courses in American history comes yet another work. This single volume is representative of the current trend to emphasize American history as relevant to today's problems and issues. The editors selected the subject matter of the twenty chapters for their enduring or recurring issue in American history which they illustrate. Such themes as social status, the impact of technology upon human relationships, the proper role for women, and the search by black men and women for a full and rewarding life were chosen by the editors because of the similarity of these issues with those of our own time. That this work emphasizes these currently popular aspects of social history is both its strength and its weakness.

The format of this book has an advantage over a book of documents such as Commager has edited in that each chapter deals with specific themes and is introduced with a general overview by an historian in that area of study. Unfortunately, the editors failed to provide any information about these historians or their credentials for writing such an introduction. In addition, the editors failed to be consistent in the form of these introductions. Chapters twelve and thirteen provided a short but excellent footnoted bibliography for those interested in further reading while the other chapters are lacking this important tool for research. Because the editors stress current themes and issues three chapters dealing with urban development, two on the status of women, and two concerning the role of the Blacks are presented. These topics and others concerned with social welfare are treated in depth while some topics—such as the migration, expansion, and development of the West—are ignored. Furthermore, the three chapters dealing with diplomacy seem strangely out of place within this setting.

The editors can be commended for their attempt to bring together a book of readings which is relevant to today's issues. However, they can also be faulted for allowing the pendulum to swing out so widely. For a course dealing specifically with social questions and issues throughout American history the work will serve a useful purpose; for survey courses that must continue on a broad base the book will be found lacking in many different subject areas. In the final analysis historiographical series such as Holt, Rinehart, and Winston's American Problem Series will be more rewarding for a college undergraduate than readings such as *Present in the Past*. Emphasis on relevant topics is useful but it is not the only

criteria for undergraduate survey courses in American history. Such volumes as *Present in the Past* can serve a useful purpose in a secondary school history course. Emphasis on current and relevant themes, conflicting interpretations about key topics, and discussions that force the student to compare and analyze are important at this level of instruction also. Instead of the vast number of readings that appear for college undergraduates, publishers might better concentrate on such formats for high school history students. With some revision, *Present in the Past* could fill a definite need in this area. As it is, the work will probably drift off into ignominy as do the majority of readings on American history produced each year.

—Charles R. McClure
Western History Collection
University of Oklahoma Library

The Passing of the Great West. Selected Papers of George Bird Grinnell. Edited by John F. Reiger. (Winchester Press, New York City, 1972. $8.95.)

The Passing of the Great West is an account of the early life of the great conservationist, George Bird Grinnell. As a young man, Grinnell showed no particular aptitude for the scholar he would one day be. Rather, he showed a decided interest in the outdoors. In 1857, when Grinnell was only seven, his family moved to Manhattan and lived next to the widow of the famous naturalist, Audubon. It was through her inspiration and guidance that Grinnell began a life-long interest in natural history. The year of his graduation from Yale, in 1870, Grinnell had the opportunity of joining Professor O. C. Marsh, head of paleontology at Yale, and his expedition to the west. This trip and others, including a trip with Custer to the Black Hills and one with Captain William Ludlow to the Yellowstone region, are found in Grinnell's unpublished manuscript memoir which, with other sources and the author's fine annotations, form the basis of this book. George Bird Grinnell became Theodore Roosevelt's trusted adviser on conservation and Indian affairs, a founder of the Boone & Crockett Club and the first Audubon Society, editor of *Forest & Stream* and one of the greatest authorities on Plains Indians.

In 1925, Grinnell wrote: "The men of the present day cannot conceive—because they have not had the experience to make them understand—the risks and . . . labors involved in that old wild life. So the old wild life can

never be written of, except in the simple straightforward narrative of one of the quiet, modest men who had a part in it." Although Grinnell was writing of Luther H. North, the famous scout, this statement would apply to him and to this book. The formative years of this man who within his own lifetime saw the passing of the West and warned his own generation and future generations of the frailty of nature makes a timely and timeless book.

—Patricia Lester
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Soldier and Brave: Historic Places Associated with Indian Affairs and the Indian Wars in the Trans-Mississippi West. By the Division of History, National Park Service. Robert G. Ferris, series editor. (Washington: United States Department of the Interior, 1971. pp. xvi, 453. $4.00.)

This book is a new edition of a volume published in 1963 as part of the National Survey of the Historic Sites and Buildings series. *Soldier and Brave* represents an attempt to pinpoint the location of each of 214 historic sites in twenty-four states which were associated with Indian Affairs and the Indian Wars west of the Mississippi River.

Part one of the volume is devoted to a short history of the American Indian in the western United States and his relationships with the federal government. A brief history and geographical sketch of each historic site is provided in part two.

The National Park Service has undertaken the task of providing the reader with a historical background of the subject and a convenient reference to each of the historic sites. The book is readable and the numerous illustrations are excellent. The state of preservation of each site is mentioned, and those sites where restoration projects are in progress are noted. A vast amount of material is covered in one volume, but with the judicious use of illustrations and concise data the reader is given information which is adequate to meet the objectives of the book. The National Park Service is to be congratulated for their effort.

Iron Eye's Family: The Children of Joseph La Flesche. By Norma Kidd Green. (Lincoln, Nebraska: Johnsen Publishing Company, 1969, Pp. xv, 225, Illus. $5.95.)

In this volume Norma Kidd Green traces the history of a remarkable Omaha Indian family. Joseph La Flesche Jr., or Iron Eye, the scion of the family, was the son of a French trader and a Ponca or Omaha Indian woman. He became a progressive chief of the Omahas during a difficult period of transition. Life in the nature-oriented world of the Omahas disappeared forever and Joseph attempted to lead his people in their time of trial.

La Flesche's life was notable, but the core of the book is focused on the lives of his children. He fathered eight children by two wives and seven of his prodigy lived to maturity. Green has written a sketch of the lives of each of the seven surviving La Flesche children.

Lucy and Marguerite were teachers who attempted to raise the level of education in the tribe and spent their lives working for the betterment of the Omahas. Susan became a Doctor of Medicine and devoted her life to caring for the ill on the reservation and in the surrounding Nebraska communities. When Joseph died, Rosalie became the leader of the La Flesche family and a source of inspiration for the Omahas. Susan, or Bright Eyes, was the most famous daughter. She and her husband, T. H. Tibbles, were in the vanguard of the Indian rights movement. They traveled throughout the United States, where Susan's talent as a public speaker enabled her to present the case of the American Indian to a white population accustomed to regard Indians as savages.

Francis was a scholar who spent a lifetime working for the Office of Indian Affairs and the Bureau of American Ethnology. He wrote about the American Indian and contributed to a better understanding of the civilization of the native American. Carey, the youngest of the La Flesche family, remained on the reservation and became a liaison between the white and Indian cultures.

Green has written more than a family history. The lives of the members of the La Flesche family are woven into the history of the Omahas, and the reader is treated to a view of the panorama of Omaha civilization from the earliest Omaha-white contact to the death of Carey Le Flesche in 1952.

The author, a former resident of Gage County, Nebraska, and an acquaintance of Marguerite Le Flesche Farley while they were undergraduates at the University of Nebraska, has utilized her intimate knowledge of the region and the family to give the book a perspective which can only

come from an association with the characters. Green's portrayal of the life of the La Flesche family is well documented and will be welcomed by the scholar as well as by the general reader.

—Robert E. Smith
Stillwater, Oklahoma

The Mystic Warriors of the Plains. By Thomas E. Mails. (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1972. Pp. xvii, 618. Illus. Maps. Biblio. Index. $25.00.)

This book examines Indian civilization in America during its peak from 1775 to 1875, and portrays various aspects of the Plains culture It attempts to correct the misconceptions which have developed concerning Indian life, and produces an accurate account of an important part of American heritage. This comprehensive study of the Plains tribes describes both their virtues and their shortcomings during the height of their greatness.

No one can say precisely how the Indian tribes of the Plains came into being; however, their differences in characteristics suggest multiple and diverse sources. About 1775 the wanderings of the tribes ceased, and well-boundaried areas were established. A system of trading among the Indians was developed which allowed the exchange of articles throughout the country. It was this trade that necessitated the development of a sign language which enabled the tribes to converse across linguistic boundaries even better than they could have with a spoken language.

The title "red man" hardly applied to the American Indian, as his skin was generally white, but turned a golden brown because of long exposure to the sun. At the peak of their population, around the year 1800, the various Plains tribes numbered approximately 200,000. The largest of the tribes were the Blackfoot and the Sioux, but the tribal size was not always the determining factor in their power. The Shoshone, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Crow were to be feared as much as the larger tribes.

Even though their populations were not great, the tribes were subdivided into small bands or clans which acted with a great degree of independence within the larger tribal boundaries. Their dwellings were either buffalo hide tepees or earth and bark lodges. The Plains Indians' main source of food was the buffalo, though often a few vegetables were cultivated or gathered to supplement their diet. The tribes were constantly on the defensive against nature and their enemies, but they loved life, and a sizable portion of their time was devoted to social events. This social life existed on four levels—the family, the community, the tribe, and the society. The

Indians used their songs and dances to accomplish a transformation within themselves in order to be in accord with the spirit world, which governed their lives.

The Indian was not a savage for he was shaped by his religion, his elders, and his surroundings. Among the members of the same tribe, lying was viewed as a grave sin, and honesty was prized among the highest virtues. Charity, kindness, and friendship was also very important in Indian culture. The physical health of the members of the tribes was given a prominent place in their society, since survival in the hostile country was dependent on their conditioning. From childhood every boy was nurtured by the admonition that he must become a brave protector of his country and tribe, as well as an honorable friend.

There was no formal government, only distinctions of rank to provide and maintain order. In general, authority was distributed among the various bands or clans. The Plains Indians were religiously oriented, with their entire life centered around a deep spiritual feeling. Smoking of tobacco was a solemn occasion generally associated with religious rites. Their primitive medicine was also closely associated with religious acts, which included personal suffering to gain supernatural power and also to produce a condition of thanksgiving. They possessed a definite belief in the immortality of the soul. The major part of Indian life was oriented around the buffalo. The Indians followed the buffalo migrations, worshiped the buffalo in their religion, and utilized every part of the buffalo body. The introduction of the horse revolutionized the life of the Plains Indians and enabled them to adopt a nomadic life on a full-time basis, and led them into their golden age of prosperity.

An Indian's hair was directly related to his soul, and was carefully groomed to present an imposing picture. Everything which an Indian wore was functional, and served his comfort or protection. The bow and arrow were the Indians' foremost weapon, equal to any armament which the whites possessed until the development of repeating rifles. Other weapons utilized included lances, knives, hatchets, clubs, shields, and firearms. The Indians were trained from infancy to be warriors, and before the entrance of the white man into the area most of Indian battles were relatively bloodless, since the coup, and not killing, was the way to achieve honor in tribal society.

The Indian era ended with the coming of the whites. Epidemics of cholera, smallpox, and venereal disease decimated the tribes. Wholesale slaughter of the buffalo deprived them of their main source of livelihood and forced them on reservations where they became dependent on the handouts of whites. When the Indians resisted, the army depleted their

ranks even more in a war which the Indians could not hope to win. They were taken away from their homelands, stripped of their nomadic life, and reduced to complete submission to the whites. The result of these actions was the destruction of their way of life, and the end to an important period of American history.

This book is completely thorough in its treatment of Indian culture, and deals with practically every aspect of tribal life. It offers insight into Indian beliefs and dispels many misconceptions. It is vividly illustrated with colorful prints of the Indians in all their glory, and explains the basis for their nomadic culture. Many diagrams aid in understanding their way of life. This book is well researched and documented, and should be of interest to the public as well as to scholars.

—Kenny A. Franks
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma

History of Middle Tennessee: Life and Times of General James Robertson. By A. W. Putnam (Reprint of original 1859 Edition by The University of Tennessee, 1971, Introduction by Stanley F. Horn. Index by Hugh and Vornelia Walker. Pp. 683. $15.00.)

When William Blount organized the territory south of the Ohio, he named Robertson as one of its brigadier generals, a position he resigned after directing the Nickajack campaign. He also aided Blount in negotiating the Holston Treaty of 1791. Robertson represented Davidson County in the Tennessee Constitutional Convention five years later and in 1798 was named to the state senate. During that year Governor John Sevier sent him to speak for Tennessee at the first treaty of Tellico between the United States government and the Cherokees. In 1807, he acted with Colonel R. J. Meigs in concluding a second treaty with the Cherokees. By then sixty-five years old and in failing health, General Robertson retired to his plantation on the Cumberland. Urged to run for governor in 1810, he wrote a friend, "The trade of political governing does not suit my genius as well as retirement. I am tired of it."

Robertson's rest was brief. He was called back to act as agent to the Chickasaws and accomplished his last great service for Tennessee and the young nation. With consummate skill, he prevented many of the tribes from yielding to the blandishment of the Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, and his

brother, the Prophet. At Chickasaw Bluff, Robertson died September 1, 1914.

He was one of the few really influential frontier leaders of Tennessee. His influence was personal rather than political. Men of all groups sought his counsel and trusted his integrity. Unlike Sevier, Blount and Jackson, he lacked their thirst for office. He did accept county and state trusts when urged by the settlers who had confidence in him. His fairness, wisdom, and firmness made him Tennessee's most successful negotiator between the settlers and Indians. Money did not seem to motivate Robertson; while he associated himself with several land companies, his speculations and profits were never of an extensive scale. At the time of his death, his estate was modest.

Robertson's biographer, W. A. Putnam, interests this reviewer no less than his subject. Born at Marietta, Ohio, in 1799, he was the great-grandson of Revolutionary hero General Israel Putnam. Following his graduation from the University of Ohio in 1820, he studied law and wandered south to practice in Port Gibson, Mississippi. Three times married, his first two wives were sisters and granddaughters of Tennessee's John Sevier. In 1839, following a fire that destroyed much of Port Gibson, he settled near Nashville and built a showplace called Waverly, two miles south on the Franklin Pike. In Tennessee, he continued as a financial agent, land speculator, and investment banker, gradually withdrawing from the practice of law.

Much of his attention turned to the arts and by 1859, Putnam became president of the moribund Tennessee Historical Society. This he revived with great energy and *The History of Middle Tennessee* was but one of his major scholarly endeavors. Near total attention to cultural pursuits caused neglect of business and by 1861, he had lost his retreat at Waverly. The Civil War completed his financial ruin. By then past 60 and in poor health, Putnam seems to have played no partisan role in the conflict. But he must have kept open his lines to the North. In 1866, Putnam received a clerkship in the office of the United States Internal Revenue Collector. Here he remained until death on January 20, 1869.

—Paul Bennett
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

BOOKS RECEIVED: EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

Dodge City—Up Through a Century in Story and Pictures. By Frederic R. Young. (Dodge City Centennial, Inc., Central & Gunsmoke, Dodge City, Kansas 67801. 1972. $10.00)

More than 400 photographs, many published for the first time in this book, document the early history of fabled Dodge City, which celebrates its hundredth anniversary this year. The men who came to Dodge City loved the great plains, the loneliness, the short grass and the silence. Dodge City became an oasis and a trading center for these men and others, and the author recollects them all in this volume. For all western history buffs, this will be a much enjoyed book.

Wiley Women of the West. By Grace Ernestine Ray. (The Naylor Company, San Antonio. 1972. $4.95.)

In a day when Women's Lib has become a reality, it seems only fitting to find a book on the forerunners of this movement back in the 19th Century. Grace Ray's book, *Wiley Women of the West*, summarizes the lives of some of the most notorious women of the time and place. Although most of these women were simply outlaws in one form or another, there is the wonderful story of Molly Brown who found fortune and fame, and eventually acceptance by Denver Society through her many deeds of courage and generosity.

The Nellie Johnstone Oil Well No. 1 In Oklahoma. A brochure written and compiled by Elmer J. Sark (Bartlesville, Oklahoma. n.d.).

The Nellie Johnstone is a compilation of history, reports, interviews, photographs, and talks all concerning the first producing oil well drilled in Oklahoma. This slim, loose-leaf brochure reflects an interesting part of the early history of Oklahoma in its territorial days.

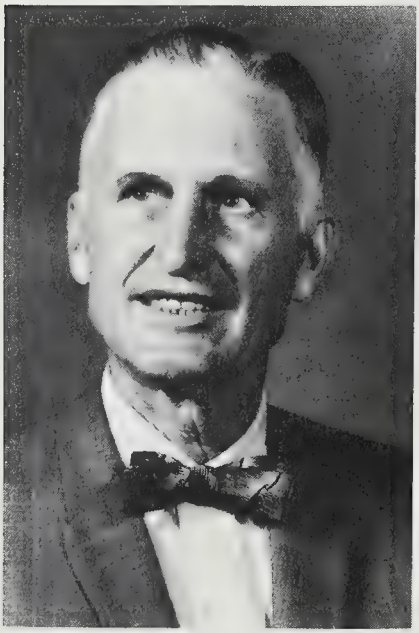
Atlas of Oklahoma Political Maps—1907 through 1970. By Stephen Jones. Published in Enid, Oklahoma, July 29, 1972.

Mr. Jones, a lawyer from Enid, Oklahoma, states in his introduction that political maps have always fascinated him. His senior thesis, *Okla-*

homa Politics in State and Nation, 1907–1962, contained a number of maps which he has now published as a separate booklet, *Atlas of Oklahoma Political Maps*. These maps cover the major political elections as well as such topics as percentage of tenant farmers in each county, median family incomes, percentage of Baptists, etc. Mr. Jones believes that most politicians study maps of their state or district much as a general studies the map of a battlefield. Many politicians and non-politicians undoubtedly will find this book of great interest.

JOSEPH STANLEY CLARK, 1906–1972

Born in Milburn, Oklahoma on March 30, 1906, Stanley was the third of four sons of Joseph Johnston Clark, M.D., and Frances Baldwin Blue. The Clarks came from Kentucky to Indian Territory, as did the Perry Maxwells, the Charles Evans, and the Lee Cruces, to become leaders in a new state.



Joseph S. Clark

When Stanley was ready for the 8th grade, his family moved to the nearby county seat of Tishomingo where his father could better serve the community as county physician and to represent it in the state legislature.

Stanley, who served as his father's page in the legislature, was a serious student but equally good in the field of sports, especially basketball, tennis, and track. He graduated from Tishomingo High School in 1924 as president of his class, captain of the football team, and the possessor of a cigar-box full of sports medals. He studied at Murray State College and went on to East Central State College to earn a B.A. degree. He taught at Maud, and then went to Boynton where he served as a teacher, a coach, and then as a principal. He earned a Master's degree in history and government at the University of Oklahoma in 1932. Returning to Boynton as superintendent of schools, he coached winners in basketball and track.

Awarded a teaching fellowship in history at the University of Wisconsin in 1938, Stanley pursued studies there leading to a Ph.D. with historians John D. Hicks and William B. Hesseltine. Courses with the Renaissance authority, Dean G. C. Sellery, enriched the lives of Stanley's whole family as his enthusiasm for the social and cultural history of this fabulous period sparked conversation, reading, and travel together.

Rather than pursue career opportunities offered elsewhere, Stanley chose to return to Oklahoma in 1940. He helped administer the Indian-Pioneer History Project (WPA) under Grant Foreman, which recorded and collected the state's

history as recalled by living pioneers. This collection is now a part of the archives of the State Historical Society. He served as a financial and economics counselor with the Office of Price Adjustment and with the U. S. Department of Commerce during World War II. While working as director of research for the State Planning and Resources Board under Governor R. J. Turner, he helped inaugurate the first *Made in Oklahoma Show* to promote state industries and he wrote Oklahoma articles for the *Statesman's Yearbook*.

Stanley served several years as civilian administrator of the budget office at Tinker Air Force Base and during this time represented Tinker on the board of directors of the United Fund. He held every elective office and was president in 1957 of Tinker's policy-making Administrator's Club. He was Tinker's nominee for Civil Servant of the Year during the 75th Anniversary of Civil Service in 1958.

From 1949 until the time of his death, Stanley instructed recurrently in history at Oklahoma City University. He took early retirement from Civil Service to spend more time in study, in teaching, and in writing. His analytical and scholarly articles appeared from time to time in such publications as the *New York Times, Encyclopedia Americana, The Journal of American History, the Nebraska Historical Quarterly* and the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*. For almost four decades his articles and reviews appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. He authored "Folklore and Folkways" in *Oklahoma: A Guide to the Sooner State*.

Stanley was the author of three books on the state's specialized history. He wrote *Open Wider, Please—The Story of Dentistry in Oklahoma* with the cooperation of the Oklahoma State Dental Association. To express appreciation of his work, the Association awarded Stanley an honorary life membership, one of only four ever given during the 60-year history of the organization.

He wrote a history of the oil boom, including strikes in Oklahoma, under the title *The Oil Century, From the Drake Well to the Conservation Era* which the University of Oklahoma Press published in 1958.

The publication in 1969 of *Southwestern Orthodontics in Profile* was timed to contribute to the golden anniversary celebration of the Southwestern Society of Orthodontists. *Profile* earned him an honorary life membership in the Society. He was also a life member of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the University of Oklahoma Dad's Association, and the Federal Aviation Administration Golf Club. In 1963 the International Supreme Council of the Order of DeMolay, of which he was a life member, conferred the Legion of Honor Award upon him for splendid leadership and an outstanding career. He was a 32° Mason and a Shriner. He was a member of the Five Tribes Museum and of the American Association for Indian Affairs. He belonged to Twin Hills Golf and Country Club and to the Oklahoma Seniors Golf Association.

He engaged in a wide range of activities, including Democratic precinct chairmanship, Federal Government Accountants Association, the American Society for Public Administrators, National Association for Humanities Education, Phi Alpha Theta, and the Association for Retarded Children. A long-time

communicant of St. John's Episcopal Church, Oklahoma City, he served at various times as church school teacher, lecturer, member of the vestry, and as a board member of the day school. He suffered a fatal heart attack while golfing on August 12, 1972, and was buried from his church three days later. Interment was in Tishomingo Cemetery with Masonic services by Siloam Lodge, Oklahoma City. Dr. Clark is survived by his wife, a son, and a daughter, all of Oklahoma City.

Once when mistaken for an Indian, he answered, "I am an Indian by sympathy only." He loved the natural splendor of Oklahoma. Often as a sportsman he would sit amid a grove of trees, watching the wildlife about him. Motionless, he would soak in the beauty about him—the rustle of the wind on fallen leaves, light shooting through the canopy of trees, the busy chirp of birds, or the cautious chatter of squirrels. Stanley gained much from the state and he returned much to its people. The pioneer trait of expecting to give personal help to others molded his life. He evinced this distinguishing quality to those who knew him. He was scholarly in interpreting the state's colorful history, its people, and its lore in his writings and to the students in his classes.

—Blue Clark
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
October 26, 1972

The quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors was called to order at 10:00 a.m., October 26, 1972, by Vice President H. Milt Phillips in the absence of President George H. Shirk.

Answering the roll call were Lou S. Allard, Henry B. Bass, Q. B. Boydstun, O. B. Campbell, Joe Curtis, Harry L. Deupree, M.D., W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Bob Foresman, Dr. A. M. Gibson, Dr. James Morrison, Earl Boyd Pierce, Miss Genevieve Seger, H. Merle Woods, and Dr. V. R. Easterling, Executive Director. Mrs. LaJeanne McIntyre, Accountant, Michael Bureman, Historic Sites Director, and Jack Wettengel, Newspaper Director, all of the Oklahoma Historical Society staff, were in attendance also. Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mrs. John D. Frizzell, Nolen J. Fuqua, Denzil D. Garrison, John E. Kirkpatrick, W. E. McIntosh, Fisher Muldrow, and President George H. Shirk had requested to be excused and the Board approved a motion by Mr. Allard, seconded by Dr. Deupree, that these Board members be excused.

Mr. Phillips welcomed new member Mr. O. B. Campbell of Vinita to the Board. The members noted that Mr. Shirk, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Bass were the oldest members in point of service on the Board, having been elected in 1950 and 1951.

Dr. Easterling asked the Board to accept the gifts of the past quarter, and to elect the applicants for membership in the Society. There were 58 new annual members, 11 honorary members, and four new life members. The latter are: Mrs. Irene Bracht Beals, C. B. Clark, Charles C. Kennedy, and Mrs. Daniel G. Wiley. Mr. Pierce moved to accept the gifts and to elect the new members; Mr. Woods seconded, and the motion passed.

Dr. Easterling presented Mrs. Bowman's Treasurer's Report and explained to the Board certain changes in funding recommended by the State Auditors. It is an accounting procedure applying to all State agencies and the Society's accounting will then conform with State laws in regard to the manner of listing State and Federal monies.

The Executive Committee has accepted the responsibility of knowing the detailed functions of the various divisions of the Society and will study the Budget actually going to the Legislature.

The Board was presented a proposed new policy recommended by the Executive Committee which would provide that Board members and members of the staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society will not present legislative proposals to the State Legislature or legislators except in cooperation and full knowledge of the Executive Director. The Executive Committee included in its recom-

mendations to the Board that activities concerning legislation for the Society should be discussed with the Executive Director or Executive Committee before being presented to individual legislators or legislative committees. Mr. Allard moved that this policy as outlined by the Executive Committee be approved by the Board. The motion was seconded by Miss Seger and the Board unanimously approved such legislative policy.

Following discussion of the problems of the Society in finding funds to maintain, operate, restore and repair facilities at historic sites, the Board instructed the Executive Director to prepare a brief guideline in the form of a request to legislators or to prospective donors of historic sites or structures. Such guidelines should set out the urgent need for funds to meet the Society's obligations for maintenance, repair, restoration, and operation as would be required if and when a historic site or structure becomes the property of the Society. Dr. Deupree suggested that the Oklahoma Historical Society should consider seeking local societies' support in assuming financial or operating responsibilities for sites in their respective areas.

Dr. Deupree moved that the Treasurer's Report be approved as read. Dr. Gibson seconded the motion and it was passed.

The Microfilm report was given by Mr. Wettengel. He advised that a considerable savings will be realized during the coming year because the State Library has set up a state-operated microfilming project and has agreed to do the Society's microfilming. This work has been done on bids from commercial firms in the past. Also, the Microfilm division has received some useful equipment on permanent loan from one of the other State agencies. The equipment is obsolete for its original purposes.

Mr. Wettengel gave the status of the division's work in microfilming all state newspapers. All newspapers throughout the state have been microfilmed up to 1917, and many newspapers have recently been completed to the present.

Progress at the Society's various historic sites was reported by Mr. Bureman. The Jim Thorpe home in Yale is nearing completion and will be opened soon. Approximately $35,000 in Federal funds has been received for the restoration of the South Barracks at Fort Washita, and the Society has been notified that additional Federal and State funds will be allocated to complete work on this building. Forty additional acres have been acquired at Fort Towson, where the Society now owns nearly all the land. The Society is still negotiating to acquire the land at Fort McCullough. Preliminary agreements have been reached and work on developing Old Central at Stillwater as a museum will be started.

Mr. Bureman told the Board that the Society's *State Historic Preservation Plan* for 1972 had been commended by The American Association for State and Local History in their publication *History News*. It was described as a "model for in-house publication projects." The plan is a comprehensive review of the preservation work carried on throughout Oklahoma. The work was the result of the combined efforts of various individuals and Society staff members.

An example of local effort in maintaining sites was reported by Mr. Bureman. A small church group at Fort Gibson has been granted permission to conduct services in the Old Barracks building. They in turn are maintaining the property and their pride in this arrangement is very evident.

Dr. Morrison asked about the status of the Fulsom Chapel at Smithville. This structure is in need of much more money than has been alloted. Mr. Shirk and Dr. Easterling will meet with Methodist authorities in negotiating the return of the chapel to the care of the Methodist church.

The Publications Committee report was given by Dr. Easterling in President Shirk's absence. He referred to the completion of the new Fort Washita brochure; the agreement with the University of Oklahoma Press to publish the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* on a permanent basis; and the plans to publish a revision of *Mark of Heritage* by the OU Press.

A motion was made by Dr. Fischer to commend the University of Oklahoma Press and its director, Mr. Edward Shaw, for the appearance of the first *Chronicle* published by them, Vol. 50, No. 2, Summer, 1972. Miss Seger seconded this motion and it passed.

The Museum Committee and Museum staff are making plans for the arrival in January, 1973, of the American Association of Museums accreditation team to inspect and study the Museum. The Oklahoma Historical Society Museum has applied for accreditation by the Association.

A Federal grant is being sought by the Museum Committee to support an additional staff member to restore the Society's Indian artifacts and other items belonging to the Society which are in need of professional care.

A discussion followed concerning a movement to regain the Olympic medals awarded Jim Thorpe. Mr. Harold V. Brown has circulated a petition to restore these medals to the family for display in the Jim Thorpe home in Yale. Mr. Pierce moved that the Society lend its support to the Jim Thorpe Medal restoration project, which motion was seconded by Mr. Allard, Dr. Fischer, and Dr. Gibson. The motion carried.

Before giving the Library report, Mr. Curtis suggested that the Society should work toward a public dedication of the Murray Home in Lindsay which has been restored. Dr. Easterling said that a ceremony had been planned but was cancelled because of the illness of Miss Tess Lindsay. Mr. Curtis then moved, seconded by Mr. Pierce, that the Society sponsor a dedication ceremony at an appropriate time in the spring of 1973.

Mr. Curtis said that plans have been made to hold a joint meeting with Library Committee members and members of the Library staff in the near future. The Library is a growing division of the Society, both in acquisitions and in service.

The Board was reminded by Mr. Phillips of the responsibility of each Committee member to attend the meetings of the Committee to which he has been assigned. Each Committee chairman should set the time for the meetings and advise the Committee members and the staff member involved.

The report of the archaeologists from the University of Tulsa and Gilcrease has been submitted to the Honey Springs Commission and the final report will be ready in several months. There is still some excavation of the perimeter of the area to be done, according to Dr. Fischer.

A suggestion was offered by Mr. Foresman to have metal etchings made of the ten best front pages of state newspapers as an addition to the Newspaper Room. He had seen a similar project in the offices of the *Chicago Tribune* and thought it was very effective.

Mr. Foresman reported to the Board that 100 high schools are participating in Heritage Club activities organized by the Education Division of the Society. Some of the schools have very active chapters and have set up bylaws and have outlined a program for the entire year. Field trips to various parts of the state and visits to historic sites and museums are part of the programs.

Education Director Bruce Joseph is going ahead with plans for a Learning Center which will have various audio-visual areas, Mr. Foresman reported. Application has been made for financial aid from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Also, he reported, through a grant from state Junior League chapters, six study manuals are being published covering various cultures in Oklahoma and guides to the Museum.

Closer ties are needed between the Education Department and junior and senior high schools throughout the state. An increase of $4,000 in allocations for the Educational Department would make this possible, Mr. Foresman said in concluding his report.

An invitation to visit the Museum galleries was extended to the Board members by Dr. Easterling. He also handed each member a copy of the program for the Allen Richards Artist of the Month show held in October. Mr. Richards is a cousin of Miss Muriel Wright.

Dr. Easterling read an item appearing in the October issue of the American Association for State and Local History publication *History News*. The Association was highly complimentary of the quality of the State Historic Preservation Plan and Dr. H. Russell Williams, Kent Ruth, George H. Shirk, and Michael Bureman were commended by Dr. Easterling for their work on this project.

The manner in which a State agency presents its budget to the Budget Review Committee was explained by Dr. Easterling. He added that the Committee praised him and Mrs. McIntyre for having presented a well-prepared budget. Dr. Easterling advised the Board of the effort required by Mrs. McIntyre to compile the budget, requiring many hours of overtime and weekend work. The Executive Director stated that the budget may be reviewed by anyone interested.

Dr. Easterling reported on an informal meeting held in regard to future improvements at the Spiro Mounds. It was the consensus of the session that archaeological and historical recommendations will be followed in present and future planning.

The report of the Membership Committee was given by Dr. Easterling. A

discussion followed wherein various aspects of the report were considered, including a change in the dues structure. Many of the directors felt additional study of the report was needed. Mr. Allard then moved that the Board pass over the Membership Committee report until the January, 1973, meeting. Mr. Woods seconded the motion, which carried.

Mr. Pierce proposed that the Seal Committee report also be held until the January meeting. Dr. Fischer seconded this motion and it was passed.

Approval of the amended application for Federal matching funds for the Old Central project was requested by Dr. Easterling. Mr. Allard moved that the Board approve the action of the Oklahoma Historical Society to file an application under the Housing Act of 1961, and to authorize President Shirk and Dr. Easterling to sign the application. The motion was seconded by Mr. Curtis and it was passed.

The next item before the Board was the election to the Board of two new members. There were two nominations for the existing vacancies. Mr. Allard moved that Mr. E. Moses Frye be elected to succeed Dr. E. E. Dale, term expiring in January, 1974, and Mr. Jordan Reaves to succeed Mr. Morton Harrison, term expiring in January, 1973. Mr. Pierce and Mr. Boydstun seconded the motion and the motion carried.

The acceptance of the original Oklahoma state flag from Mr. Ed Fleming was postponed until the January meeting.

A motion appointing Mr. Eugene Bray to the Fort Towson Commission was made by Dr. Morrison. Mr. Allard seconded the motion and it was passed.

Mr. Pierce asked the Board to consider the matter of the Fort Gibson Stockade and the Commissary Building and Grounds. He asked that it be considered proper and appropriate that these buildings be under the supervision of the Oklahoma Historical Society and that the Executive Director and the Executive Committee be authorized and directed to take whatever steps they may deem necessary to encourage the Legislature to transfer title and supervision and custodial effects over to the Board. Mr. Boydstun seconded this motion, which passed.

The lease agreement between the Oklahoma Historical Society and Oklahome State University regarding Old Central was submitted to read as follows:

> "The Society shall have final determination in the arrangement and display of all artifacts and items. Sole authority for developing, operating and maintaining this historic site shall reside in the Society and its servants, agents and employees."

Dr. Easterling requested the Board's approval of the amendment and authorization of the signing of the amendment by President Shirk and Dr. Easterling. Mr. Allard moved this approval be given, Miss Seger seconded the motion, and it was passed.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:10 p.m.

V. R. EASTERLING,
Executive Director

H. MILT PHILLIPS,
Vice President

Gift List for Third Quarter, 1972

LIBRARY:

An Osburn Family 1750–1970 by Josie (Walker) Blakey, May 1972.
Donor: Mrs. B. B. Blakey, Little Falls, New Mexico.

The Urban Prospect by Lewis Mumford.
The Beaver Men by Mari Sandoz.
The Oregon Trail by Francis Parkman.
The Last Landscape by William H. Whyte.
Donor: William F. Shortall, Oklahoma City.

Tailers/Taylors—Lost & Found, Vol. Nos. 1 & 2, Feb. 1968.
Donor: Dorothy DeWitt Wilkinson, Oklahoma City.

Clippings regarding Osage Nation and death of Mrs. Edna Eagle Feather Maze, Sept. 1958.
Donor: Joe Todd, Norman, and Sophia Little Bear Dahlberg of Duncan.

City of St. Louis, Missouri Ward Maps 1850, 1860, 1870 & 1880.
Donor: Harold E. Mueller, Oklahoma City.

"What's Happening at Concho?" by Danielle Hamby, Dec. 8, 1971.
"The Quaker Agents of Darlington" by Sandra W. LeVan, Dec. 8, 1971.
Following Polk's Oklahoma Directories.
Guymon City Directory, 1963.
Chickasha City Directory, 1966.
Okmulgee City Directory, 1966.
Bartlesville City Directory, 1967.
Ponca City City Directory, 1967.
Sapulpa City Directory, 1967.
Shawnee City Directory, 1967 (including Tecumseh).
Ardmore City Directory, 1968.
Chickasha City Directory, 1968.
McAlester City Directory, 1968.
Tulsa City Directory, 1968.
Altus City Directory, 1969.
El Reno City Directory, 1969 & 1970.
Donor: El Reno Library, Chamber of Commerce, and Mrs. Earl Armold, Librarian.

Five Large Scrapbooks entitled "Church Opinions and Events"; "Midwest City"; Oklahoma City."
Donor: Ronald F. Hunt, Republic, Missouri.

Chronicles of the Jacob and Marit Elefson Ancestors and Descendants: 1600–1972, by George Westby and Mildred Westby Gjerdrum.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth E. Flamming, Oklahoma City.

Memories of Mary by Mary Maude O. Bixler, 1970.
Donor: Mrs. R. C. Bixler, Oklahoma City.

A History of the Descendants of John and Barbara Steiner Schumacher by Edna Howl Lauer, 1972.

Prairie Lore—3 back issues.
Donor: Mrs. Edna H. Lauer, Lone Wolf, Oklahoma.

A Pictorial History of Bartlesville, compiled by Joanne R. Bennett and Patricia D. Cordell and the Washington County Historical Society, August, 1972.
Donor: Mrs. John W. Ervin, Oklahoma City.

Hugo Reservoir 2—Archaeological Site Report 23, by Charles L. Rohrbaugh, 1972.
Donor: Oklahoma River Basin, Norman.

Okmulgee County Oklahoma Ministers License, 1882–1971 compiled by Evelyn V. Lowdermilk Ball, 1972.
Donor: Compiler, Okmulgee, Oklahoma.

The Men From Wengen and America's Agony—The Wenger-Winger, Wanger History including Christian Wenger, 1718 by John Earl Fetzler, 1971.
Donor: Author, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

Western Newspaper Microfilm Center in Western History Department of Denver Public Library, 1972.
Donor: Denver Public Library, Denver.

The Americanization of the Gulf Coast, 1803–1850, Lucius F. Ellsworth, ed., 1972.
Donor: The Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference of John Pace Library, Pensacola, Florida.

Muscogee, I. T.—Queen City of the Southwest by C. W. "Dub" West; autographed Centennial Edition Number 530, 1972.
Donor: Author, Muskogee.

Xeroxed copies of Weldon Family Bible Records and Weldon Family Charts.
Donor: Mrs. Loyd (Margaret Jean Weldon) Benefield and Mrs. J. R. (Irma Weldon) Searles, Oklahoma City.

English-Choctaw Dictionary compiled by David Gardner and Will T. Nelson, Second edition, 1972.
Donor: Will T. Nelson, Oklahoma City.

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Oklahoma Authors 1970 and 1969 (revised), compiled and edited for the Oklahoma Writers' Federation by Betty Jean Brown, 1971.
Donor: Betty Brown of Oklahoma Department of Libraries.

Our Bobbitt Family by Allen Wade Mount, Sr., 1972.
Donor: Author, Prairie Village, Kansas.

The Howe Line, compiled by Olga Rolater Whitley, 1967.
Donor: Mrs. Roy S. Lutz, Oklahoma City.

John Briggs of Sandwich, Massachusetts and His Descendants, compiled by Edna Anne Hannibal, 1962.
Clement Briggs of Plymouth Colony and His Descendants, Vol. I, compiled by Edna

Anne Hannibal, 1969.
Donor: Compiler, Palo Alto, California.

"True Story of the Civil War" by Uncle Jack Brazell—photostat copies of originals dated May 1, 1911 and written in longhand.
Donor: Miss Louise E. Williams for the Estate of Mrs. James (Annie) Brazell, Oklahoma City.

Map-Calendar: The Farmer-Stockman Calendar (ca 1928–1932) during administration of President Herbert Hoover.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Walter A. Kaiser of Santa Fe, New Mexico by Mrs. D. Replogle, Oklahoma City.

Cherokee Almanac 1851, autographed 1972 reprint edition by Dennis Cooper, Jr.
Donor: Editor-compiler, Muskogee.

Cassette tape: "The Thunderbirds"—A History and Background of the famed Oklahoma 45th Infantry Division, written and narrated by Major Ed Wheeler.
Printed sheets of Outline of contents of tape.
"History of the Oklahoma Army National Guard."
Donor: Karrol D. Inman, National President.

Oklahoma Highwayman, July 1972: Highway Death Traps.
Frontiers of Science Foundation of Oklahoma, Inc., Seventeenth Annual Report, 1972.
Guide to Publicly-Owned Companies in Oklahoma, 1971.
President's Report—Spring 1972—Oklahoma City University.
The University of Oklahoma Law Center.
50th Anniversary—Mutual Federal Savings and Loan, 1922–1972.
Publications of The Newcomen Society—following nine items:
The Americanization of Shell by Harry Bridges, Oct. 1971.
The Milton Roy Story by Robert T. Sheep, Oct. 1971.
Lufkin Industries, Inc. by Robert L. Poland.
The Volunteers of America by Gen. John F. Mahon.
The Story of the Erie Insurance Exchange by H. Orth Hirt.
Kansas City Power and Light Company by Robert A. Olson.
Pioneers in Public Service by Donald S. Kennedy.
Oklahoma Plat Maps:
Ada and Surroundings #7.
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Soviet Life, June, July, Sept., and Oct., 1972.
Cherokee National Historical Society, 1965.
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Military Collector and Historian, Summer 1972.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

The Jackson Sun.
Donor: Mrs. R. S. Wolford, Oklahoma City.

Oregon Genealogical Society *Bulletin Annual Index*, Vol. 9, No. 5, Jan. 1971 to Vol. 10, May 1972.

Oregon Genealogical Society *Bulletin*, Vol. 10, Nos. 1–9, 1971–72.
The Searcher, Vol. 8, Nos. 1–4, 1971.
Quarterly of the South Texas Genealogical and Historical Society, Vol. 6, Nos. 1–4, 1971–72.
Linkage For Ancestral Research, Vol. 5, Nos. 1–4, 1971–72.
Genealogical Forum of Portland, Oregon Bulletin, Vol. 20, 1970–71; Vol. 21, No. 1, *Supplement.*
Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 21 Nos. 1–4, 1971–72.
Collection of *Report*: Genealogical-Historical of the Ohio Genealogical Society, 1963, Dorothy DeWitt Wilkinson.
Grimsley Family Workbook by Robert E. Parkin, 1971, author from St. Louis.
An Index to D. D. Banta's "A Historical Sketch of Johnson County" Indiana. Dorothy De Witt Wilkinson, from E. C. Rivers of Ponca City.
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City.

PHOTOGRAPH SECTION LIBRARY:

William Jennings Bryan delivering one of his famous orations, ca 1912.
William Jennings Bryan and Swetland Party at San Francisco Heights Club House, 1913.
Donor: Keith Whitely, Oklahoma City.

Photograph of 14-year-old Ruben Chrysong in wheat field where Oklahoma Historical Society building now stands showing foundation and walls of State Capitol being erected in background.
Wheat threshing team of John Long in same field a month later than first photograph.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Ruben Chrysong, Manhattan Beach, California.

Ten color prints of Polson Cemetery, with Ridge-Watie Cherokee families' markers and monument to Gen. Stand Watie which was erected by Oklahoma Historical Society in spring of 1972; location 2½ miles NW of Southwest City, Mo., in Delaware Co., Oklahoma.
Donor: Photographed and given by the Hale Bicknell, Jr., family of Edmond.

Impresario Hathaway Harper Collection of autographed photographs of world-famed musicians brought to Oklahoma City at various times by Mr. Harper in early 1920's. Some of the greats include: Albert Spaulding, famous opera divas Tetrazzini, Mary Garden, Rosa Ponselle and Madame Emma Calve; young Jascha Heifetz, George Copeland and Josef Hofmann.
Donor: Mrs. Winifred Harper Coleman, Chandler, through George H. Shirk.

Collection of 250 negatives of Oklahoma locations, 1971–72.
Photograph of Teeter House, 1860–1942, son of the founder of Lincoln, Oklahoma Territory.
Photograph of Mrs. Louise Huston and Mrs. Manon Atkins in Research Library.
Donor: Fred Huston, Oklahoma City.

George H. Shirk presenting to J. W. McLean an official Commendation Certificate awarded to the Liberty National Bank and Trust Co., July 1972.
Reynold's Castle at Cameron, Oklahoma.
Grave marker of Spring Frog, Cherokee.
Fort McCullough, 2 snapshots.

Marker at grave of grandson of Mosholatubbee.
Edgar S. Vaught, Jr., two photographs, one taken in 1936, one in 1940.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Collection of postal cards of early-day Oklahoma scenes.
Donor: Bill Woodward, Sr. of Oklahoma City, by George H. Shirk.

INDIAN ARCHIVES:

"The Diary of Hannah Hicks" appearing in *American Scene*, Vol. XIII, No. 3.
Donor: Gilcrease Institute, Tulsa, Okla.

Report quarterly meeting Intertribal Council Five Civilized Tribes July 13–14, 1972.
Donor: Bureau Indian Affairs, Muskogee, Okla.

Muskogee (Okla.) Sunday Phoenix, Oct. 8, 1972, Sec. 2, p. 1, with picture of 1915 Muskogee Band.
Donor: B. E. Witchell, Bartlesville, Okla.

"Horses Froze While Standing" by Wayne Mason, in *Tulsa Sunday World*, July 16, 1972.
Donor: O. K. Bivins, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Texas Libraries, Vol. 34, Nos. 1 and 2, 1972
Texas Public Library Statistics for 1971
Donor: Texas State Library, Austin, Tex.

"Hello Choctaw," Nov. 1971, May, August & September 1972.
Donor: Will T. Nelson, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Native Village of Unalakleet v. U. S. Docket No. 285; Order granting defendants' motion to dismiss.
Native Village of Springnak v. U. S., Docket No. 286: Order granting defendant's motion to dismiss.
Fort Sill Apache Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 182: Opinion; Order granting plaintiff's motion to separate claims.
San Carlos and White Mountain Apache Tribes v. U. S. Docket Nos. 22–D and J. Findings of Fact.
Apache Tribes of Arizona v. U. S., Docket No. 22–D: Final Award.
Apache Tribes v. U. S., Docket No. 22–J; Final Award.
Cayuga Nation v. U. S., Docket No. 343: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Cherokee Indians, Eastern Band v. U. S., Docket Nos. 282A–282L: Final Award; Findings of Fact.
Creek Nation v. U. S., Docket No. 275: Findings of Fact; Final Award.
Fort Berthold Reservation, three affiliated tribes, v. U. S., Docket No. 350F: Opinion; Supplemental Findings of Fact.
Iowa Tribes of Kan., Neb. & Okla. and Sac & Fox Tribes of Okla. and Iowa vs. U. S., Docket No. 135: Order allowing attorney fees.
Mohave Indians v. U. S., Docket Nos. 283 & 295: Order denying plaintiff's motion for rehearing.
Nisgah Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 287: Order granting defendant's motion to dismiss.
Ottawa Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 305: Opinion; Order amending Findings of Fact.

Northern Paiute Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 87–A: Opinion; Order finding defendant liable for resources removed from the Nevada portion of the Paviosto Tract.
Ponca Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 323: Opinion; Supplementary Findings of Fact.
Prairie Band of Potawatomi Tribe v. U. S., Docket Nos. 15C, 18H, 29A, 71: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Seneca Nation v. U. S., Docket Nos. 342A–368A: Order denying motion for rehearing.
Sioux Nation v. U. S., Docket No. 74: Order denying motion to dismiss.
Sioux Nation & Yankton Sioux Tribe v. U. S., Docket Nos. 74 & 332C: Opinion; Order denying motion to strike notice of appeal; Order.
Sioux Nation v. U. S., Docket No. 74B: Findings of Fact; Final Award.
Yankton Sioux Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 233: Additional Findings of Fact; Final Award.
Swinomish Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 233: Additional Findings of Fact; Final Award.
Indian Claims Commission Annual Report 1972
Donor: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D.C.

MUSEUMS AND HISTORIC SITES ACCESSIONS:

Articles of clothing from donor's family.
Donor: Mrs. Ima Chronister Wood, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Early 20th Century recordings; typewriter; booklets.
Donor: Mrs. Garland Keeling, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Headdress; tomahawk; knife; spur, bear's skull; gun and holster; photographs; books; documents and other items which belonged to donor's family.
Donor: O. W. McGinty, Ripley, Oklahoma.

Wooden hand planes used by donor's father.
Donor: Mrs. Charles Tilbury, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Articles of clothing.
Donor: Mrs. Ralph Gumerson, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Large collection of photographs and documents, addition to the Wiley Post Collection.
Donor: Mrs. Mae Post, Ralls, Texas.

Cupolas; capitol turrets; and mural depicting the development of Oklahoma, all from the Baum Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Donor: Oklahoma City Urban Renewal Authority, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Rolltop desk and chair, belonged to Oklahoma Congressman Charles Carter.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Greene Reeder, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Statuette, W. H. Murray.
Donor: Fred Boston, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Commemorative token.
Donor: Anderson's Antiques, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

World War I Uniform.
Donor: Mrs. E. L. Jenks, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Early model calculating machine.
Donor: Marjorie Ann Taylor, Bethany, Oklahoma.

Shawl, believed to have belonged to Chief Roman Nose.
Donor: Mrs. Betty Vaughan, North Bend, Washington.

Photograph album.
Donor: R. A. Helmer, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Copies of original documents; handcarved roster, "Oklahoma Union Soldiers Home."
Donor: State of Oklahoma, Department of Health, by Elmer Ninman, Director of Central Services, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Adding machine and stand, 1912.
Donor: Long-Holway-Slade Engineers, by Robert F. Long, President, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Photograph, "Law Association of Tishomingo, I.T."
Donor: Mrs. Helen Ames, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Bull Yoke.
Donor: Glen Carey, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Program; calling card; evening gloves.
Donor: Mrs. Helen Holmes, Coyle, Oklahoma.

Pitcher; case; document; high top shoes.
Donor: Mrs. Karl Power, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Fiber rug.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Barker, Howe, Oklahoma.

Photograph, Dr. Ellis Nathan Fair.
Donor: Mrs. Ouida Fair Sharpe, Heavener, Oklahoma.

Collection of photographs of Marshall McCully family and homeplace.
Donor: W. D. Clawson, Brewster, Washington.

Early 20th century coffee mill.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Hubert Mullikin and Marie Loughman Mullikin, Enid, Oklahoma.

Quilt; clothes brush; curling iron; all from the Murray family collection.
Donor: Miss Tess Lindsay, Lindsay, Oklahoma.

Three oil paintings, "Dogger"; "Roper"; and 'Team Roping."
Seller: Gene Dougherty, Tonkawa, Oklahoma.

Coyote, stuffed and mounted, killed by donor's father in 1909 in Custer County.
Donor: Miss Yvonne Bender, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Two photographs of Joseph Edwin Colbert; clipping.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. James Edwin Ward, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

July 28, 1972 to October 26, 1972

Beals, Irene Bracht	Oklahoma City
Clark, C. B.	Oklahoma City
Kennedy, Charles C.	San Pablo, California
Wiley, Mrs. Daniel G.	Oklahoma City

NEW HONORARY MEMBERS*

July 28, 1972 to October 26, 1972

Brandt, Mrs. Marie	Bethany
Campbell, Mrs. David	Oklahoma City
Enis, Mrs. Thomas	Oklahoma City
Farnsworth, Mrs. K. M.	Oklahoma City
Fuller, J. Guy	Oklahoma City
Hampton, Mrs. Carol M.	Oklahoma City
Shafer, Mrs. Jane	Oklahoma City
Shepherd, P. W.	El Reno
Sheriff, Mrs. E. C.	Bethany
Sprague, Rev. Frank W.	Midwest City
Walters, Mrs. Kelsey V.	Oklahoma City

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

July 28, 1972 to October 26, 1972

Anderson, Mrs. Rex E.	Wichita, Kansas
Brewer, Clyde	Luther
Burris, Mrs. Lloyd T.	Yale
Callahan, Clyde	Hobart
Clark, Everett R	Tahlequah
Clary, Bess C.	Hawthorne, California
Cole, Mrs. A. W.	Oklahoma City
Conner, Thelma L.	Grainola
Constant, Edwin B.	Independence, Missouri
Cooper, Dennis L., Jr.	Muskogee
Corbett, W. M.	Tulsa
Crump, Ruth Royal	Lanett, Alabama
Dawson, Betty Jo	Oklahoma City
Dye, Everett G.	Oklahoma City
Farley, Mrs. J. Ray (Gloria)	Heavener
Freeman, Miss Ruth	Hobart
Gaines, W. Craig	Tulsa
Gay, R. E.	Millerton
Grant, Owen C.	Tahlequah
Gunning, I. C.	Wilburton
Harris, Ruby	Haworth
Harsh, Nolen	Enid
Havener, Marion L.	Cushing

Hawkins, Leroy	Goodwell
Helm, Harry	Pineville, Missouri
Herrold, Donald E.	Tulsa
Hooker, Mrs. Dorothy Leming	Hominy
Kimball, Margarente	Midwest City
Lanterman, James L.	Hobart
Lipsey, Florence	Buffalo
Locke, Odeal	Fullerton, California
Luttrell, Jerry Ray	Weatherford
Lynch, Mrs. S. C.	Seminole
Matthews, Samuel M.	Pryor
Meister, Mrs. Marianne	Oklahoma City
Miles, James N.	Lawton
Miller, Alta	Oklahoma City
Mires, Raymond N.	Winfield, Missouri
Nauen, Richard, M.D.	Tishomingo
Oliver, Mrs. J. H.	Stigler
Patterson, T. A.	Oklahoma City
Rahn, Adele E.	Trenton, Michigan
Richards, Allen	San Antonio, Texas
Ridgway, Mrs. D. L.	Dallas, Texas
Roberts, Mrs. Clarence	Oklahoma City
Rodgers, Phil	Bethany
Sawyer, Mrs. Mildred B.	Dallas, Texas
Simms, Loren C.	Altus
Smith, Hazel Major	Whittier, California
Smith, Mrs. Hugh	Langdale, Alabama
Staniszewski, Mrs. Geneva D.	Stillwater
Stanley, Samuel	Washington, D.C.
Stephens, Mrs. L. R.	Oklahoma City
Tonkawa Historical Society	Tonkawa
Vandiver, Ralph	Ponca City
Walters, David L.	Muskogee
WeMott, Elizabeth	Oklahoma City
Whiteley, Mrs. W. R.	Holdenville

*All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

New Annual Members	58
New Life Members	4
New Honorary Members	11
Total New Members	73

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

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For

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

VOLUME L, 1972

Compiled by

Rella Looney, Archivist
Oklahoma Historical Society

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Cover: The Redbud became the Official tree of the State of Oklahoma by *Senate Joint Resolution, No. 5* of the Sixteenth Legislature. This was approved by Governor Ernest W. Marland on the 30th day of March, 1937. The redbud is a small tree that grows throughout Oklahoma. Its flowers are pink to magenta and appear in clusters early in the spring, followed by its heart shaped leaves. The color print on the front cover is from an enlarged photograph of the redbud flower by Bill Burchardt, editorial staff of *Oklahoma Today*, taken in Southeastern Oklahoma in March, 1972.

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Cover: Print from original photograph of the B. R. Tankersley family home on their land claim dating from the Cherokee Outlet run of September 16, 1893. The log house with its small barn and its board fence is typical of houses on homestead claims in the first years after the run into the Cherokee Outlet.

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